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CHRISTIANITY

AND

MANKIND,

THEIR BEGINNINGS AND PROSPECTS.

BY

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IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

FIRST VOLUME.

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HISTORICAL SECTION.

HIPPOLYTUS AND HIS AGE; OR, THE BEGINNINGS AND PROSPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY.

VOL. I.

HIPPOLYTUS AND THE TEACHERS OF THE APOSTOLICAL AGE.

LONDON:
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titude both for the encouraging interest taken in it by the public and for the instruction derived from many of my reviewers. Most of them have treated my work with seriousness, many with fairness, some with indulgence, if not with partiality.

My readers have borne with an apparent want of form and homogeneousness, giving me credit for honest and deliberate convictions, for earnestness of purpose, and for a certain acquaintance with the subject. They have remembered, in fairness, that we cannot hope to succeed in reconstructing the monuments of primitive Christianity and the records of early Christian life, without clearing the ground, and here and there digging down to the foundations. They have felt that this could not be done without removing the erroneous superstructures which fifteen centuries have raised on foundations of their own, with their systems and terminologies, and doctrines and articles, and prejudices and delusions. All this not only required much patience, but also a certain co-operating sympathy on the part of the public. Such readers and sympathizers I have found among the Christian public of England and Scotland. It is out of gratitude to them that I have spared no trouble in making the historical composition as homogeneous as possible, and presenting my readers with as popular a representation of Hippolytus and his age as lies in my power. I have, at the same time, endeavoured to render the collateral researches as complete as the subject requires.

For this purpose, I have first reduced Hippolytus and his age to two historical pictures, in two volumes. That of the hero of the work himself is entirely new. I have placed the portrait of the Bishop of Portus in its proper frame. He is here considered as one of those Christian teachers, governors, and thinkers who made Christianity what it became as a social system, and as one of thought and ethics; a noble chain, of which St. Peter and St. Paul are the first links, and Hippolytus and Origen the last. In this manner, the age of Hippolytus had already been treated in the third volume of the first edition. I had there shown that his time was the last stage of that wonderful life of the Christian congregations, which regenerated the world in the midst of persecutions and of general decay and destruction. This picture forms the second volume of the

new edition. The first volume gives the picture of Hippolytus among the series of the leading men of the first seven generations of Christians, as the second presents that of his age, and, generally, of the ancient Church, in its discipline and constitution, its worship, and social relations. This second volume concludes with the fiction of the "Apology of Hippolytus," as the uniting picture. Such a fiction appeared to me the only means of presenting our hero in action together with his age, and of bringing him and the whole real life of ancient Christendom nearer to our own times and our own hearts.

In the picture of Hippolytus, I have therefore not only delineated succinctly his two great contemporaries in the East, Clement of Alexandria and Origen, and his teacher Irenæus, but also those leading men who may be called the heroes and representatives of the preceding generations. Among these, I have drawn more in detail the portraits of those who have been most neglected or most misunderstood. Of the Epistles of Ignatius, the first Bishop of Antioch, I have given the entire text in a faithful translation. As Hippolytus was almost a mythical person before the publication of his principal work in 1851, so Ignatius, previously to Cureton's discovery in 1845, was only known in the impostor's garb. Let the Christian public now judge for themselves whether these epistles are genuine or not, and whether they are entire or only incoherent extracts from those which hitherto bore his name. If they require additional proof to confirm them in the impression of their authenticity and entireness, let them compare these racy and pregnant parting words of a dying martyr with the twaddle of the seven epistles. In a similar way, I have given the entire Epistle to Diognetus, that patristic gem of unique originality, and have drawn a full picture of the first Christian philosophers and critics, Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion.

As to Hippolytus himself, I have of course exhibited here that solemn Confession of Faith which we may consider as his sacred legacy to posterity, and which in its essential parts is ever fresh and living, because it has the life of Christ in it.

This picture closes with a prospective view of Christian divinity. I have added in an Appendix, the essays contained

in the second volume of the first edition which refer to Hippolytus personally; and the Letters to Archdeacon Hare, or the critical inquiry into the authorship of the Refutation, and into the life and writings of its author.

In a similar manner, I have appended, in the second volume, to that picture of the social life of the ancient Christians, and to its reflex upon our age, such Essays in the former second volume as refer less to Hippolytus personally than to the ancient Church in general.

I hope that this treatment of the subject, imperfect and unequal as it must be, justifies the words of the title: "The Beginnings and Prospects of Christianity." But it is impossible to conceal from oneself that pictures of bygone historical characters and ages cannot prove all they assert and represent. Such compositions are buildings erected upon a substruction, both philosophical and philological, to which a few detached essays and notes cannot do justice.

The present volumes, therefore, appear flanked by two other works. The first presents in two parts a key to the philosophical, historical, and theological views which pervade "Hippolytus and his Age." It bears the title: "Sketch of the Philosophy of Language and of Religion, or the Beginnings and Prospects of the Human Race." This sketch comprises the Aphorisms of the second volume of the first edition, better digested and worked out so as to form an integral part of a philosophical glance at the primordial history of our race with regard to the principle of development and of progress.

The second substruction, the philological, is also presented as a separate work, and forms three volumes. The remains of ante-Nicene documents constitute three sections, none of which have hitherto been given in a complete and satisfactory manner: the literary remains, the constitutional documents, and the liturgical records. Of these, the third section was critically almost a blank before the publication of my Reliquiæ Liturgicæ. I have had nothing to add to those liturgical texts; but I have this time printed *in extenso* the passages of the Syrian Jacobite liturgy which correspond with the Greek text, whereas, in the first edition, I only indicated that they were identical. But

I have prefixed to those texts the Elementa Liturgica, popularly exhibited in my "Book of the Church." These elements are the following three:

First, the Lord's Prayer as liturgically used, and as recorded in the ancient MSS. of the New Testament, and in the Fathers.

Secondly, the various baptismal formularies, commonly called the Apostles' Creed, to which are added the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds, which at a later period came gradually into liturgical use.

Thirdly, the primitive psalmody. I give first the so-called three Canticles of Mary, Zacharias, and Simeon, printed as Hebrew Psalms in hemistichs, as they are composed and intended to be used: then the Hymns of the ancient Greek Church. To these I have added, as an appendix, the Te Deum laudamus, the truly original and poetical reproduction and amplification of the Greek morning hymn; a German composition of the fifth century; the only Latin psalm and the only liturgical composition of the Western Church which has obtained universal adoption.

This forms the third volume of my Analecta Ante-Nicæna — the liturgical — which I may now consider as complete.

As to the second, or constitutional section, I had inserted in the first edition only the Canons of the Apostles, in their Greek and Latin texts. These I reproduce in the second volume of the Analecta.

In the first volume, printed in 1851, I had subjected the Apostolical Constitutions to a critical analysis (now the introduction to this volume of the Analecta) which led me to the conclusion that our present text is the hierarchical enlargement of a much simpler and shorter text. I further found, by that critical process, that the first six books must have formed a separate collection; and the seventh and eighth two others equally distinct from that and from each other. In April 1852, I was informed by my learned friend Professor Roestell at Marburg, of the existence of a Syrian MS. at Paris, analyzed by Bickell, and by him believed to contain extracts from the first six books. As the table of contents, however, showed a remarkable coincidence with the result of my process of purely in-

ternal criticism, I ventured to assert that the Syrian text would prove to be the primitive text in question. What was then a conjecture, is now a fact. Dr. Paul Boetticher has, at my request, copied the whole Syrian text, and collated it critically with the Greek. Consequently, I have the gratification of presenting, in the second volume of the Analecta, the Apostolical Constitutions, for the first time, in a trustworthy text and in a more respectable form. As to the first six books, the Latin introduction of Dr. Boetticher proves them to be the real Didascalia of the Apostles. In order to render the origin of our present text self-evident, it is first printed as a whole, but so that the passages not warranted by the Syrian are marked by a smaller type. After this tedious, but necessary, process, the genuine text of the Didascalia is given as one book, which is nothing but the former text without the interpolations. Whole chapters, or the greater part of them, disappear, but the context becomes clearer by their omission, and the whole composition regains to a certain degree its primitive character.

This section of the ante-Nicene remains may, therefore, be called something entirely new. I might have easily completed these constitutional records by reprinting the Canonical Epistles, and the Minutes and Articles of the Synods of the third century, which are given in Routh's Reliquiæ mixed up with the literary remains of that age. But I do not wish to interfere with this excellent work, and to increase the volume beyond its present bulk.

Guided by the same principle, I have also given such portions of the literary remains as was absolutely necessary, either from their being unpublished or not published in a separate form, or from their requiring, with reference to my present edition of "Hippolytus and his Age," a more accurate and critical edition than we hitherto possessed. These texts form the first volume, of the contents of which I will give a succinct account.

I prefix to the ecclesiastical remains themselves two biblical Prolegomena; christological extracts from the New Testament; and the text of a genuine Apostolic epistle, now merged in a later production.

The ancient Fathers, as well as their opponents, after the

earlier part of the second century, frequently refer to certain passages concerning the person of Christ and his relation to God and Man. They read these passages on the whole as our ancient Greek texts and translations exhibit them, but differing here and there from the vulgar text of the New Testament introduced by Stephen and the Elzevirs. I have, therefore, collected together these sacred passages, according to Lachmann's text and authorities, in the order assigned to the books of the New Testament in the Greek manuscripts. Such a review of the authoritative texts respecting Christ, which contain the fundamental doctrine of all Christian divinity, of the Father, Son, and Spirit, might, I thought, be found useful by many of my readers.

The second part of the Prolegomena exhibits the text of the short letter of St. Peter's mentioned by him, in that epistle which we call his first, as having been sent through Sylvanus to the same congregations of Christians.

The literary texts of the second century open with the Epistles of Ignatius, of which I have given the English versions in "Hippolytus." They are followed by all the fragments contained in the so-called Philosophumena of the Fathers of Gnosticism, the first witnesses of the Gospel of St. John — Basilides and Valentinus. To these are added the fragment of Marcion, with which is connected the authentic Epistle to Diognetus, at all events belonging to the earlier part of the second century. In this place I had hoped to insert an entirely unpublished text. The Libyan manuscripts contain an Apology of Melito, who must be the Bishop of Sardes who, about the year 169, presented to Marcus Aurelius the Philosopher a defence of Christianity. It appears entire, and therefore ought to contain the fragments quoted by Eusebius, but does not do so. It bears moreover, the stamp of a late and confused composition. For these reasons I have abstained from giving it a place among the genuine texts. A fragment of Hegesippus, the contemporary of Melito, which has been overlooked, terminates the series of the second century. It is known as the Fragmentum Muratorianum, and enumerates with authority the books of the New Testament which were considered as canonical by the great Churches, and particularly by that of Rome. I give the text,

founded upon a most accurate transcript of the original manuscript, and hope to have made a not entirely unsuccessful attempt at solving two hitherto unfathomed problems which it presents.

Two relics of the third century conclude the Analecta. The first is the most considerable composition of my collection: Clement of Alexandria's "Sketches," or Hypotyposes. This esoteric book, the great effort of his life, is generally supposed to have perished with the exception of a few incoherent fragments; but I hope to show that a great part of the first book, and a considerable portion of the other seven books, still exist; and that we are able to reconstruct the whole plan of this very profound, learned, and sound manual of the Christian divinity of the Fathers, a work coeval with the youth, and perhaps with the earlier writings, of Hippolytus in the West.

The second is the Confession of Faith of Hippolytus, the real gem of his writings.

"Bernaysii Epistola Critica" concludes this volume of the Analecta. I have been rejoiced, and not surprised, to find it generally appreciated. That eminent scholar has, at my request, bestowed his acute criticism upon some of the most difficult and corrupt passages of the Theodotian extracts in the Hypotyposes, which nobody had previously attempted to amend, as indeed the whole treatise has scarcely been of any use for the history of the Church, on account of its real or supposed obscurity. In his "Epistola Critica altera," with which the volume concludes, he will discuss some of the most difficult of these, and at the same time offer some remarks upon the way in which Dr. Wordsworth has lately treated some Heraclitean fragments.

So much as to the present arrangement of my work. I will only add, that two more such volumes would have rendered the collection of the literary remains of the ante-Nicene Fathers so far complete as to embrace all that is contained in Grabe's Spicilegium, in Routh's Reliquiæ, and in Hefele's and Jacobson's Patres Apostolici, that is to say, all except Justin (and Pseudo-Justinus), Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Hippolytus, and Origen. The main desideratum, however, is a complete corpus of the ante-Nicene Greek authors, Origen excepted, of whom the recent edition by Lommatzsch is suffi-

cient for the scholar. We have excellent materials for constructing a good critical text of these authors, but nothing more; and I must confess that Otto's text of Justin appears to me a retrograde step: it is far less readable than the emendations of the greatest critics, Stephen, Sylburg, Pearson, and Markland, had made it. With a revised Latin translation of these Greek texts, and the necessary notes in the judicious manner of Didot's classics, eight volumes would comprise what is now dispersed, in an incomplete and undigested shape, through thrice that number of folios, quartos, and octavos. It is to be lamented that few persons can afford to purchase and to read the real Fathers and true records of Christianity.

My answers to such special criticisms on my "Hippolytus" as appear to me worth noticing (disregarding, therefore, all that is personal) will be found in their proper places. They apply almost exclusively to philological or historical assertions in my Letters to Archdeacon Hare. The only one of general interest is the controversy respecting the author of the book from Mount Athos, and on the life and writings of Hippolytus. I thought the authorship of this recently discovered Treatise on Church History resulted so evidently and so cogently from the unmistakable words of the writer about his own person and position, and from a concurrence of independent arguments, that it would be perfectly useless to sum up the evidence at the end of those letters. I have now done so in this volume.

I am still at a loss to conceive how a learned and independent thinker can seriously maintain that the book is the production of Caius the Roman presbyter: for that is avowedly the alternative. The proposition to attribute it to Tertullian, who neither wrote Greek nor was a member of the episcopal government of Rome, or to a person like him, who may have written Greek, and of whom we know nothing, must, I presume, be considered as what it is — a thesis to be maintained in a public disputation at the Sorbonne.* The young clerical writer I refer to is

* See the Examen du Livre des Philosophumena: Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris, par l'Abbé P. J. Jallabert. Paris, 1853, 8vo.

evidently an aspiring scholar, whose efforts to revive among his brethren a critical patristic knowledge deserve every encouragement, and have my warm sympathy. I hail this symptom of a revival of Greek patristic studies in France, and offer my sincere wish that the Roman Catholic clergy in France may emulate the candid spirit as well as learning of the illustrious Dean of the Sorbonne, and of the eminent French laity in general, who are so successfully trying to restore, in all branches of philology, the ancient glory of the Stephens and Scaligers, and to repair the loss France and Europe have suffered by the death of Sylvestre de Sacy and of Letronne. But, as a serious opinion, the authorship of Tertullian cannot be maintained, any more than that of Origen. There remains, then, Caius the presbyter. Two decisive facts which lie on the surface of the controversy prevent the historian from entertaining such a supposition.

The first is, that the author says, in the proœmium to his work, that he had undertaken to write the book as being a bishop; for no scholar can doubt that this is the meaning of the passage. But Caius was a presbyter. The second fact is, that our author says he has written another book of which he gives us the title. Now the identical title of this book is found on the episcopal chair of the statue dug out of the ruins of the ancient sanctuary of Hippolytus. As no writer has hitherto doubted this statue to be genuine and to represent Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, how can we help believing Hippolytus and his statue, rather than Professor Baur and his system, which appears so imposing to my philosophical critic in the Westminster Review? In questions like these, which are involved in great obscurity, it seems to me the duty of criticism to start from unequivocal and decisive facts; and to endeavour to explain, as far as it can, doubtful or apparently contradictory circumstances, rather than to overlook facts of such magnitude, and to exalt into reality conjectures and gratuitous doubts which leave such facts unnoticed.

I have no doubt whatever that the overwhelming consent of the scholars of Europe and America will soon render it unnecessary to say a word more on this topic.

I never indulged so sanguine a hope as regards the infinitely more important questions which the subject led me to raise, and forced me as an honest inquirer to discuss. I had, however, taken care to treat them simply as historical questions, to be decided by evidence according to the general principles of historical criticism. I had hoped they would have been met on this ground, openly and fairly; and so indeed they have been by many of my reviewers.

I cannot say the same, however, of the work which a learned dignitary of the Church of England, the Rev. Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, author of a controversial essay upon Ignatius, in opposition to Cureton, and of some Lectures on the Canon of Scripture and on the Apocalypse, has written expressly on this subject. He published, a few months since, a book called "St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome," in which he is pleased to ignore all that I had said about Hippolytus, as Bishop of Portus, as author of the book recently discovered, and about his life and writings in general, whenever he repeats what I had already said in 1851, while he delights in mentioning my name, whenever he finds fault with anything that I have asserted. Such a mode of proceeding is not usually thought courteous; Niebuhr, somewhere, calls a similar proceeding dishonest; I will only say that it has surprised me in a man of the character and standing of Dr. Wordsworth: for I cannot help being reminded by it of a method I have had occasion to observe in another country as the practice of a certain society. When they wish to communicate a piece of knowledge due to one whose name they would rather have ignored, they give what can no longer be withheld in an expurgated form, and without the slightest reference to the author. I am afraid something like this is also the reason why the learned Canon speaks with such emphasis and pomp of an antiquarian treatise written by a Roman priest about a hundred years ago; a book which he says I had not mentioned, although it had settled the question about Hippolytus for ever. This is the treatise of an Abbate Ruggieri, published by command, in order to trumpet forth the antiquity of the see of Portus, the cardinalitian title of his patron. His problem was, to claim for that See the great

master and doctor, and to clear him of the suspicion of heresy created by some expressions of Prudentius. The second point was easy enough; but the first had its peculiar difficulties; for the historical character of the account of the Bishop of Portus had to be vindicated, without touching the dangerous subject of the three Hippolytuses into whom the Romish Church has multiplied the single Hippolytus of Portus, in consequence of the natural mythological process which creates all legends, and of which in this case the evidence is fully on record, and palpable even for ordinary readers. Of course the Abbate Ruggieri, in his text, devoutly acquiesces in the three canonized Hippolytuses, and only in a note (to p. 14.) gives vent to his own honest doubts respecting this blunder and imposture. But the Canon of Westminster praises the poor Abbate for the ability with which he has maintained the tradition of Holy Church (note to p. 110.). This only shows that the Canon does not know or ignores the first principles of historical criticism, as soon as there is a tradition to maintain. But why does he enlarge gratuitously upon an uncritical assumption, and found a whole argument upon a myth, as if it were a solid fact? "Another eminent person," he says (p. 111.), "bearing the name of Hippolytus, was known as an adherent of Novatian, and he was also a martyr; and the narrative of Prudentius concerning the manner of the martyrdom of St. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, is at variance with the other records of that event." These "records" are the various confused legends which I have exposed, and which indeed expose themselves: as to "the other Hippolytus," he has no more historical reality than the third. Hence the assent of the Canon of Westminster to the forced decision of the Roman priest seems to me no reason why we should exalt his treatise into a great historical work. The Abbate had of course read his Prudentius and his Liber Pontificalis, knew something about the mediæval antiquities of Rome, and even a little Greek. If I had ever heard of his existence, I should have read his book, as I did that equally learned and equally absurd and uncritical work of his countryman, the writer of the "Martyrdom of Hip-

polytus."* But now that I have read it, I find it contains nothing new, not even one single new mediæval or local document, and no criticism beyond that concerning the ridiculous aspersion of Novatianism, which of course the Abbate proves satisfactorily to be incompatible with the martyrdom in the year of the death of Alexander Severus. As to the statue of Hippolytus, it is really ridiculous to quote Ruggieri on a subject treated by Scaliger and Ideler.

I must here say one word about a third attempt to depreciate my "Hippolytus." It is amusing to see how Dr. Wordsworth shelters himself from my assertions as to the succession and chronology of the earlier Bishops of Rome, which he has not the courage to attack, behind Jaffe's Regesta, or "Records of the Popes, from the Eleventh Century downwards." The English reader would naturally suppose that Jaffe, who is constantly quoted by him for the chronology of the second and third centuries, had made some deep researches respecting the earlier Bishops of Rome in the big quarto he has compiled about those mediæval acts of the Popes. But Jaffe does not even pretend to have made any investigations respecting the earlier bishops: he merely gives the list of the earlier Popes as they are generally printed. Dr. Wordsworth might as well have quoted the list prefixed to the official almanac of the Church of Rome: indeed, according to his views, this would have been safer; for that list certainly has the authority of the most legitimate bishop in Christendom in its favour, and is supported by many learned researches, from Baronius down to his great favourite Abbate Ruggieri and his like.

So much for the general character of Dr. Wordsworth's book. I will now say a few words respecting the verbal criticisms it contains on the text of Hippolytus, and respecting the conjectures offered in it for the correction of some of the corrupt passages in the manuscript. Here, I confess, I have been sadly disappointed. I had expected much on this score from the

* I am glad to learn, from the Edinburgh reviewer, that this folio has come to light at the British Museum, where it could not be found when I asked for it.

elegant scholar whom we have all admired in his "Attica," and in later works on classical subjects, as well as in occasional emendations of the text of the Fathers. I had been delighted by these; and I seize this opportunity of expressing my gratitude for being relieved from two monsters which disfigured a beautiful passage in the Epistle of the Roman Clement, where (as the manuscript has it) we read, among the examples of Christian fortitude, "Married women, Danaids, and Dirkes," and where, if we adopt Dr. Wordsworth's elegant emendation, we have "Married women, young women, and slave girls."* But, the Attic Muses, offended by the faithlessness of their favourite, have abandoned him, frightened away by the monkish phantom which Dr. Wordsworth has now embraced, and for which he claims their divine support. I shall leave the Editor of the fragments of Heraclitus to point out, in his "Epistola Critica altera," the sins committed in the attempts upon the thoughts and sayings of that great and profound writer. In what falls to the share of Hippolytus, Photius, and the whole field of ecclesiastical literature, I am sorry to say, I have found very little to adopt of his criticisms; and, some merely technical and self-evident corrections excepted, I have not been able to adopt any of his emendations, which, indeed, seem to me made this time "*invita Minerva.*" However, such of these critical remarks as come in my way in the course of the reprint of the Letters to Archdeacon Hare, I have not failed to consider, in notes, leaving the decision to the judgment of the scholars of Europe, and in particular to the critical editors of Hippolytus at Goettingen.

Having said thus much on this point, I proceed to examine those portions of Dr. Wordsworth's criticism which refer to the great historical questions raised in my discussion respecting the views of the ancient Fathers on the authority of the Church and the Scriptures, and respecting the relation of those Fathers and their Churches to the system which began with Constantine at Byzantium and Nicæa, and which has lately found so many admirers among the clergy, and sundry ladies and gentlemen

* c. v. instead of γυναῖκες, Δαναΐδες καὶ Δίρκαι, read: γυναῖκες, νεανίδες, παιδίσκαι.

in this country. I think these questions may be reduced to the following three:—

First Question.

Does the ancient Church acknowledge or not the paramount authority of Scripture, and maintain or not that the Scriptures ought to be interpreted according to the principles of philological criticism, and their contents judged according to the general rules of evidence?

I have maintained that it does, and that therefore it stands in this great question on the same ground as the Churches of the Reformation, in opposition not only to Rome and Byzantium, but to every other historical or imaginary system of hierarchical authority, which is Popery.

Second Question.

Do, according to the doctrine of the ante-Nicene Fathers and the usages of ancient Christendom, the clergy constitute the Christian Church, or is the Church essentially the totality of the believers?

I affirm the latter, and thus add, here also, the testimony of the ancient Church to the authority of Christ and his Apostles, and to the dictates of reason and conscience.

Third Question.

Is the doctrinal system of the ante-Nicene Church irreconcilable with the letter and authority of the formularies of the Constantinian and in general of the Byzantine councils, and with the mediæval systems built upon them?

I say that it is irreconcilable with that letter and that authority, as much as these are with the Bible and common sense: and I add, it would be fully as irreconcilable with the Byzantine and Roman Churches if Arianism had prevailed.

These are three historical questions, and as such I have answered them. My answers are based upon facts, and therefore upon evidence; but I have thrown out hints to show that what is thus made out to be an historical fact, is supported by

the teaching of the Gospel and the Epistles in their speculative passages, and by an independent philosophical development of the same truths: for I consider those truths eternal, not made by Scripture, but declared, manifested, revealed, and that to reason.

I cannot conceal from myself, or from my readers, that Dr. Wordsworth does not concur with me on any one of these three questions, because the system which he thinks he is wedded to, and from which I wish to see him delivered, is irreconcilable with the answers I have given. I can only explain it from a systematic opposition to what I must call the Protestant principle, that he has gone out of his way not only to object to points of biblical and historical criticism which I had touched upon in my "Hippolytus," but even to insinuate that my theological opinions are not orthodox, and ought to be viewed with suspicion. As to a real serious discussion he has never even entered into it, except on one point touching the last of my three questions. I shall not follow him in this method, but look all his objections or insinuations in the face, and discuss them without any reserve to the uninitiated, whom, in the spirit of that system, I take to be the whole civilised world, the clergy excepted. In doing so, I shall show, to every impartial and critical reader, that those objections and insinuations are not only groundless, but a manifest proof of the untenable nature of the mediæval system, with which I should be sorry to identify permanently the author of "Attica" and a Canon of Westminster.

Entering then on the controverted points regarding the first question, I will begin with Dr. Wordsworth's attack upon my view respecting the age of the Apocalypse. He believes it to be a work of the Apostle St. John, and so do I. He believes it to be prophetical, and so do I. But he finds fault with me for having said (what I cannot deny) that the Apocalypse, if you ask the book itself, tells a scholar that it was written in the latter part of the year 68. He asserts, this is assuming that Irenæus was wrong by about thirty years in his computation. Now let us first see what the book itself says. To proceed in this way would be considered a simple duty if the author

and critic were heathens, but not to do so appears most disrespectful when the author is an Apostle, and irreverent when the critic is a Christian. What does the venerable author of the vision say? In chap. xi. the Temple of Jerusalem and the Holy City are assumed to be standing, but doomed to material destruction. The book then would appear to have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem, that is to say, before September 70. Those who cannot conscientiously take Apostolic words in a non-natural sense, must see whether this natural inference runs counter to the passage which announces itself as a key to the mystery; I mean chap. xvii. 7—10. Here we read, in the authorized Version: "Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the mystery. . . The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition." As the city designated is allowed to be Imperial Rome, the kings (if you ask the book) must be her Emperors, and they must be counted from Augustus, he being the first Imperator. The first five were, Augustus, Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, Nero. Therefore the words, "The fifth is fallen," imply that Nero was dead when the vision took place: the one who is reigning must then be Galba; and the other who "is not yet come and is to remain a short time" will be Otho. This, at least, is the most natural combination. There is, however, another, which has been adopted by Bleek and other eminent critics, and which at all events merits attention. Nero was killed on the 9th of June in the year 68 of our era; and Otho raised the standard of rebellion against the legitimate emperor, Galba, in January 69. Those critics, therefore, think the vision did not take into account the short reign of Galba, and the usurping authority of Otho and Vitellius, but passed on from Nero to Vespasian. On that supposition the sixth would be the father of Titus, and he who is to come, but not to remain a long time, Titus himself. Then Domitian comes in, very naturally, as the ideal Nero, who is to return for the destruction

of Rome and for his own perdition. This interpretation does not imply a later date of the vision: it extends only its prophetical horizon to the time between January 70, when Vespasian accepted the purple, and the 18th of September in that year, the day on which Jerusalem was taken. This interpretation might explain not only that legend, but also the tradition which connects the Apocalypse with Domitian: it may be preferred to that which I have adopted, if this should be thought to create serious difficulties, which I however do not believe. But, with this shade of difference, all philological commentaries of note agree about the interpretation of that passage.

So, then, says the book. Now let us hear, with all respect, what Irenæus says. "St. Irenæus," says the Canon (in his note to p. 51.), "who had seen Polycarp, the scholar of St. John, asserts (v. 30.) that the revelation was seen by St. John at the end of the reign of Domitian (who reigned till 96). Yet M. Bunsen declares: 'At all events, the book itself plainly says the contrary. The horizon of the vision is the latter half of the year 68:' that is to say, St. Irenæus made a mistake of about thirty years concerning what he says took place almost in his own age." I am and was perfectly aware that Irenæus in his early youth saw Polycarp at Smyrna, who remembered having seen St. John, and heard him speak of his gospel. But it does not follow that, when Irenæus places the vision in the last years of Domitian, he knew more than what the book itself tells us in the opening (i. 9.)—that it took place in the island of Patmos. Even that the Apostle was there under Domitian does not follow at all from that passage: indeed (as Lücke, in the introduction to his Commentary, has amply shown) there is no valid evidence whatever for the exile of St. John under that emperor. Others report that Domitian had summoned him to Rome. Origen refers us, in proof of the exile under Domitian, to the passage in St. John. The tradition, therefore, about the exile to Patmos under Domitian, has no solid foundation, but is a conjecture, and evidently in contradiction with a rational interpretation of the book itself. I cannot enter here into the further proof that this groundless assumption renders the interpretation of the Apocalypse im-

possible; nor is that argument very powerful in the eyes of those who delight in what they call mysteries, which in fact are their own crotchets, fancies, and unscrupulous assumptions. I will only mention one circumstance which is irreconcilable with that theory. If St. John wrote the Apocalypse about 96, as Dr. Wordsworth asserts, no scholar can seriously believe that he wrote in that same year, or the next (for he died in 98), the gospel, the Hellenistic Greek of which is as different from the barbarous idiom of the Apocalypse, as any Greek text can be. The theory of two secretaries, one Hebraizing, the other a Hellenist, cannot account for such an unparalleled contrast in two almost contemporaneous writings of the same man.

Unless, therefore, we are to suppose that the revealing angel was pleased to speak such ungrammatical and unheavenly Greek, we must look for some other way to explain a fact which cannot be denied. Dr. Wordsworth, indeed, offers us a phrase to settle this question. I find it in his "Harmony of the Apocalypse" (1852, p. 5.) in the following words: "All the books of Scripture are from one mind and hand." But here again our critical conscience interferes: for it shows us, by the side of evident signs of one and the same spirit, a most decided difference of hands; and we must claim for this conscience of ours fully as much respect as he and his clerical friends claim for theirs. At least, it appears that we take a little more pains to ascertain the truth than they do. Dr. Wordsworth evidently supposes that it is the aim and end of German philology to render the text of the Scriptures (or at least of the New Testament, for he evidently does not know Hebrew) doubtful, and to substitute conjectures for authorized readings; whereas exactly the contrary is the case. Now, he acknowledges the vulgar text of the Apocalypse, in particular, to be untenable. So far so good. But then we cannot well understand why, under this conviction, he should, in his two volumes on that book, first give the text of Scholz, based on those modern manuscripts which swarm with arbitrary changes and pretended emendations unwarranted by tradition, unless it be to make it serve as a foil to his second better text. Still less can we understand how, as a scholar, professing so much respect for

the ancient Church, he should be satisfied with taking this better text from Tischendorf, who has so often changed it against the most ancient authorities. But what we think quite unpardonable, is, that in those two volumes he never mentions even the name of Lachmann, from whom Tischendorf borrowed his principle without understanding it, and thus spoilt the traditional text of the ancient Fathers by his arbitrary alterations. This appears to be in the same spirit as the Canon's ignoring the very names of Lücke, Ewald, de Wette, and Neander, who have entered most profoundly into the character and ideas of the book, and brought to bear upon it a learning and a temperate judgment generally acknowledged in Europe. Now, either Dr. Wordsworth has not read what these authors have done for the text and its interpretation, and, if so, he has treated his subject far too carelessly; or, having read them, he affects to ignore them, and then his case is still worse.

So much for the Apocalypse. Let us now see whether the rational method of appealing to evidence, beginning with that of the Bible itself, is at fault respecting the Epistle to the Hebrews, and whether we or the Anglo-Catholics are the true interpreters and historians of the ancient Church. Let us hear the learned Canon's own words:

"In the same oracular tone, M. Bunsen pronounces that the Romans knew better than anybody, from their first regular bishop, Clemens, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was not St. Paul's. Why Linus, to whom the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul first committed that Church (Iren. iii. 3.), is not to be regarded as a regular bishop, does not appear." I am sorry to see that Dr. Wordsworth does not know that Linus and Anacletus, according to the registers of the Church of Rome, were co-bishops of the Church: an arrangement which does not shock me at all, but which certainly does not constitute what the later Church system calls a regular episcopal government. The writer continues: "As to the Epistle to the Hebrews, St. Clement imitates it." Now I cannot see why Clement could not imitate it just as well if it was written by somebody else, and not by St. Paul; for instance, if it was written by Apollos, Paul's friend and co-Apostle, the Alex-

andrian. Rather may we say, if the epistle had been St. Paul's, Clement would have quoted it, and not freely imitated it. Canonical Scripture he quotes as it stands. So that whatever there may be of force in that observation, is against the authorship of St. Paul. Besides, if the epistle had been considered by the Church of Rome as Pauline, it would of course have formed part of her Canon; now we know positively it did not even in the second and third centuries: how, then, should it have done so in Clement's time? Lastly, if we ask Scripture itself (which Dr. Wordsworth does not approve), it tells me exactly what it told Origen, that whoever knows Greek must see it is not written by St. Paul. What the book says further against that supposition, is briefly stated in the first volume of the Analecta under the article "Hegesippus." But here we must examine Dr. Wordsworth's argument; I again quote his words: "It is probable," he continues, "that he and the Romans knew from St. Peter (2 Pet. iii. 15.), as well as from other sources, that the epistle was St. Paul's." My readers will be startled to see that Dr. Wordsworth considers as an argument, what in reality is nothing but an evasion of argument. The question is, whether the epistle was at this early period, what certainly it was not in the next century, part of the Canon of the New Testament in the Roman Church? Now, what does Dr. Wordsworth offer as proof of so improbable an assertion? The probability that the Romans knew it! I think, after his complaint of my oracular tone, we might have expected something more definite. He quotes, in support of that lame probability, the verse in the Second Epistle of St. Peter which says: "Even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you, as also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things." These expressions are so vague, that almost all the Epistles of St. Paul have been ransacked to find out what they mean.

As to the authorship of that epistle, I must have touched a sore point; because the learned Canon here becomes uncivil. I did not think I was saying anything new or offensive, in simply stating the fact, that the Second Epistle of St. Peter is unknown to the ancient Churches. The Canon, who complains of my

oracular tone, after quoting this sentence exclaims (p. 184. n.): "This is not true!" And what is his authority for this curt denial? That Origen, in a text which we know only in a Latin translation or extract, says: "Petrus duabus epistolarum personat tubis:" Peter trumpets forth in two epistles. Such a rhetorical phrase, assuming even that it is not mutilated, proves nothing. Thus St. Jerome says: "St. Peter wrote two epistles." What can be clearer, so it would appear, than that St. Jerome knew or believed that the so-called Second Epistle was written by him? But what does he add immediately after these words? "But most (of the Catholic writers and Churches) say that the Second Epistle is not his." The same is the case with Origen. In speaking of two Epistles of St. Peter, Origen, as well as St. Jerome, employs the general, vulgar denomination. Why should they not? The epistle bears Peter's name: let it be called Peter's, whoever wrote it. So Hegesippus says: "We receive (read in our Churches) two Apocalypses, that of John, and that of Peter: only," he adds, "some do not think that of Peter to be genuine." Yet it was called Peter's Apocalypse. When treating the subject of the Canon, Origen, however, most distinctly says that the first, and the first *alone*, was considered canonical, as Dr. Wordsworth might have remembered even from Eusebius. The facts of the case are simply these. There is no author of the first three centuries, who does name it as a canonical book. There is not one who speaks of the canonical "Catholic Epistles," who does not exclude it. Now the exclusion of the Second and Third Epistles of St. John in such passages, does not prove that they were considered spurious: for the term Catholic or Universal Epistles, that is to say, addressed to all Churches, excludes letters to individuals, whether genuine or not. But, applied to the Second Epistle of St. Peter, such an exclusion must designate it as spurious. Even Didymus, a sainted scholar of the fourth century, knows that the epistle had been "falsata," forged or falsified; in which latter sense the word conveys a correct statement of the case. But Clemens of Alexandria, in his Commentary, which was to embrace all the canonical books, both of the Old and New Testament, has it not, although he has that of Jude. The Canon of the prin-

cipal Churchss of Christendom, and in particular of that of Rome, about 175, represented by the Fragmentum Muratorianum, has it not. The Syrian Church never had it in her official authentic translation. Thus I have positive proofs that the Churches of Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome did not reckon it canonical; and to this must be added the absence of evidence that any other Church did so, and the unanimous opinion of the writers of the second and third centuries. But perhaps Dr. Wordsworth has thrown some new light on this point, in his Lectures on the Canon, which he may fairly suppose us to have read. On referring to them, I find in the Seventh Lecture (p. 198.) that, after having uttered the sublime sentence, "The inspiration of the Epistles of St. Paul is attested by Christ himself through St. Peter" (namely, by the verse of the Second Epistle of St. Peter already referred to), he merely cites in a note the passage about St. Peter's trumpeting forth in two Epistles, and another (from the genuine part of the Epistle) in a Latin text contained in Origen's Fourth Homily on Leviticus, and there he leaves the question as if there were nothing else to be said on the subject. Having thus settled the matter to his own satisfaction, he adds in conclusion: "Whatever may be alleged concerning the canonical authority of the Epistle, it was doubtless written by St. Peter." Without being supercilious, a thinking reader might wish to know something about the canonical authority of this epistle; i. e. whether the ancient Church, which knew of its existence at an early period, did believe it to be written by St. Peter. Now, for such an inquisitive reader, there is another note saying, "See this question considered below, p. 285." On turning to that page we read, "The proof of the genuineness of the Second Epistle of St. Peter has been given on a former occasion." Thus Dr. Wordsworth evidently considers the repetition of an assertion of his sufficient proof of its truth; and this act leaves so profound an impression upon his mind that, on the strength of it, he meets the opposite opinion with the more short than modest declaration: "This is not true:" and he concludes his declamation with the following words (p. 184.): "Since the author of that epistle claims to be St. Peter himself, and since the Church

receives the epistle as his, M. Bunsen, in so doing, has ventured on an act of irreverence and injustice. He has suborned St. Hippolytus as an accuser of the Christian Church, and charges her through him with reading as canonical Scripture a work composed by an impostor." Now really I doubt whether this be the way to maintain the old system of mediæval interpretation of the Bible: it would be better simply to say (as the Pope does), "Our ritual books have this epistle as St. Peter's, and therefore it must and shall be St. Peter's, and there is an end of it."

The yoke of authority is unnecessarily aggravated by such reasoning as that which the learned Canon brings forward. Where excommunication and the stake are inadmissible, the cause to be served by such divinity is better upheld by entering into no discussion, but declaring oneself, or "the Catholic Church," infallible.

I am afraid the fixed idea that he is somehow backed by such an authority as not only makes law but also fixes truth, has betrayed my Reverend opponent into expressions and assertions which he will hereafter regret, and against which at all events he must allow me to enter a protest. I must, besides, do so in my own defence. For the Canon asks me (p. 183.), with the confidence of having convicted me of ignorance, whether I have read Bentley's letter on the subject of the three witnesses, 1 John v. 7, 8. (Correspondence, ii. *52.*). Now, I can tell him that I had read more than that as to Bentley's criticism on the text of the New Testament, perhaps before the Canon left College; and I have rendered account of it in my dedication of the Ignatian Letters to Lachmann, who executed Bentley's idea of the restoration of the old traditional text. I might, in turn, ask him whether he ever read Porson's elaborate treatise on the subject. But, if he were not himself the editor of Bentley's Correspondence, I would ask him whether he ever read Bentley's letter itself? He certainly cannot have understood it; or he must have strangely misinterpreted my allusion: how otherwise could he have quoted Bentley against me? What does this great critic say to his correspondent, who trembled for the verse on the three witnesses?

"You see that, in my proposed work, the fate of that verse will be a mere *question of fact* . . . . if the fourth century knew that text, let it come in, in God's name." Well, but the fourth century knew it as little as the second and third, for the simple reason that it was not then written, but only "foisted in" at a considerably later period; and nobody knew this better than Bentley, as Dr. Wordsworth might have seen (as I have done, to my great satisfaction), under Bentley's own hand, in his manuscript relics in Trinity College. Of course, Bentley is quite right in adding that this changes nothing in our belief in the Trinity. Indeed, how should it? The verse had not made its appearance when the councils shaped those creeds, and prepared those formularies, in the letter of which Dr. Wordsworth not only believes, but wants us all to believe, unless we choose to be heretics or arrogant critics. To Bentley's words, therefore, I sincerely assent. But "foisted in" the verse must have been by one who thought it useful to have a direct mention in Scripture of the "three persons," and, not finding it, inserted one himself in a rather awkward and audacious manner. Or does Dr. Wordsworth think that verse dropped from heaven, as Abubeker knew the Koran did? No ancient Greek manuscript has it; no ancient version either: and no Father knows it. St. Jerome's version has it not, although the legitimate authority of the Western Church has put it in; nor does his Commentary acknowledge it, any more than that of Clement of Alexandria. It was the simple instinct of truth and honesty which made both Luther and Cranmer reject it, Luther with an anathema for him who would ever venture to insert that "putid" verse again. I am sorry that it crept into our authorized versions early in the seventeenth century, in Germany, however, with brackets, but I cannot on that account falsify the facts. I have here passed entirely over all internal evidence, because I wish to remain strictly on historical ground. Besides I remember to have read, in more than one English theological work, that the internal evidence is so much in favour of that verse that the passage has no sense without it!

So much as a specimen of the Canon's attacks upon my method of humbly consulting in philological and historical

matters the Bible itself, rather than tradition, which he is so anxious to uphold, and which he handles as uncritically as if it were the Bible itself. I do not think this specimen proves much for the merits and success of his method: but, to return to my historical thesis, I am sure this was not the method of the ancient Church. Who then better respects that ancient Church, the Canon or I?

I now proceed to criticisms referring to the second and third of my questions, and directed against my answer to them. These questions are, whether, in the opinion of the ante-Nicene fathers, the Church is the whole body of believers, or whether the clergy alone constitutes the Church; and whether the doctrinal system of the ante-Constantinian Church was that of the councils of the Byzantine Church? For, in the criticism of Dr. Wordsworth which I shall have to answer, these two questions are often blended together.

Both questions may, indeed, be reduced to the one: whether the ancient hurch was rational or irrational? Now, that primitive Christianity was rational in the highest sense of the word, and that Christianity is indeed the only rational, and therefore the true, religion, and the religion of mankind, is what I have always maintained in my "Hippolytus" and elsewhere. For Christ is taken by all believers to be the divine image and incarnation of the Eternal Word, which is identical with Reason; and man is equally believed by all Christians to be made after God's image, which implies identity of reason, with the difference of the finite and the infinite. This, and nothing less, is the assumption of my book, and, as I believe I have shown, was, on the whole, the belief of the primitive Church, in opposition to later irrationalism and superstition as well as to scepticism and infidelity. That the Fathers intended to base their theology upon this Scriptural rationality, I believe I have proved historically. It will appear very singular, in a future age, that there were in the nineteenth century so many people calling themselves Scriptural Christians, and even learned teachers, who prided themselves on the irrationality of their system. The explanation is to be found, however, easily enough without entering into the dark

region of personal motives. Leaving out the power of words, and the charm of inveterate prejudices created by habit, we have only to consider what degraded views are prevalent in our time respecting reason, and how prone the human mind is to feel more religious reverence for that with which it connects no idea whatever, than for that which can be brought into a logical and moral connection with itself. Besides, in our own days, false reason, which makes self the centre, has been so perversely appealed to and so mischievously misused by men deifying their passions and considering all moral restraints as unworthy fetters, that poor humanity was scarcely ever in greater danger of mistrusting that divine light in reason and conscience, to which in the end all appeal, even the Popes and the Jesuits. I deeply lament, but I do not wonder, that men of serious thought and much learning in our days should repeat that hollow and unchristian saying, that the reason of fallen man is and remains blind to spiritual truth, although it is made responsible for moral actions, and although it finds out God's secret laws in the movements of the celestial bodies. Reason and conscience are one and the same. Scripture says that the natural (the selfish) man knows nothing about divine things: but selfishness, which makes the individual and his will the centre, instead of God and the divine will, is an ethical defect, condemned by reason no less than by conscience. Those men forget that the Holy Spirit promised to every believer, and who is to lead him into all truth, "searcheth all things (in the believers), yea, the deep things (the depths) of God." It was in this faith, living in Christian souls, but which appears to have become so scarce among those who now teach Christianity, that the most pious men of the Apostolical age, in the widest sense of the word, endeavoured to understand Christian truth. I believe I have proved historically that this Apostolical Christianity, which, right or wrong, was rational, had no pretension to set up as doctrinal tests the speculative opinions of schools, and make them take the place of Scripture on the one side, and of the conscience of mankind on the other. Least of all can they be quoted for such ecclesiastical tests as prove to be neither founded in Scripture nor admissible on philosophical

principles, and, at the best, are very imperfect representations of some element of Christian truth.

This argumentation has surprised several and proved highly distasteful to some of my critics; but none of them, not even Dr. Wordsworth, has attempted to controvert the great fact upon which it is based. The primitive Church is indeed a stumbling-block, both for those who have made their religion a Council or Article-Religion, and for those who hold cheap all Church history, as useless by the side of the Bible.

If Dr. Wordsworth holds this to be heresy, and begins to debate with me, he must give facts and arguments to prove authority, not authority to support authority. But, I am afraid, he is still less aware of this necessity on theological than on philological grounds. For, when expounding his theory about the authoritative interpretation of Scripture, he says (p. 192.):

"How, then, was it to be determined what the true doctrine of Scripture is? By the aid of sound reason, disciplined and informed by learning, and exercised with caution, industry, and humility, and enlightened by divine grace, given to earnest prayer, and controlled and regulated by the judgment and guidance of the Church universal, to whom Christ has promised his presence, and the light of the Holy Spirit, to guide her into all truth."

I suppose this is very fine; but, looking (as I must) for argument, I can see nothing in these words which is like it. What here is taken for granted, is nothing less than that the decisions of packed Councils of Bishops (excluding those who differed from them in opinion as inadmissible heretics) are to be considered not only as the absolute law, but also as exclusive exponents of the faith of Christ, not merely for the loyal subjects of the court of Byzantium at that date, but also for us, in spite of our Reformation and our free and universal use of the Bible. According to this assumption, any good Christian may study and think, and pray most earnestly; but, as to the true doctrine of Scripture, such a council or semblance of a self-constituted majority can alone determine it; and Dr. Wordsworth knows it has done so; and they who resist it stand on the feeble ground

of private judgment and individual opinion. What follows in the book proves that I do not misrepresent Dr. Wordsworth.

"Whatever, therefore, has been received by the Church universal, as the true exposition of Scripture, that is the true sense of Scripture. And the true sense of Scripture, that, and that alone, is Scripture." Was there ever so *naïve* a begging of the question? The Councils (or a pseudonymous theologian of the school of the majority, as in the case of the so-called Athanasian Symbol) have made certain creeds; and the Church of Rome has given them to us (unfortunately the most ancient of them, that of Nicæa, with an interpolation); and we have in them (as Dr. Wordsworth asserts) the true sense of Scripture.

The argument therefore runs thus. We ask in the name of truth, with deep earnestness and for our own conscience' sake:

What is the authority for the truth of the Creeds?

Answer: Scripture.

And what is the authority for this being Scripture?

Answer: The Church.

And where is the authoritative decision of the Church to be found?

Answer: In the Councils who made, and in the episcopal articles which adopted them.

And what more is Scripture?

Answer: Nothing at all.

Can any one, using the ordinary means of reasoning, deny that this is identical with saying, Scripture in itself is nothing: Councils make it Scripture: Scripture so stamped, so interpreted, is authoritative Scripture: the rest is of no authority?

But see how the Canon exults in his great paralogism, and how triumphantly he turns round in his vicious circle. He continues: — "And since the Creeds have been so received, we believe them to contain the true faith as propounded in Scripture."

As far as this is Dr. Wordsworth's personal confession of faith, I have nothing to say to it; but where is the argument against us, who really acknowledge the supreme authority of the Bible, and find that the ancient Fathers did exactly the same? There is a historical point at issue. Let us then see

how the Canon meets the argument, or rather the facts brought forward in my Hippolytus on this point.

"Suppose," he adds, "St. Hippolytus and other ancient writers had exaggerated a truth, or spoken unguardedly; what is all this to us? what is it to the question before us? They received the Holy Scriptures. They received them as the rule of faith. They received therefore all that is in the Scriptures." (So far so good. But he proceeds:) "They received all that the Church universal, the Body and Spouse of Christ, to whom He has committed the Scriptures, and whom He has commissioned to guard and interpret them, could show to be in those Scriptures. They received therefore by implication and by anticipation, the three Creeds, promulgated lawfully and generally received by the Church."

This is truly distressing. I am afraid I must call it frivolous, if I am not to call it puerile. The question is not an antiquarian one, but touches the inmost truth of Christianity, and the vital question of our age. It signifies little what he or I may think about Portus and Ostia; or about an iota more or less in the text. But it signifies much whether the world shall maintain or regain its confidence in religious truth, in honest historical truth, and that truth the truth of Christ. Nor is this a point involved in theological subtleties. The Athanasian Creed may or may not be full of philosophical absurdities; that is not here the question at issue between us. I say it is not conformable with Scripture; and if he does not trust his reason and conscience enough to trust Scripture, I further maintain that the ancient Fathers had a faith irreconcilable with those formularies. He denies that; but he must not be so angry with me for discussing points, which he says have long been settled by legitimate authority, as to forget that reasoning commits even a Canon to bringing arguments. He evidently ought to make good his authority by history, and especially by Scripture, which is God's own history. But what does he do? He props hierarchy upon hierarchy, authority upon authority. This is against all statics, moral as well as physical.

My readers have seen how unsuccessful Dr. Wordsworth has been in his polemics against my critical assertions, respecting

some books or passages of Scripture. Perhaps he felt this himself; for he shifts even the philological questions to the theological ground. In answer to my assertion that the sacred text has been disfigured by interpolations, and obscured by untenable interpretations into the bargain, he contents himself with saying that I "have brought heavy charges against the text of Holy Writ."

It is an old trick to say that whoever attacks the privileged, authorised, or vulgar reading or interpretation, attacks Scripture. My learned antagonist adds to this disreputable trick a new charm, by asserting that I have done so "in vague and dark generalities, to overcome the ignorant, and alarm the credulous." In order to counteract what he thinks so dangerous an attempt, and to protect the youth of England against such dangerous assertions, he does not scruple to put me, for such criticism, on the same line with the infidels and freethinkers of the last century. For, in his note to this passage, he says—

"M. Bunsen's general insinuation of 'supposititious verses' and 'dishonest readings,' and consequently of uncertainty in the sacred text, is a repetition of the charge made by Antony Collins in another form against the integrity of the text of the Gospels, as altered, 'Tamquam ab Idiotis Evangelistis composita,' which was so triumphantly refuted by Bentley." (p. 183.)

There is not the slightest vagueness in my allegations. I have repeatedly declared, that I refer simply to Lachmann's text, as faithfully representing that which the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries read.

But I am loth to continue a controversy with a person who has yet to learn that a historical discussion, carried on in the face of a public wishing for truth, requires, on a theological subject as well as on any other, historical evidence to establish the facts, and philosophical arguments to apply them to thought and to systematic doctrine. I will conclude, therefore, with a specimen of the want of each, in order to show the utter recklessness of Dr. Wordsworth's historical and philosophical criticism.

He is very reluctant to allow that Callistus, the swindler and convict, is Bishop Callistus. Some of his friends (one in an

obscurantistic review, and another in an unfinished Romanist article in the Morning Chronicle) had taken a bolder course than my moderate and learned Dublin reviewer, and had thought what ought not to be, cannot have been, and must have been invented. Here, then, was a terrible dilemma for them; for if Hippolytus has not told the truth, that saint is a wilful wicked slanderer: for, as a member of the episcopal government of Rome, he must needs have known it. Some, therefore, thought that the whole ninth book was not genuine; and Dr. Wordsworth seems to have some sympathy with this supposition. However, on the whole, he bravely sets down Callistus as a swindler; but he thinks he was not really a bishop. Hippolytus, according to Dr. Wordsworth, belonged to that severe school, which held that a heretical bishop ceases to be a bishop, and thus loses the privilege of knowing and making truth. I had thought that Hippolytus, although acknowledging Callistus as legitimate Bishop of Rome, exposed his previous life, because he knew him to be a self-seeking, wicked, lying man. But Dr. Wordsworth thinks he would not have done so, had he really regarded Callistus as the legitimate bishop. I hope we are not to suppose that it would be right to call a swindler an honest man, and a convict a person of unblemished character, if he was a legitimate bishop: that is to say, one who had not said or written anything heterodox.

At all events I protest against Hippolytus having said or thought so immoral a thing. What proof does the Canon bring forward that he did? Here is his argument. Hippolytus says of Zephyrinus, that "he was an ignorant man and greedy of gain, who thought he administered the Church." "Look," says Dr. Wordsworth, "Hippolytus does not call him a bishop, nor does he call Callistus so; but says, that he only imagined himself to be a bishop; for Hippolytus was convinced that Callistus held a very wrong theory concerning the Trinity." Now, I cannot help declaring that this is the worst kind of morbid sentimentality. It is a perversion of historical truth. Hippolytus felt as an honest man; he despised Zephyrinus, and thought him incapable of governing his Church, because he was "ignorant and greedy of gain." An ignorant and selfish man could

not (he thought) in reality conduct an episcopal government. He was a bad bishop, though canonically he was a good bishop. As for Callistus, Hippolytus begins his biography by saying, p. 284. 77.—"He was versed in wickedness, and adroit in seduction." After adverting to his erroneous theological systems, it is expressly for his corrupting immorality that he condemns him. (299. 60—71.) And the Introduction to the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, justly ascribed in its substance to Hippolytus, sets down this very doctrine, both for a bishop and a king. "They lose," he says, "by ignorance or wickedness, the grace given to them by God, as well as Balaam lost that of a prophet, and Caiaphas that of a high priest." My first edition gave the reader this extract in English: this time he may read the saint's remarkable profession of political and ecclesiastical faith, also in Greek. (Anal. iii. 374.) So much for Dr. Wordsworth's historical criticism on theological grounds.

As to Dr. Wordsworth's doctrinal theology, I will select a point which touches one of the Shibboleths of that mediæval school of theologians, who are always talking of the ancient Apostolic and Catholic Church, and have not even learned to understand the elements of historical criticism.

When Hippolytus has completed his toilsome task of threading the labyrinth of heresies, he opens his tenth book by saying that he "will crown his work by a demonstration of the truth." And then, after a short review of the various heresies he had refuted, and a reference to what he had explained in other works respecting the higher antiquity of Jewish wisdom, he makes that solemn declaration concerning Christian truth which I have presumed to call his Confession of Faith. In fact, Hippolytus himself prefaces it by solemnly appealing to his own earnest endeavour, and that of other friends of God, to know the truth, and to practise it in godliness (p. 333. 55—59.); and he follows it up by a fervent exhortation to all nations of the world to learn the saving truths of God in Christ.

To call this, however, Hippolytus's Confession of Faith, is, it seems, the mistake of a layman. Dr. Wordsworth is indignant at the idea of Hippolytus's having "manifested the saving mysteries of Christian doctrine to idolaters, to the non-initiated." It

was for the initiated that the Teacher of the nations reserved such mysteries; compare it only (he says) with his Epiphany Sermon, and see how differently he speaks when addressing those who were to be initiated by baptism. "There he quotes Scripture twenty times, here not once."*

But really, if this is not the Confession of Faith of Hippolytus, it seems to me worse than an empty declamation; it is a piece of deceit. For he himself calls it "a demonstration of the truth:" its tone is most solemn from beginning to end, and elevated beyond any thing we have from his pen. It certainly is not addressed to boys and girls on the eve of their baptism. It is adressed to nobody less than the whole civilized world, to all men yearning for truth, as far as they are able to read Greek. It is addressed to the cultivated portion of the human race. It is so addressed at the end of a theological and philosophical discussion of all points of Christian doctrine, worship, rites, and discipline, which evidently was the great work of his life. Finally the subjects treated in the Address are the most sublime Christian truths: God, the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; the Soul, its free moral agency, and its immortality. It comprises all the points included in what was expressly called Christian theology and doctrine by the ancient Church. But enough! I refer my readers to those solemn words themselves, that they may judge whether I am wrong in calling it Hippolytus's Confession of Faith.

Instead of arguing any longer against a system which mistakes antiquarian quibbles for historical investigation, purely verbal criticism for historical philology, and the assertion of authority for theological argument, I will conclude with Dr. Wordsworth's own words. I have given his note of triumph respecting the three

* By the by, the Canon blames me for having called that sermon, a baptismal sermon. I had done so because it treats of Christ's baptism and of the baptism of Christians: but I did so incorrectly, says the learned Canon. My misnomer is in his eyes a very natural mistake for a German Protestant layman, who, not understanding the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration (that is to say, the Pope's and Dr. Wordsworth's), as he tells me in his notes to the ninth book (p. 300. n.), cannot even understand the Greek of another passage.

Creeds, promulgated lawfully and generally received by the Church: that is to say, first, the interpolated baptismal formulary of the ancient Roman Church, called the Apostles' Creed, exactly as Canons and Constitutions are called Apostolical; secondly, the Nicene interpolated and mixed with the Constantinopolitan Creed; and thirdly, the Athanasian Creed, a pseudonymous composition forged by an African impostor of the fifth century, and never promulgated by any œcumenic council. Now after this exclamation, and after having congratulated his Church for having the Scriptures and Catholic teaching, the learned author thus concludes his dissertation (p. 194.):—

"We have the Creeds. We do not see any *new sun*, or any single *new ray* of the sun in them. But by their means we see the orb of divine light shining more brightly. By means of the Creed, the Church universal—acting under the governance of her Divine Head, and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit—has rendered a greater service to the whole world than that which, in that celebrated speech, the noblest orator of antiquity said had been effected by one of his decrees for his own state. The Church, by means of the Creeds, has made the dangers of heresy, which from time to time have hung over her, to pass away—like a cloud!"

I now turn to my readers, and ask them whether they think a system can be true which must be defended by such assertions and propped by such declamations? which makes one of the most learned, acute, and ingenious men of his party bring forward such flimsy, not to say, frivolous and absurd things, on so serious and profound a subject, and that aggressively and on ground chosen by himself?

I think this reflection must lead the distinguished author, and all those among his party who allow themselves to look at the foundations of their system, and to inquire after the truth of their assumptions, to a most serious consideration. Will they permit me to make an appeal to their own conscience, not in any

spirit of controversy, least of all a theological one, but in the conviction that there is truth in what I have to say to them?

I begin with saying that I am most ready to give many noble minds among that party full credit for the sincerity of their wish to secure the foundations of their national Church by placing them beyond the reach of subjective arbitrary opinion. But I think they are not aware that their system places them beyond the reach both of reason and of conscience by placing them out of the pale of honest historical belief and conscientious philosophical assent. In order to maintain the authority of the Church by that system, they have sapped its only two foundations: the paramount authority of its Code, Scripture; and the infallibility of its Judge, the common conscience of mankind, manifested by the free assent of thinking, conscientious, virtuous men. They have forgotten that nothing creates so much infidelity as the attempt to make people believe what is unreasonable, and that nothing breeds so much dissent as the assumption of an external authority incompatible with the very principle both of Scripture and of the Church of England.

The ancient creeds from beginning to end, like all human formularies respecting eternal truth, are only defensible if assent to them is demanded, with the saying clause—"as far as they agree with Scripture;" which is equivalent to saying, "as far as they agree with reason and conscience." If they do agree, that clause is not nugatory, and can be adopted *bonâ fide*; if it is felt to be nugatory, those formularies are condemned by divine law. Unfortunately they have always been urged upon mankind in an inverse ratio to the belief attached to them by the great mass of sincere and enlightened Christians. The consequence has been that these truths have become falsehoods, and that they have produced and are producing, first, discord instead of concord, blood instead of peace, and finally, infidelity instead of faith. I ought not to say finally: no, in our days they have produced in the higher classes—as in France—hypocrisy and fanaticism out of a philosophical unbelief in historical Christianity. And do not we, who take our stand upon those Protestant principles, endanger the faith of mankind in this critical age of old Europe?

I know very well that it is the fear of this which keeps many an honest and noble mind in bondage. But fear is not of faith, but of unbelief. Certainly, if Christianity is not divinely true—if it is only a godly legend—it is much better not to reason upon it, and not to discuss either its historical or its philosophical basis, *but submit to the necessity of an infallible Church for the people.* An ingenious French philosopher has recently found for himself the formulary for this wretched compromise between Christianity and Reason: "when I enter into the sanctuary I bow down and worship." Does he indeed worship? and what? Will any one of those noble minds whom I now address take this stand, and confess that he clings to priestly authority (and, therefore, consistently to the Pope) because he doubts of there being any objective truth? Will he think it is enough to put clerical commission against clerical commission, the authority of bishops against the authority of the Pope? Will he not see that, on the contrary, he is lost as soon as he does so?

My own conviction is, that, if a people of professing Christians believed only the fundamental, eternal truth, manifested throughout by Scripture, if they believed in the Bible as being the true mirror of universal history (Weltspiegel) as Goethe calls it, that is to say, as being a mirror of the eternal laws of the moral government of the world, centring in Christ and in the rule of truth and justice on this our earth which he announced, not only they, but the whole world by their influence, would be saved. And I add, that if they seriously tried to build upon that faith (as they must, if that faith be sincere) a Christian life in themselves, and, so far as they can, around themselves, in those relations in which God has placed them; they would no more allow themselves to be separated by what are now called the controverted points in the sacerdotal sense, than astronomers quarrel about the meaning of the blue or green colour of certain remote fixed stars, or about the best reduction of the imaginary curves of the Ptolemaic theory to the real orbits of the solar system.

The great fact is, that less faith is not demanded in this critical moment, but more; faith in the very essence and reality

of religion, and in the moral government of the world. This faith is the foundation of the assent to any theological formula, past, present, and future; and without that faith, and that act of faith, without that solemn pledge of the aspiring soul, there is no reality in any such formula, no power in any authority, no truth in any system. And the nations throughout the world long after such a delivery from fraud and imagination, and are yearning after sincere and real Christianity.

It was an instinct of life, not of death, it was an act of faith, not of infidelity, which produced the great movement of the critical and philosophical schools of Germany in the second half of the last century; and it is the same instinct that still keeps it up. The hopes of the human race do not depend upon its being carried out systematically, but upon its being applied, realised, and by such realisation enabled to become complete and perfect.

No wise man will undertake a colossal building without having laid solid foundations, nor begin it until he has found the ground upon which it stands as firm as the rock itself. But neither will he lay such foundations without intending to erect that building. If he does, he loses nothing less than the life given him for that purpose.

That system is therefore essentially and necessarily reconstructive, disposed and enabled to use the materials of former buildings as far as they are sound. It is not a question of curiosity or antiquarianism; it is one of necessity; it touches the existence of our age, of our civilisation, of our liberties, and, as soon as the question about truth or falsehood is once mooted, of our conscience, and therefore of our eternal salvation.

If therefore some of our opponents say that we attack or reject Scripture, and that we do not believe in what they call the inspiration of Scripture, we reply that we endeavour to rescue the divine authority of the Bible from the unworthy fetters in which their system has bound it, and inspiration from the materialistic and degrading views, both impious and impotent, which that system has engendered. We certainly do think it better and more respectful to inquire of Scripture itself than of synagogues or councils, and to take as guides of our faith, the reason

and conscience of mankind, rather than ancient articles and rubrics, whether they be made by clergymen or by princes. A most dangerous attempt, we repeat it, this would be, if Scripture were not true; a criminal folly, if Christianity were a delusion. But we believe that Scripture and Christianity are true; and we have a witness within us, speaking through our conscience and reason, and telling us that they are divinely and therefore imperishably true. We speak out of that faith in Scripture and Christianity, not judging our opponents, but rather fearing that the strongest prop of the adverse position is based upon scepticism and an unbelief, if not in religion altogether, at least in historical Christianity.

This is the question at issue; and it is desirable that it should be answered by argument, before it is decided by events, perhaps amidst the ruins of Europe. Jerusalem fell, not Babylon alone, when it imagined itself most firm and safe. It is indeed unworthy of the principles we profess as Christians, and of the critical age of the world in which we live, to recur to the hackneyed trick, that he who attacks the ordinances of man in religion, attacks the Word of God. To confound the two is the primitive heresy of Judaism and the most noxious part of Popery. Those who wish to reform the old system, do not raise their voice as enemies of religion; and it is not fair and right that we should appear before the public apologetically, and as if we had to defend and exculpate ourselves for our writings and opinions. We stand up with a conscientious conviction and some knowledge of the subject, as those who conscientiously perform a sacred public duty which is grievously neglected. We do not think the letter of the old system simply absurd and untrue, but mischievous and pernicious; and we foresee that its baneful consequences will ere long become manifest by decisive events and catastrophes. We do not appeal either to the power of the State, or to the passions of deluded multitudes. We shall not defend Christianity by the special pleading of the advocates of a lost cause. We claim no authority; but neither do we acknowledge any, save only that divine one upon earth—God's own Reason manifested in man, and the Spirit of God speaking harmoniously in the universal conscience of mankind and in its

records, of which Scripture is the first and the holiest. Detesting and deploring the mania of destruction which the hollowness and the oppression and fraud of the old system have called forth, we are anxious to preserve what stands, and to reconstruct what has fallen under its own weight. We set to work in order to try whether we can aid in restoring the tottering building of the Church, before despair and violence, God's avenging angels upon earth, shall do the work of destruction. For we know from the manifest signs of the times, considered in the unfailing light of the Gospel, that the hour of destruction is approaching, and that when it comes, such convulsions will ensue, that the confusion of tongues after the fall of the Tower of Babel may be called only their foreshadowing. For the signs of the "last times" of the present order of things multiply around us whilst we are writing, both in old Europe and in the young trans-Atlantic Republic, the mother of Mormonism.

But leaving the events to come in the hands of Him who "holds the watch in midnight's hour," we hope, humbly and firmly, to go on, not weakening but strengthening the paramount authority of Scripture, by which all Protestant Churches stand or fall, because no Christian Church is possible without it. We are no less anxious to restore the realisation of Scripture, which is the Christian Church all over the earth; for we find the faith in that Church extinct in the minds of the immense majority of the nations who outwardly profess it. The Roman Catholic churches are undermined and destroyed by atheism and scepticism, and the Protestant Churches are either paralysed by Jewish formalism, or dissolved by heathenish self-worship, and by isolation: these symptoms cannot disappear, unless the causes in which they have originated are removed — oppression and conventionalism.

We are sure of being victorious in the present European world, or in the next. We have full confidence that what we have to say is fit to strengthen faith; and we feel called upon to do so in faith. For it is our first principle to believe (what few understand and fewer believe) in the literal truth of that inspired and inspiring saying of the beloved Apostle (1 John, v. 6. 8, 9.) which the clerical party have so miserably corrupted by their infallible bad tact, if not by their instinctive wish to render

obscure and unintelligible what is transparent and intellectual. "This Jesus, is He that came by water and blood, Jesus the Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood; and it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. For there are three that bear witness, the Spirit and the water and the blood: and these three agree in one." These words, however interpreted in detail, say exactly what we believe — that the historical evidence and the internal evidence agree and unite in one, but that the internal evidence is the greater of the two. The evidence of the conscience is higher and more powerful than the historical evidence, although this is an evidence centring in the manifestation of God in Christ's life from his baptism to his death. The evidence through the Spirit is God's own evidence, that by which he is continually testifying of his Son in the hearts of believers. "If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God (the indirect or historical, and the direct, by the Spirit) is greater: for this is the witness of God, (namely) that he hath testified (the fact that he has given evidence in both ways) of his Son. He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself (that of the Spirit, presupposing the historical): he that believeth not God, hath made him a liar, because he believeth not the witness that God gave of his Son." No sound faith without belief, no saving belief without faith, which is essentially a vow and pledge, a spring of divine life, bursting out into unselfish actions, the only truly good works.

For this truth Christ died: but the believing human race is destined to live for it, to realise it in this world of ours; — and our age must do so or perish.

We are neither iconoclasts nor enthusiasts, although we break the idols, and believe in the Spirit. We think those who dream of a Christianity without a *bonâ fide* historical foundation, are, at best, amiable sentimentalists and poor scholars. We demand a large basis for the Christian community and for ourselves. We are for Union, and neither for new Sectarianism nor for the revival of the theological systems of the seventeenth century. We may live in peace with any of them, if "the saving clause" be preserved. But when we find the Sanctuary invaded, as Christ did almost two thousand years ago, we are called upon

to take up the scourge in his name, little caring whether we strike Sadducees and their mammon, or Pharisees and their forms. We desire to scour the porch of the Sanctuary, and to raise the divine image upon the altar, surrounding it with the eternal ideals of humanity, which are enshrined in the heart and conscience of mankind. But we know that this is impossible, unless that divine image be so far cleared of the false restorations of the Judaizers, and the fantastic arabesques of the Heathenizers, that every body may see they do not belong to it, and ought not to be worshipped.

This is not my own personal conviction alone, but that of thousands of serious men in all nations and countries. Those who wish to know what is the first and last word of this faith, may find something in my Sketches of the Philosophy of Religion, which will appear at the same time with these volumes.

As to modern German criticism, I have, wherever it appeared necessary, pointed out the position I take up myself, with regard to Reuss, Hilgenfeld, and Ritschl, three men whose last books I consider as the best expónents of the reformed Tubingen school. I have found no occasion to refer to Ebrard, Baumgarten, and Lange's works on the earliest history of the Church. These younger representatives of the other extreme school have thrown aside all rules of philological and historical criticism in favour of an unsound mysticism, and Hengstenberg himself has gone to the utmost extreme of mystical misinterpretation in his commentary on the Song of Solomon, while by his persecuting exclusivism he is trying to establish what I must consider to be anti-Protestant principles. As to the three distinguished and aspiring critics I have mentioned, it would be unfair to confound their researches with the anti-historical, imaginary, and destructive criticism of Baur, Strauss, Schwegler, and Zeller. The noble representatives of that critical school to which Niebuhr and Lachmann, Schleiermacher and Neander belonged, Lücke and Ewald, Bleek and Dorner, Umbreit and Ullman, Hundeshagen and Hagenbach, and others, they are too well known to require any special mention here.

Carlton Terrace, October 8. 1853.

POSTSCRIPT TO PREFACE

IN

APRIL, 1854.

DURING the six months elapsed since the preceding Preface was concluded, this book and the collateral philological works, or the three volumes of the Analecta, have been carried through the press, and the two volumes of the philosophy of language and religion almost entirely absolved, as far as I am concerned in them.

I have, on the whole, kept to the detailed plan given in the preceding sheets; and I am going to render account of the few particular points in which I have gone beyond what I had announced. In the first of these two volumes, I have thought it my duty to take notice of some recent German criticisms respecting Ignatius. I have done this in the form of an appendix to the article of the Martyr of Antioch, and to the translation of his genuine letters. I have further extended my picture of the Shepherd of Hermas to a complete analysis of that work, in order to enable my readers to judge for themselves of the character of a book which exercised so unparalleled an authority in the early Church, and which certainly does not seem to me to have been done justice to, either as fiction or philosophy.

In the second volume of Hippolytus and his Age, I have thought it my duty freely to criticize the two dark points of Protestant society,—the Prussian Law of Divorce, and the Law of Slavery in some of the States of the American Union.

Respecting the first volume of the Analecta I have felt obliged to extend my critical collection so far beyond what I had promised as to render the work of Hippolytus, if not useless, at least not indispensable, for my critical readers.

Unless they have a peculiar philological interest in the Refutation, they will now find united in that volume, and in the Letters to Archdeacon Hare, all that is of historical interest in the text of that book, and besides some interesting fragments of the works of the same author. This has added not inconsiderably to my critical labours; but it has, I hope, made the Analecta much more useful to the public than it would have been without them.

I am every day more confirmed in the conviction that the great object of all who mean well to theological learning must be to render the sources of knowledge more accessible to the students and to all thinking Christians who are able to read these texts. The sources of knowledge are not of a great bulk; but they are obstructed and overwhelmed by later superstructions. While they are far from being as complete as they might be, we are in danger of seeing them become either unintelligible by such uncritical, barbarous editions as most of those published by and for the Gallican clergy, or as inaccessible to students by expensive editions with cumbrous commentaries and endless dissertations, as they were four centuries ago by being buried in oblivion or lying under the dust of the conventual libraries.

The first conditions of such a regeneration of fruitful, because general, philological and historical researches on the patristic field, is however as serious and honest discussion conducted on the generally adopted principles of historical criticism without the admixture of extraneous views. I cannot therefore conclude this preface without bringing before the public the merits, and saying something of the spirit, of the only important work of my numerous antagonists, — I mean that of the learned and acute ultramontane writer the Rev. J. Döllinger, Professor of the University of Munich.* The Refutation of all the heresies (he says) certainly is a genuine work, and if it is absurd to doubt with an English critic the authenticity of the Ninth Book which treats of Callistus, it is equally absurd, as to its author, to attribute the Refutation to Origen, as Le Normant has recently done, and not less to say

* Hippolytus und Kallistus, oder die römische Kirche in der ersten Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts, von J. Döllinger. Regensburg, 1853.

that Caius the Presbyter could have written it, as some German and English critics maintain. It must (he continues) have been written by a member of the Church of Rome, and by a Bishop; for the author himself says he was a Bishop, and this man can be nobody but Hippolytus. There exists only one historical Hippolytus—Saint Hippolytus the Presbyter, who was banished to Sardinia with Pontianus the Bishop of Rome, in the year 235, whose remains were deposited at a very early period in the catacombs on the Tiburtine road. All other Saint Hippolytuses, he proves, are mythical persons, in spite of the old Roman calendars of Saints, in spite of all the Martyrologies, and in spite of the united authority of Baronius, of de Magistris, and of Dr. Wordsworth. Our book, he concludes, completes the proof that this our only Hippolytus had nothing whatever to do with Arabia or with the East in general.

My readers see that Professor Döllinger refutes all my other opponents, and confirms all the essential results of my researches. I most sincerely acknowledge that he does so with real learning and much judgment, and particularly with a thorough knowledge of the ecclesiastical law and the traditions and legends of the Roman Church. But, I repeat, his conclusions as to the authority of the book and as to the connection of Hippolytus with the Church of Rome are identical with mine. Nor do his arguments differ from mine in any essential points.

Now the very contrary of this fact would appear to be the case to all those who read his book without knowing mine. Not only is my name only mentioned when he differs from me, but the whole book is so strangely constructed that a simple reader must receive the impression that the Rev. J. Döllinger has annihilated every proposition contained in "Hippolytus and his Age," of which, by the by, he leaves the last two volumes (this Book of the Church and the Liturgies) quite untouched. As this is the striking and, in fact, most amusing characteristic of Döllinger's composition, I will not deprive my readers of the instructive gratification of having some samples of his work.

The book begins with a pompous announcement that I have entirely failed in making out my case,—that Photius knew the Refutation. He adopts the solution, proposed already in 1851

by Jacobi, and brought to the notice of my readers by the Postscript to my Letters. Now I received Jacobi's Essay only after these letters were printed (and had it not before me when I wrote them, as Döllinger suggests), and I have no hesitation in saying that the solution proposed by him is the most natural. Hippolytus himself declares in the Procemium to the Refutation, that he had treated the subject formerly in exposing the sophisms and the fraud of the Heresiarchs in a less detailed manner. Why should the Treatise, or Syntagma, as Photius calls it, against thirty-two heresies, not be this same work alluded to by Hippolytus? There are difficulties in maintaining that the book read by Photius and our Refutation are identical; but certainly it is neither an absurdity nor sophistry to show that those difficulties are not insurmountable. If the answers proposed by me are not conclusive for proving the identity, they certainly are so for demonstrating the two points really at issue. First, that the thirty-two heresies, from the Dositheans to Noëtus and the Noëtians, cannot be referred to any other ancient author on the Heresies, and that the points of coincidence between that treatise and the Refutation are undeniable, and prove not only the author to be the same, but also the two books essentially identical, only that the first was less detailed, and probably had no Philosophumena prefixed to the Theologumena or the analysis of the heresies themselves.

Nobody adopts this view more fully than Professor Döllinger: nobody holds cheaper than he the various attempts made by some English critics to father the very inconvenient Refutation upon Caius, or Origen, or Tertullian, or the ignorant author of the Appendix to Tertullian's "Prescriptions against the Heretics." But, for reasons best known to himself, he takes care not to mention this point to his readers. I have answered in the Notes to the reprint of my Letters the single objections and attacks he brings forward on this occasion. But, supposing he was right in all, what argument is there against my assertion of the authorship of Hippolytus?

Certainly, one great discovery Professor Döllinger has made, and that a very startling one.

Undoubtedly, he says, the only one historical Hippolytus,

was a Bishop. But how could Bunsen maintain he was a Bishop of Portus? Hippolytus was Bishop of Rome, the antipope of Callistus himself. There is no doubt about it; every body says so, and Hippolytus himself firmly believed it. Indeed, he almost says so openly: but Bunsen has not seen it, in his infatuation of making Hippolytus Bishop of Portus.

Here, then, we have Professor Döllinger on his own self-chosen ground. His method and his historical tact will best be judged from this central point of his researches. He could have done his task, which was to annihilate "Hippolytus and His Age" for those who do not read my book (since honoured with a place in the Pope's Index by the side of Macaulay's History), without venturing upon so dangerous ground. Is it a gratuitous enterprise? Is it one of despair, or of over-confidence? Let my readers judge for themselves. Here are his arguments.

First of all, he says, Hippolytus cannot have been Bishop of Portus. "What was Portus?" he asks. "Nothing but the harbour of Rome, a miserable borough of Ostia, of an ancient corporation which had its Bishop. How could then that harbour-place have a Bishop of its own? Indeed," he continues, "I meet with no trace of a Bishop of Portus before 314. In that year certainly we find him at the Council of Arles (Concil. Gall. I. p. 106.); but his name comes after all the Bishops of Cities (civitates), with this humble designation, 'Gregorius Episcopus, de loco qui est in Portu Romæ.' Now, mark," he says, "there was a Council held at Rome in 313, by Melchiades, at which, besides three Gallic bishops, there were fifteen from Italy, most of them from the immediate neighbourhood of Rome (Optatus De Schism. Donat. p. 23.)—and lo! no Bishop of Portus among them. The Bishopric of Portus, therefore, most probably was founded in 313 or 314."

It is scarcely necessary to show up the sophistry of this argumentation. The absence of a Bishop on one occasion may be explained by many other reasons than that assumed here; there is neither the Bishop of Tusculum nor of Tibur mentioned among them. What Döllinger overlooks in his zeal is that the difficulty he finds in admitting an early, primitive, cardinalitian bishopric at Portus becomes an impossibility in the later cen-

turies. There certainly was a Bishop at Portus in the fourth century, and he appears as one of the seven suburban bishops of Rome, by the side of the Bishop of Ostia, and with equal rights as all the others in the eighth century, and continues so up to this day, when Portus is merely a name. But how could such a bishopric have been founded in the fourth century, and received such privileges in times of utter decay, both of Ostia and Portus? —and in an age when a bishopric had for a long time ceased to be identical with a township even of the smallest description? In order to explain the existence of such a bishop of Portus with such rights, we should be obliged to suppose that it was of high antiquity, even if we had no proofs for it.*

But where are the difficulties to admit that Hippolytus was what he is called, Bishop of Portus, and that this bishopric was one primitively connected with Rome?

Roman topography evidently is not the strong side of Professor Döllinger, otherwise he would not have said that Ostia was, and remained, Rome's harbour-town after Trajan had conducted an arm of the Tiber to the place of the present Fiumicino, and founded there the harbour. He admits that this assumption is contrary to the generally received opinion, but he overlooks that it is impossible. According to the testimony of the excavations, and the existing ruins of the Isola Sacra and of Fiumicino, and of the ancient harbour of Portus itself (absurdly called by some "Harbour of Ostia"), that river formed in the age of Hippolytus an almost equilateral triangle, the basis along the shore measuring two miles, and each of the two branches, from the point of bifurcation, the same. These are exactly the measures given by Procopius, who commanded at Rome under Justinian, when Totila besieged it. The left outlet was marked by Ostia, the other by Portus: the field between was not covered with buildings (as Döllinger must assume, if Portus was the suburb of Ostia), but an open place, then famous for its fragrant roses, as now for its buffaloes and

* It may be stated as an additional proof, that in the Canon of the Ambrosian Liturgy Hippolytus is named immediately after Sixtus and Laurentius: and (as Döll. says, p. 38.) that Xystus and Hippolytus occur frequently together on monuments of ancient christian art.

solitude. Moreover, Ostia had ceased to be the harbour, for the simple reason that the left mouth of the Tiber was so much obstructed by the sand, that the mightiest emperors despaired of carrying into effect the bold project of Julius Cæsar of keeping it open. Indeed, Rutilius Rufus, who, under Honorius, describes this coast, so well known to him, says expressly, what is a self-evident consequence of what we have just stated, that the ships coming by the sea could not at all ascend the Tiber by the Ostian branch:

"Lævus inaccessis fluvius vitatur arenis."

Procopius, indeed, says the same; for having called both arms "capable of bearing ships," he takes care to mention "that only on the right branch were there along the Via Portuensis arrangements for towing the vessels up to town by oxen: which implies that the Ostian branch could only bear light boats. At his time, Ostia itself was an open borough, and Portus had a wall.

But whether a "civitas" (or corporate city) or an open borough, Portus was nothing less than the harbour, the only harbour, of the metropolis of the world, and therefore could not be, what Döllinger presumes to make it, a miserable suburb, inhabited by sailors and porters. Undoubtedly we should take it for granted that there were sailors and porters without the authority of some inscriptions which happen to mention them. But the harbour of Rome must have had also large establishments of storehouses and wharfs, and, indeed, the ruins of them have been found, and are in part visible at this day. There must have also resided, besides the many workmen employed in the landing, loading, unloading, transshipping, and transporting, a considerable number of mercantile men of Europe, Asia, and Africa, from all cities and nations connected with the Mediterranean. I had ventured to suggest that this very circumstance seemed to me best to explain the peculiar designation of Hippolytus as "Bishop of the Gentiles," and his addressing both in the Peroration of our great work and in the "Address to the Gentiles" all those nations as his readers or hearers.

Thus much for the assertion that there was not and could not be a bishop of Portus in the age of Hippolytus, called (as I

shall show still further) by all authorities who give the name of his parish (which means diocese) Bishop of Portus.

But (continues our controversialist) Hippolytus certainly could not be Bishop of Portus, for he is called a Roman Presbyter, and, as the Refutation shows, lived at Rome. How could he have united Portus and Rome, Bishopric and Presbytery? Moreover (he goes on to say) what had the Bishop of Portus to do with the administration of the Church of Rome? Here the learned Canonist overshoots his mark: for he cannot and will not deny that there were already at that time, and particularly at Rome, germs of the metropolitan system, which imposed upon the neighbouring bishops the duty to consult their metropolitan on all important occasions, and which, very naturally, gave him, at least on extraordinary occasions, a right to sit in the Council or Presbytery of that metropolitan Church. In this quality, episcopal members of the Roman Presbytery might be called inaccurately, but not falsely, Roman Presbyters.

There is, consequently, no reason whatever why Hippolytus should not have been Bishop of Portus. But now comes the decisive argument: he could not be Bishop of Portus, because he was Bishop of Rome, the anti-pope of Callistus. And this (concludes Döllinger) is the whole story of Callistus and Hippolytus.

Certainly, if true, this is a great discovery, and deserves the greatest attention of the learned world. What a complication, and what an unforeseen solution? An anti-pope more, one opposed to a sainted pope, and he himself a Saint in the West and in the East; and this Saint no less than Saint Hippolytus! And what a novelty! Jerome could or would not make out what Eusebius had left undefined,—namely, where Hippolytus had been Bishop: how inconceivable, if Hippolytus had been Bishop of Rome! And Photius! what a treat it would have been for him! The proposition is, therefore, certainly a startling one. Nobody ever has dreamt of it, and if it can be proved that even Hippolytus was ignorant of it, the knowledge of this fact will ever remain Professor Döllinger's own exclusive invention and property.

Let us see, however, how he proves his assertion. He cannot expect us to take, as a serious proof the circumstance, that some Byzantine writers, from the sixth century downwards, instead of calling him, as others among them do, "Bishop of the Harbour of Rome," designate him as "Bishop of Rome." The most learned among the writers whom he quotes as evidence for this designation—Syncellus—in another passage (which I had not failed to quote) gives him, in the Chronography, his full title; when he comes to speak of him and his writings at his proper place, under Callistus and Alexander Severus, he calls him "Bishop of Portus, near Rome." Döllinger does not say a word about this fact; while he quotes numbers of Byzantine writers of the tenth and eleventh century, and anonymous writers of Catenæ, on a point of Christian and Italian antiquity; and the inaccurate expressions of these men are to prove that the Saint of the beginning of the third century was a Bishop of Rome. It does not strike my opponent that such of these late writers as were chroniclers do not make the slightest mention of Hippolytus in their lists of the Popes.

Feeling the inefficiency of this splendid array of mediæval Byzantine evidence in favour of the Roman episcopacy of Hippolytus, Döllinger enters into a most elaborate and learned accumulation of legendary criticism, which, indeed, if he was not so learned a man and a priest, one might be tempted to call a manœuvre, for what is vulgarly called "raising the dust."

"Hippolytus" (this is the sum and substance of his reasoning), the only true, historical Hippolytus, the Roman, the Bishop, disappears in the sixth century; that is to say, the Professor makes him vanish, because about that time there originated a legend connecting a General Hippolytus with Laurentius, the Roman protomartyr (p. 31.), who is reported in that legend to have lived under Decius (instead of under Valerian), and to have converted that general, in whose custody he was given, and his family, consisting of nineteen persons. The consequence was (says the legend, the summary of which I have given in my Letters, from the Roman Breviary), that General Hippolytus was bound to the feet of wild horses, and thus killed, after his nurse Concordia had suffered martyrdom by

flagellation. It is very true, says our critic, none of the ancient writers who treat of the protomartyr know anything about General Hippolytus and his nurse, and the Acta S. Laurentii are a fiction (p. 32.): but the legends and liturgies of the Roman Church, in particular, go on mentioning Hippolytus and Laurentius together, although the oldest Roman missal itself connects Hippolytus and Pontianus, which is quite in harmony with the historical account. Now, out of all this confusion, so acute a critic ought simply to have drawn the conclusion, that as the remains both of Hippolytus and Laurentius were deposited in the Ager Veranus, on the Tiburtine road, in face of the wall and gate of Rome, and as both were connected with the Church of Rome, the framers of these legends worked a mythical history out of those elements. The Laurentian convert Hippolytus is the child of this fiction; Laurentius, as the true historical Roman martyr, takes the lead in the legend, as his Church does on the cemetery. It is indeed remarkable, that, although younger than Hippolytus, Laurentius is always placed as protomartyr of that Church, by the side of Stephen the protomartyr of Jerusalem. But Portus was not Rome, and Hippolytus was Bishop of Portus.

This, however, to my sincere regret, is not the way in which my opponent argues. "Mark," says he, "there is a golden grain of truth hidden in the legend of Saint Aurea or Chryse. In one of the texts of this legend used by the Bollandists, it is 'Hippolytus, also called Nonnus,' who buries her, and he is called 'Episcopus Portuensis,' (p. 47.). Now the chronographer of the year 354 (the author of the most ancient list of the Bishops of Rome) gives among other accounts of the depositions of remains of martyrs, under the 5th of Sept.: 'Aconti, in Porto, et *Nonni*, et Herculani, et Taurini' (p. 45.). These very names are joined together in another martyrologium (p. 46. 50.). Moreover, in some Greek Acts, Hippolytus is also styled Presbyter (p. 50.). Now Nonnus is not a title, as Bunsen supposes, but a name; Nonnus is Nonus, which is a Roman name, like Decimus: the Greeks took up that name, and so it comes that we read (in some very late writers) that Hippolytus was also called Nonnus."

So we are to believe that it was by such miserable legends the most learned Byzantines were led astray, in spite of the correct statements of the author of the Chronicon Paschale and of Syncellus, who call our Hippolytus Bishop of Portus (p. 73.). The true tradition, according to which he was Bishop of Rome, must, says Döllinger, be very old, because some monophysite writers give him that title. Now, their separation from the Church took place towards the middle of the fifth century; they certainly would not have adopted a tradition from catholic writers: they must, therefore, have had it from a very early authority. Why should they not have learned it from Hippolytus, *who in one of his lost writings may have said it* (p. 95.). Does he not, indeed (asks Döllinger), almost openly say so much in that well-known passage of the tenth book, "Callistus believed he was the Bishop of the Catholic Church?" These words would admit the only possible interpretation, if even they were not preceded by the sentence that Callistus had obtained the aim of his ambition, which, of course, was to be elected Bishop of Rome: a fact which, indeed, cannot be contested.

Is this serious? Hippolytus may have been a candidate for the bishopric, he, at all events, must have lamented that unfortunate choice; but where does he even say a word that he himself was Bishop of Rome? Does not, on the contrary, his whole account prove he was not? The forms of the election of a Bishop of Rome, whether the bishops of the neighbouring country-towns had a right of voting in it or not, were perfectly settled and very solemn. The election might be contested and tempestuous, but the result was unequivocal. No mistake was possible: one candidate or the other was obliged to give it up. One hundred years after Hippolytus, 127 corpses of Christians were found killed by the opposite party near a Basilica; the slaughter went on a whole week: but Ursicinus gave it up, and Damasus became Bishop. To constitute an anti-pope, it was necessary to have two election-meetings, one excommunicating or dispersing the other. But whoever could dream of such a scene under Alexander Severus? Professor Döllinger, however, maintains it; and the only argument of his which cannot be refuted

is, that Hippolytus may have said so in one of his lost works! In leaving him to his farther lucubrations on the most fruitless of all inquiries, the most infelicitous of all conjectures, and the most incredible of all assertions, I will conclude by telling him, that if he asserts towards the close of his book, I had said of the Catholic Church exactly what Runge and Doviat had said, I cannot help thinking he knows very well that what makes my Hippolytus so distasteful to his friends is exactly that I do not say what those two men have said, but bring facts which cannot be so easily ignored, and arguments which cannot be entirely passed over in silence.

BUNSEN.

Carlton Terrace, 8th April, 1854.

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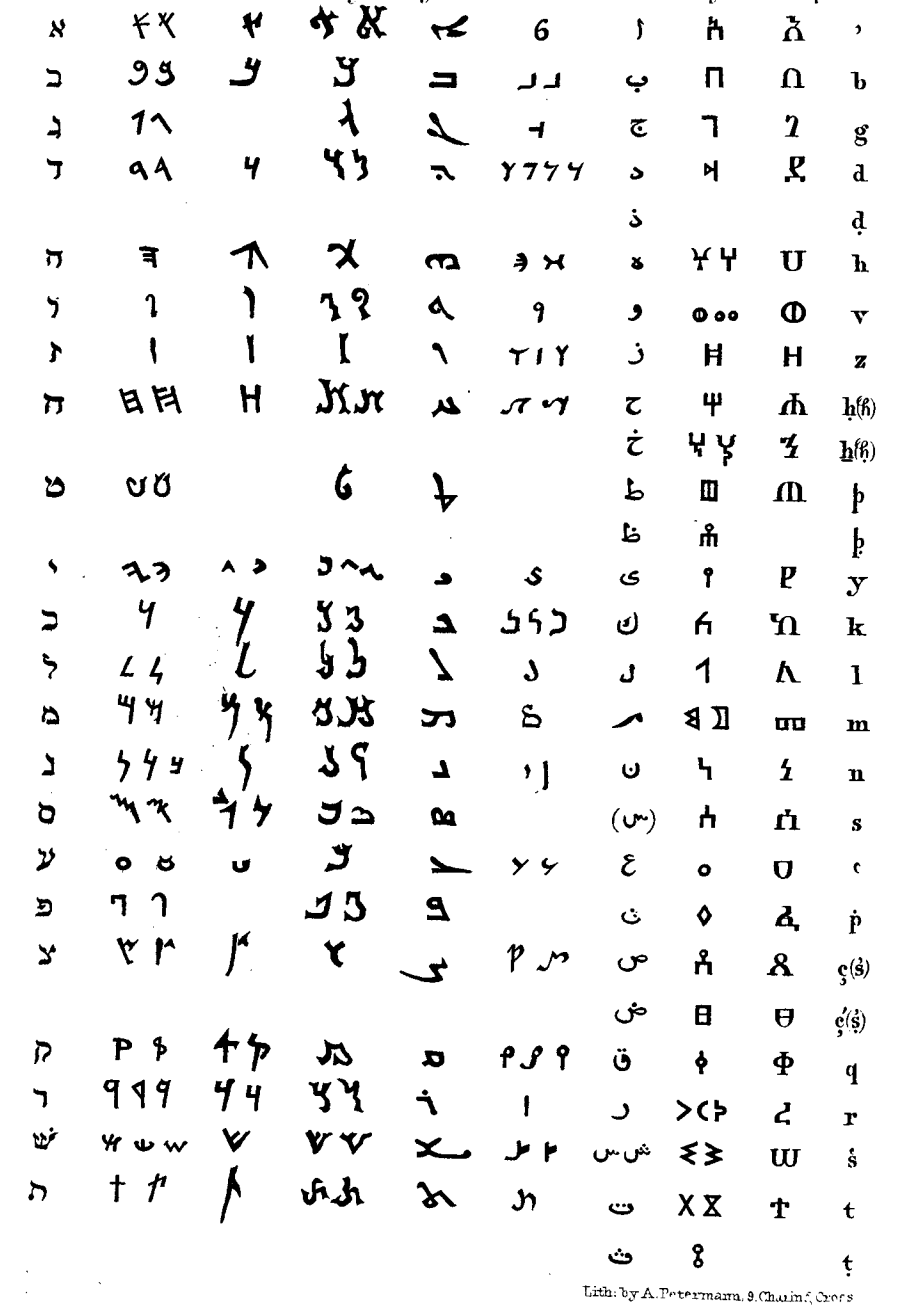

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THE

SEVEN GENERATIONS OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE,

AND

ITS REPRESENTATIVES.

INTRODUCTION.

WITH Constantine (A. D. 313) and the Council of Nicæa (A. D. 325) begins the *second* great period of Christianity, as regards both its government and its teaching; a period full of thought and of learning, but still more of conventionalism and innovation, both as to doctrine and worship—one far richer in despotism and persecution than in freedom and charity. The twelve centuries it comprises appear, from the ground of universal history, more like a series of phantastic dreams, than a healthy state of creative wakefulness; more like an eclipse broken by passing flashes of light, than a period of light only transiently obscured. It is now somewhat more than 300 years since the Germanic nations, awakened from the dreams of their childhood and having outgrown their Romanic apprenticeship, began to throw off the fetters of traditionalism and hierarchism. We are not, however, yet quite delivered from them; the curse of conventionalism still bears heavily upon us.

The *second* great period is not immediately connected with the Apostolic age. It is separated from it by two generations of transition, comprising a period of about seventy years, from A. D. 255 to A. D. 324. This intermediate age of enthusiasm combined with scholasticism, of a mixed spirit of liberty and of bondage, is above all one of confusion. Ennobled as it is by its heroic martyrs and its flocks of intrepid confessors, men, women, and children, it is overshadowed by the gradual darkening of evangelical facts and of the Apostolic spirit, as much as by the declining intellect of effete nations and by imperial despotism.

Congregational action is thrown into the background, as well as the free thought of philosophical teachers. Their places are occupied by sacerdotally ruling bishops, on the one hand, who usurp the right of government and administration; and, on the other, by schools glorying in contradictions which defy solution, adding (by way of explanation) new puzzles to old ones, and proposing, as terms of peace, fresh topics of controversy. The object of their Christian meditations is no longer the historical Christ of the Apostles, or the pure Christian idea of the individual relation of man to his God and Saviour. Their belief consists rather in new formularies compounded of both elements, and spoiling both; the tendency being thus to make them tests of that only true and living faith, whose centre is the historical Christ, and whose rule is conscience.

This new aspect of things is first observed about the time of the death of Origen (A. D. 254), who, faithful to his predecessor and teacher, Clemens of Alexandria, had made a last attempt to preserve liberty of thought, along with a rational belief in historical facts, based upon the criticism of the sacred records. Origen had failed in his gigantic efforts; he died of a broken heart rather than of the wounds inflicted by his heathen torturers. His followers (and there were few who persevered in the struggle) retained only his mystical scholasticism, without possessing either his genius or learning, his great and wide heart or his free truth-seeking spirit. More and more the teachers became bishops, and the bishops absolute governors, the majority of whom strove to establish as law their speculations upon Christianity.

But in the 222 years which elapsed between St. Peter and the death of Origen (that is to say, from the feast of Pentecost A. D. 29, to A. D. 254), another course of development took place, running through seven generations, the epochs of which are visibly marked by their succession. The first two of these generations are represented by the Apostles and their immediate disciples. These disciples and their followers and opponents rule the next two generations, and these first four ages form the groundwork upon which individual life is based in the last three. Separating the immediate disciples of the

Apostles from the Apostles themselves, we have five generations of apostolical men; eminent, enlightened, and studious minds, some of them endowed with administrative power, others with intellectual gifts, and all of them conspicuous for their earnest Christian life, spent in the midst of Christian congregations, and not merely in the schools. They feel that they have not the calling of the Apostles, except in so far as their minds are equally drawn towards Christ and the Father manifested in Him through the Spirit. It is their vocation to preserve for the new age of the world, represented by the Christian congregations, what apostles and apostolic men had transmitted in the Scriptures concerning Christ, and what the Spirit had taught them of Christ in their own hearts. Christ was to all of them the Divine source of this mighty stream, which was overflooding and sinking the old world, and raising and maintaining a new one. He alone was the living centre of all heavenly life, uniting each believer individually with God. And thus it was with their brethren in the congregations. In the midst of a sinking age, and with a feeling that human society, that is, the civilised world around them, was doomed to perish, they were building up the new world by laying fresh living foundations of society. Half consciously, half unconsciously, they built up that new world, while most of them were looking for the end of the present one. Free among slaves, many of them slaves themselves, virtuous among universal vice, chaste in the midst of privileged impurity, they remodelled the earth by living for heaven. They emancipated themselves and mankind, not by exciting revolutions, but by the open avowal of a moral conviction in behalf of which they were ready to die. The imperfect but childlike picture of their life, a popular production of the second century, the Book of the Church, as we have called it, or the traditional code of their individual, domestic, congregational and social life, as well as of their new spiritual worship, is in spite of its poverty of form the noblest monument of the age, as exhibiting the world-transforming elements which were then at work.

This co-operation of the people in the congregations of the apostolic age with their leaders, may be considered as the most

important and remarkable fact, and as constituting the greatest blessing of that age. It was this actual harmony in antagonisms which made the conflicting elements among themselves and among their leading men work powerfully together towards development and not for destruction.

For discordant elements were not wanting among the leaders. In that seven-fold succession of leading men we find more or less, a mixture of the two elements of all intellectual and ethical life. Some of them possessed pre-eminently the gift of government; while by their side are found, often opposed to them, others whose sphere lay principally in the domain of thought. The first clung more to the historical Christ, and the traditions of the Church; the second rather fixed their eyes on the ideal Christ, the ever-living embodiment of the Eternal Word, and listened more intently to the inward voice of the Spirit, speaking through reason and controlled by conscience. Such contrasts can only be made to work for good (as they are divinely designed to do) when there is a great common object, and a free community to work it with; a community in behalf of which the members, and above all, the leaders, are ready to live and die. These Christians belonged to no nation and to no state; but their fatherland in heaven was to them a reality, and the love of the brethren, in truth and not in words, made the Christian congregation the foreshadowing of a Christian commonwealth, and a model for all ages to come. It is the age of the apostles above all, which establishes the great truth, that healthiness of life, individual and collective, consists, not in uniformity nor in sameness, but in the harmony of conflicting elements, in the union of theory and practice, of knowledge and action. The leaders evinced not only by their teaching, but also by their lives, that there is no real standard and test of membership in Christ's Church, but truthfulness and sincere, self-sacrificing charity.

This applies more especially to the three great heroes among them, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John, the immortal types of the whole development of Christianity during nearly 2000 years.

THE

FIRST GENERATION,

OR

THE AGE OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.

FROM THE YEAR 29 TO THE YEAR 65.

(XVIth year of TIBERIUS to XIth of Nero.)

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS.

29.	Tiberius.	xvi.	First Pentecost, second June.
32.		xix.	First deacons.
33.		xx.	First martyr. Saulus. Simon.
35.		xxii.	
36.		xxiii.	Conversion of Paul.
40.	Caius.	iv.	Paulus and Barnabas at Antioch.
42.	Claudius.	ii.	Predicted famine. Epistle of St. James.
43—45.		iii—v.	James, John's brother, put to death. Peter, in prison, delivered. End of first part of Acts.
46—49.		vi—ix.	First missionary journey of Paul, with Barnabas and Marcus: returns to Antioch.
52.		xii.	Council at Jerusalem.
53.		xiii.	Second missionary journey of Paul, with Silas and (from Lystra) Timothy. Philippi. Athens. Corinth.
54.		xiv.	Paul at Corinth sends two Epistles to the Thessalonians.
55.	Nero.	i.	Third missionary journey (Galatia). Three months' stay at Ephesus.
56.		ii.	Stay at Ephesus. Epistle to the Galatians. First Epistle to the
57.		iii.	Corinthians, from Macedonia.
58.		iv.	Stay at Corinth. Epistle to the Romans: goes to Jerusalem, imprisoned, brought to Cæsarea.
60.		vi.	Transported to Rome.
61.		vii.	Imprisonment at Rome. Epistle to the Colossians: to the Ephe-
62.		viii.	sians (circular): to Philemon: to the Philippians. James stoned at Jerusalem. End of Acts.
63.		ix.	Paul, liberated, goes to Ephesus, where he leaves Timothy: by Miletus to Macedonia. First Epistle to Timothy. To Corinth: thence to Spain (Clemens). Epistle to Titus. Peter's Epistle (short one, by Silvanus): longer Epistle from neighbourhood of Babylon.
64.		x.	Paul's second imprisonment at Rome. Second Epistle to Timothy.
65.		xi.	Paul beheaded. Peter crucified. at Rome.

FIRST SECTION.

ST. JAMES AND ST. PETER. 29—52.

I.

THE PENTECOST MIRACLE.

THE Pentecost of the 29th year of our era, the 16th year of Tiberius, witnessed the greatest miracle of the Church; because it was deeply symbolical and typical of the wonderful religious development of ages to come, both in respect to the connexion of the soul with its Creator, and to the nature and form of all the social and political relations of mankind. In the event of Pentecost, not only the first legislation of mankind, founded upon the permanent law of the conscience, became a reality, but the whole distinguishing character of the eighteen centuries which separate us from that event was typified and foreshadowed. In what did that miracle consist? One hundred and twenty persons, not only Galileans, as they were naturally supposed to be, but believers from various parts assembled together on that festive day, expecting the end of the world. Suddenly, during a violent storm of wind, accompanied by lightning, the persons so assembled felt moved apparently to praise God, not in the formularies of their sacred language, but in the profane sounds of their heathenish mother-tongues, of which the Greek was foremost, as the Spirit gave them utterance. What more portentous and deeply significant sign could there be, that religion was henceforth to cease to be an external or sacerdotal and ceremonial worship? At that moment, and with that sound, the true temple of God opened. This was in reality the temple which Christ had said He could raise on the ruins of the old. The house of Levitical worship, with all its sanctity, and the

proud temples of the Hellenic world, with all their ideals of beauty, were doomed to perish; and they did both perish, but after a severe and bloody struggle. That world-rending and world-renewing power, centring in spiritual faith and brotherly love, manifested itself by unanimous but dissonant praise of God, by inspired prayer in the mother tongue.

The speakers themselves were overpowered by the sudden wind and scintillating flashes of the electric fluid (v. 3.), while those who gathered round and listened to them were no less awe-struck by hearing the praises of God and wonderful things uttered in their own tongues which they little expected to hear from Galileans (v. 4–8.). The speakers at first made convulsive sounds, but soon recovered their equilibrium; not like those who, in the time of St. Paul, after having lost, in the midst of the divine service, the power of articulation, were unable to express their emotions, otherwise than by sounds of the brute creation, extorted by their overpowering sensations. Nor, according to St. Luke's account, were the pious hearers overcome to such an extent as some later learned interpreters appear to have been. They did not regard the screams which had been uttered at the first moment, but listened to what they heard spoken in their own tongue. If this be a rationalistic explanation, it is that of St. Peter. Where does that Apostle state that he and his friends received the power of speaking languages not their own, or that the utterance of convulsive sounds was a proof of Jesus of Nazareth being the Christ, and of the Spirit of God having come down upon the believers in the Galilean? No Apostle, no Apologetic writer, no Father from Clemens to Origen, ever dropped any such hint. With true prophetic spirit St. Peter applied to this event what had been foretold of the Spirit of God, which was to come in the last days, and to be recognised by the outpouring of intelligence and wisdom over the unlearned men and women even of the lowest classes. Or did he claim credit for the truth of his statement, because they had heard Aramæan, as if it were Greek or Latin or a barbarian tongue, or because they understood sounds which had no meaning? No! he tells them a story as simple as it is true, the great event of his days and of all days, the glorification of God through Christ, not as an external fact, but as a divine

principle of life in mankind. He tells them that what they had heard, each in his own native tongue, referred to a fact of which all present were witnesses, he and his friends being sober people, and of sound mind; and he concludes by saying that they themselves are called upon to partake of this miraculous blessing, for their own salvation's sake. And how was this to be done? By speaking or understanding foreign tongues, or inarticulate sounds? No! by looking up to God through Christ's holy life and example, by acknowledging their own sinfulness with a sincere aspiring faith, and by accepting the symbol of immersion, instituted by the Baptist and elevated by Jesus into that of regeneration: by a solemn pledge to live henceforth to God's glory and the good of mankind, and by loving all men as their brethren. This indeed they did, by associating themselves together with prayer and thanksgiving and common meals, by leading reformed lives, and by having all their earthly goods as much as possible in common.* On that day, accordingly, not only the Christian Church was born, but also the Christian State.

This is the miracle of Pentecost, and one of the greatest events in the world's history. It is the inauguration of the era of the Spirit, by the sanctification of its primitive work, language; it is the hallowing of social life by real brotherhood; it is the initiation of true worship by individual inspiration and childlike thankfulness. As it was the fulfilment of a prophecy uttered by Joel in the midst of a great public calamity, at the beginning of the divided Jewish kingdom; so was it the fore-shadowing of that ever great and glorious event, when, fifteen centuries later, the noblest nations made their vulgar tongues, the Germanic, Romanic, and Slavonic, sacred languages embodying immortal thought; so that the congregations no longer praised God and Christ and the Spirit in the dead languages of their priesthood, but in the living accents learned from their mothers' lips.

* The true reading of the 47th verse is: Ὁ δὲ κύριος προσετίθει τοὺς σωζομένους καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. "And the Lord daily joined together such as were saved (by this their act of faith, by that faith in Christ which prompted them to reform themselves, and confess Jesus of Nazareth to be the Messiah)." See Lachmann, and compare Winer, § 17, 3. As to προσετίθει, see v. 41.

Then also immortal psalms and hymns and deep-spirited prayers were uttered by great and small. Then the bonds of servitude were broken by the freeing Spirit of the Gospel, and the Kingdom of God upon earth entered upon a new era under the banner of Faith, of individual self-responsibility, of mutual trust, and of that civil and religious liberty for which mankind has been created. Have not our mother-tongues been hallowed by that great act, more even than the already declining languages of Palestine and Syria, of Greece and of Rome? Is not that work always going on, now indeed more than ever, all over the globe? Cannot we quote, pointing to millions upon millions, to our Scribes and Pharisees and Infidels, as Christ did to those of the temple, those words of the Psalmist: "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise?"

The account, as transmitted to us, says essentially this, neither more nor less. Its author was not an eye-witness; he wrote nearly half a century after the event, at a time when the merely convulsive tongue-speaking had obscured the fact of the first inspired speaking in the mother-tongue. It is not a myth, however, as both the Rabbis of our day and the disciples of the school of Baur represent it: it is a fact, a great event, and a much greater miracle of the Spirit than either of those extreme parties have considered it.*

*. The strongest philological proof of the truth of my interpretation, is the circumstance of St. Luke in the two other passages, where the speaking with tongues is mentioned as a sign of the outpouring of the Spirit, most distinctly characterising the phenomenon as including intelligible, inspired (prophesying) speaking in the praise of God. So also when Peter addressed Cornelius and the friends assembled in his house, before they were baptized (x. 44—47.), and (xix. 6.) when Paul prayed over the catechumens who had only received the baptism of John. Paul also considers the true speaking with tongues to be that in which the convulsive sounds are followed by intelligible words of the Spirit (1 Cor. xiv. 5.), however involuntarily and unconsciously they may be uttered. There is nothing in the ante-Nicene Fathers to favour the view of a magic influence, either on the speakers or on the hearers. But this spiritless and absurd interpretation is coeval with the time of Nicene Christianity. The Fathers of the age of the Councils, and all who follow them down to the present day, interpret the miracle of the Spirit without the Spirit: namely, as signifying that the Apostles or hearers understood languages without having learned them. Hugo Grotius hints at the true

The convulsive utterance was, as St. Paul felt it to be, a nervous affection to be endured but not to be encouraged, and not a healthy manifestation of the spirit of Christianity destined to be permanent. The ecstatic state in all its forms (however wilfully ignored by some, and insidiously or foolishly misinterpreted by others) is not a sound exponent of the religion of the Spirit. John Wesley knew this full well, when he checked the convulsive movements which showed themselves at the beginning of his preaching, by the united power of buckets of cold water and the softening influence of spiritual prayer. Not so, unfortunately, the amiable but weak-minded Irving, who saw in those sounds the sign of a new outpouring of the Spirit, whereas

interpretation in the beautiful passage: "Pœna linguarum dispersit homines, donum linguarum dispersos in unum populum recollegit." Herder, however, was the first who had the courage to reopen the way to the right explanation, in his spirited essay of 1794 on the gift of languages. I do not see that Baur (1830) has contributed much to the understanding of the event by interpreting the speaking with tongues to mean speaking in other, new languages of the Spirit (Mark, xvi. 7.). What these were, he is unable to explain, but he excludes the inarticulate speaking which we find in the Corinthian congregation. Nor is Bleek's interpretation satisfactory (1829) —acceded to by Baur in 1838,—that those ecstatic persons in Jerusalem used unusual, highly poetical words. No, the Spirit never manifested itself in high-flown language and quaint antiquarian phrases. Inspiration is the predominant element of the saint, and childlike simplicity its criterion. The correct view is that taken by Neander (1832) in his beautiful first chapter of the History of the Churches planted by the Apostles, although he evidently had not a clear conception of the act itself which he thus defines: "a delivery, not generally intelligible, proceeding from an ecstatic state, and consisting in a higher flight of speech." But he afterwards characterises it, as a state in which the consciousness of God (Gottesbewusstsein) was predominant, and the consciousness of the world (Weltbewusstsein) entirely thrown into the background. A cursory examination of all the modern interpretations may be seen in De Wette's Commentary. As to the catalogue of nations, I neither agree with Schneckenburger that the sixteen names he here enumerates are an allusion to Noah's sixteen grandsons: nor, with De Wette and many others, that it is a mere rhetorical flourish without meaning. There is no repetition in the enumeration. It is true that the Cretan Jews spoke Greek as well as the Alexandrian, Cyrenaic, and Ionian Jews; but they certainly did not speak the same dialect, any more than did the Galilean and the Jew of Jerusalem. What they heard was the dialect, not the abstract common language.

it was merely the symptom of the finite mind breaking down when for the first time facing the Infinite, and sinking under that by which, through a healthy reaction, it ought to rise. By this weakness Irving encouraged the delusions which are floating about in this apocalyptic age, scandals to the by-standers, stumbling blocks to morbid understandings and weak frames, and levers for the newfangled hierarchists of the nineteenth century in Europe and America, who think they can catch the Spirit in their cobwebs of beggarly hierarchical and liturgical formularies. The Spirit is indeed abroad and pervades our mystical atmosphere, having abandoned worn-out establishments and effete corporations: but such men as these will not seize, their formularies will not conjure it.

II.

THE COUNCIL AT JERUSALEM.

THE pregnant event of the first Pentecost is one of the greatest miracles in universal history. So is the first Christian council which followed that event after three and twenty years.

The faith, inaugurated by the Spirit, and tested by self-sacrifice, love and brotherly trust, overcame prejudices and passions, even those which separated the Jews of Palestine from the Hellenic Jews spread over Asia and Europe. These Hellenists, indeed, soon became the more flourishing branch. The deacons were not only destined for them, but also chosen from among them. It was a Hellenistic Jew who became the proto-martyr. The dispersion of his friends was followed by other converted Jews. Thus the new faith went forth from Palestine, five or six years after the first Pentecost.

We soon find an influential congregation at Antioch, the metropolis of Asia. Here Saul, now Paul, arose, after long silence and meditation, as the teacher of the saving truth of Him whom he had never seen in the flesh.

Were the converted heathens to keep the law? were they to be circumcised? might they dine together and intermarry? what was to become of the children? These and similar questions were differently answered at Jerusalem and at Antioch. Peter stood between James and Paul; but he wavered and relapsed at times into Judaic scruples and prejudices.

Hence arose the idea of a mission of some of the brethren at Antioch to those at Jerusalem, in the year 52. Warm discussions ensued, of which the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians gives us a more faithful picture than the modified account of St. Luke, in the 15th chapter of the Acts; for both undoubtedly speak of the same event. Meetings of the congregation and of the governing committee composed of the Apostles and elders (or elder brethren), took place, till at last

that same Spirit, which had loosened the tongues on the day of Pentecost, united the hearts of the whole Christian people solemnly assembled. There was no majority, but unanimity, which is the seal of the Spirit. Peter and his influential friends, among whom Silas or Silvanus was the most remarkable, were in favour of the concessions demanded; and the spirit of charity and brotherhood broke through the bondage of forms, and overcame the scruples of James, the Lord's brother, the type and leader of the strict Judaic party. A message of love was given to Barnabas and Paul; and a letter was carried by Silvanus and Jude, written probably by Silvanus. This letter is authentic, and the doubts of the Tübingen school are nothing but the reflex of their own imaginations. We give the document, which was early misunderstood and in consequence partially adulterated and obscured, as the ancient Church read it.

"The Apostles and elder Brethren unto the Brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, Greeting.

"Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, to whom we gave no such commandment; it seemed good unto us, being assembled with one accord, to send chosen men unto you, with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have sent, therefore, Judas and Silas, who shall also tell you the same things by word of mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things; that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which, if ye keep yourselves, ye will do well. Fare ye well." (Acts, xv. 23—29.)

We have only to compare the words, "it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," with those of verse 22., "then pleased it" (in the Greek text the word is the same as in the other passage) "the Apostles and Elders with the whole Church," to see that the organ of the Holy Ghost, identified

with it as His manifestation, is the assembly of the faithful, including the Apostles and Elders. As to the letter itself, it was written by them, but in conformity with the decree of the popular meeting. There is no authority for the common reading of the superscription of this letter, "The Apostles and Elders and Brethren," which evidently rests upon a misunderstanding of the transaction.

The expression of the Holy Ghost, then, was the verdict of the universal conscience, and the result of a free discussion, in which the Apostles and Elders who had called the meeting of the brethren, took the lead. This congregational authority embodied the verdict in a letter, which received the sanction of the Christian people, and was sent to the brethren of Antioch who, proceeding in the same way, received this decision as just and equitable, and conformed to it. We have here, therefore, the two coefficients of the Church; a people or congregation, and its Christian government: the first, sovereign as to acts of legislation, the second, rulers with free agency and personal conscience. The people, after mature deliberation on the part of the Apostles and Elders, pronounced by their vote the verdict of the universal conscience; the Apostles and Elders carried it out in their own name, as being the expression of their own free and personal conviction. Our view of the judgment of the Church being the organ of the universal conscience has, therefore, the authority of Scripture and the sanction of the Church of the Apostles, in its first historical document. Both as to its form and contents we must look, above all, to the spirit. Let those who are anxious to adhere to the letter, rather than the spirit of these forms of primitive Christianity, test the truth of their unenlightened zeal, by adopting the same principle of liberality as to the community of goods. But as to the spirit, we think the council of Jerusalem is to be considered as the supreme law for the government and legislature of the Church. Any good that may be done, or has been done, by sacerdotal synods or episcopal councils, by pontifical decrees, or by edicts of princes and their military or consistorial officers, must be considered as done under the necessity

of dictatorial action, and therefore as a provisional and very questionable form. It cannot indeed sanction formularies and confessions of faith, but requires that sanction from the conscience of mankind. To say the truth, the good done under any of these forms is not great as compared with the evil inherent in them. Nothing is more childish than to confound what has been done or is doing by great and moral nations, in spite of certain forms and ordinances, with what has been done in consequence of them.

SECOND SECTION.

ST. JAMES, ST. PETER, AND ST. PAUL. 53—65.

I.

ST. JAMES AND HIS EPISTLE.

THE spiritual movement of the new world centred, for the first twenty-four years, in Jerusalem; and its two prominent individualities were St. James and St. Peter. The former continued there till he was stoned by the Jews, about the year 62; the latter had left Jerusalem before that time, in order to preach the Gospel to the Jews out of Palestine; and his Epistle proves him to have been, at the time of St. James's martyrdom, in or about Babylon, then as well as subsequently one of the central residences of the Jews.

James had been an unbeliever, like the other sons of Mary, when about the middle of September in the year 28 of our era, or the year 781 of Rome, Jesus undertook his solitary journey to Jerusalem, leaving his home never to return to it. This is stated by St. John (vii. 5.); and there is good evidence that his conversion took place after the resurrection, owing to a vision which he had of Christ. He became a believer, but remained a national Jew. In his eyes Peter went too far in his concessions to the Gentile believers; but the spirit of the Gospel which was in him, and the spirit of Christ which reigned in the congregation, together with Peter's mediating influence, overruled his objections. He did not, however, change his practice, but continued always to keep the law, and was a constant attendant in the Temple, according to the trustworthy account of Hegesippus. He also supposed the Syrian Christians to attend regularly to the public reading (and therefore

the observance) of the Thorah; for this seems to be the sense of the concluding words of his speech, as we read it in the Acts.

Neither did James ever consider Christianity as anything more than the moral regeneration of Judaism, or that Christ had done anything more than establish the true righteousness or justification demanded by the law. Real justice and practical charity to the brethren, true humility and thankfulness to God, no longer under the servitude of ordinances, but under the perfect law of liberty (i. 25.): these were in his eyes the substance of the message which Christ brought to man from God. The whole Epistle is based upon ethical, social Jewish principles, purified and exalted by Christ. It is in its details a touchingly pious application of the moral precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, and of similar sayings and precepts of Christ. All allusions in the Epistle, not borrowed from the Old Testament, and from the ethical Apocryphal books of the Palestinian and Alexandrian Jews, Jesus the son of Sirach, and Wisdom, are taken from the sayings of our Lord, as we find them (in substance, not literally) in the first or Palestinian Gospel. There is, however, something behind, which is generally overlooked—namely that Christ has more in store for mankind; that we are to await his return, which, from the signs of the times (v. 7—11.), may shortly be expected. All this leads to the conclusion that the Epistle represents the first phasis of Christianity, not only in its idea, but also in its historical development. With this also corresponds the name given by the writer to those whom he addresses. Believers are, in his eyes, the true Israel, "the dispersed Twelve Tribes." For such must be the meaning of the heading of his Epistle. The historical twelve tribes had long ceased to exist. This letter, lastly, speaks with the authority of a teaching believer, not with that of one of the twelve disciples and witnesses. As to originality, the Epistle bears so entirely the stamp of all we know of St. James of Jerusalem, that the evidence in its favour, although not so decisive as that of St. Peter's Epistle, must be considered as satisfactory. I conceive that the doubts thrown upon it were not as to whether it was written by St. James, but whether an Epistle of his was to be placed, as equal in authority, by the side of those of Peter, John, and Paul. This certainly was the case as to the Epistle

of James the brother of Jude. James's authorship becomes still clearer when we examine the state of Christian development, not only as to doctrine, but congregational life generally, which that Epistle exhibits. This was evidently the primitive state. The congregations to whom the Epistle is addressed, are treated as if they were all Jews; but still Jews of the dispersion, most likely those of Antioch and other Syrian congregations; in short, the same as those to whom the letter of the Apostolic council was directed. We nowhere hear of merely Jewish congregations in those countries: but the Gentile believers appear only as proselytes; and the question with him simply was whether, if uncircumcised, they would be considered as more than proselytes of the gate and God-fearing believers, associated with the real Jews in a foreign country, without ceremonial obligations. Such a state became solemnly recognised upon the affirmation of that principle by the council, and it formed therefore a marked epoch in the life of James. The Epistle must consequently be posterior, but apparently not much posterior, to the year 52. The return of Christ is expected, but no allusion is made to the impending destruction of Jerusalem. The obscure expression in v. 5., "Ye (the rich) have lived in pleasure on the earth and been wanton; you have nourished your hearts [as] in a day of slaughter" (where the "as" is not in the Greek) seems to allude to an historical event. This can scarcely be any other than the great slaughter of the Jews in Seleucia and throughout Babylonia, which happened in the year 42, and in which Josephus relates that above 80,000 Jews were slain. I think it most likely therefore, that the Epistle was written not long after that awful event, and that Silvanus, who most probably acted as secretary of the council in 52, and who certainly acted as Peter's secretary in 62, was also the writer of James's Epistle. Discarding the Mahommedan idea, that an inspired man writes in an unknown tongue and in a style not his own, we must advert to the difficulty how James, the Palestinian Jew, could write a Hellenistic letter so like that of Peter. His making use of that language was very natural, as appears from the resolution of the president of the council; and that Silas uttered the pious

thoughts he was charged to express, in his own style, whether he wrote for James or for Peter, is the only natural assumption, and perfectly compatible with a faithful execution of that charge.

I cannot see, in the passage about Faith and Righteousness, that the writer intended to attack St. Paul's use of the two words. The simple state of the case, as it presents itself to my mind, is this. The two words were, in a Jewish sense, the most natural exponents, the one of an external profession of belief, the other of the strict observance of the law; sin was unlawfulness, because the law was the expression of God's will. By justifying works, James did not understand Jewish external legality, but the observance of the moral law of inward justice and liberty, and he opposed this righteousness to the mere nominal profession commonly called faith. It was Paul who stamped faith with its peculiarly Christian signification, which has become doctrinal, and which in its philosophical sense is essentially the living belief in the moral responsibility of the individual, above all external observances and actions. This use of the word harmonizes with the spirit of the first three Gospels, but it is there always connected with faith in the person of Christ, not in the Gospel; St. John alone uses faith in the latter meaning (1 John, v. 4.). James's terminology, therefore, is the primitive, historical, nationally Jewish one. But he is so far from opposing the higher use of it, that his ethical view, when rightly understood, is the only one compatible with the principle which made Paul insist upon the higher, and which is in truth the Abrahamitic sense of that word. James attacks the ordinary popular use; which is additional proof of his Epistle being earlier than those of Paul.

It has been argued that in its arrangement it presents no connection, but consists of mere separate exhortations loosely strung together. This I think an unfounded reproach, except as regards the beginning of the eloquent passage respecting the dangerous power of the tongue (iii. 1.), which runs thus: "My brethren, be not many masters, knowing that we shall receive the greater condemnation; for in many things we offend all. If any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man, and able also to bridle the whole body." No ingenuity can give a satisfactory explanation of the first sentence; besides, not being good Greek in whatever sense the words are taken, it

is impossible to see what the admonition not to strive after being teachers in the congregation has to do with the warning against giving the tongue licence in evil speaking. I think, therefore, that this is one of the few corrupt old readings in the New Testament. Lachmann (who, here, as everywhere else, gives the traditional text) was of the same opinion, and communicated to me, as early as 1844, a very ingenious conjecture respecting the original reading. According to him, with a very slight change of letters, the passage would run: "Do not become intractable mules, but let yourselves be bridled and guided, and in particular, your tongue, the most difficult thing to bridle." (ver. 2, 3.: compare Ps. xxxii. 9.) By a still slighter change, the sense would be: "Do not become much talking teachers." *.

* Lachmann's emendation is: Μὴ ΠΩΛΟΙ ΔΥΣΚΟΛΟΙ γίνεσθε, instead of Μὴ πολλοὶ διδάσκαλοι γίνεσθε. Πῶλος is used by the Septuagint in the sense of a young ass or young mule. Δύσκολος is intractable, wild; and applies, therefore, particularly well to these animals. My own conjecture is this: Μὴ ΠΟΛΥΛΑΛΟΙ διδάσκαλοι γίνεσθε. The Πολυλογία is already severely censured, as leading necessarily to sin, in Prov. x. 19. Ἐκ πολυλογίας οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ ἁμαρτίαν. The word πολύλαλος itself occurs in that sense in some passages of the Septuagint, as corresponding with the Hebrew רַב דְּבָרִים. See Schleusner *s. v.*, who quotes the version of Symmachus in Job, xi. 2., and the Complutensian editions in Sir. xxi. 25. I prefer this emendation, first, because it makes the connection of our text with the second and third verse, and with the whole eloquent passage respecting the tongue more clear. Secondly, because this sentence connects the third chapter with the second. The second is principally directed against the nominal profession of Christianity, in the spirit of Pharisaism. "So *speak* ye (οὕτως λαλεῖτε), and so do," says ver. 12.; and ver. 14.: "What doth it profit though a man *say* he hath faith, and have not works?" This argument is concluded by the words of the verse immediately preceding ours (ii. 26.), "For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also;" that is to say: as the life of the body is shown by the actions of the breath of life within him, thus practical Christianity is the test of its external profession. Now according to my emendation, our verse (iii. 1.) links this argumentation very clearly with the new paragraph (iii. 1—12.) by warning against much doctrinal talking in general. This idea is again taken up after that eloquent passage by verse 13.: "Who is a wise man and endued with knowledge among you, let him show by good conduct his works, with meekness of wisdom." As the text stands there is no connection, either with what precedes, or with what follows.

II.

ST. PETER AND HIS TWO EPISTLES.

PETER was the man of government and of practical mediation, as Paul was the man of thought and spiritual faith. Peter was the link between the Judaists and Hellenists.

His great Epistle was, according to the most probable calculation, written in 62, only three years before his death. He was then in or near Babylon. That circumstance alone (as I remember to have heard first from Niebuhr) explains the order in which the encyclical letter is to be transmitted: it gives us an eastern starting point, and excludes a western. In this Epistle (v. 12.) he says he wrote to the same congregations a short letter, which is thus qualified: "Exhorting and testifying that this is the true grace of God wherein you stand." Now, the congregations in those parts were founded by Paul, and the meaning of these words therefore is, to certify that the doctrine preached by Paul is the truth, whatever zealots may say. Silvanus, who (as the words seem to indicate) not only brought the letter, but had probably written the minute in Greek, since the year 53, the year after the council at Jerusalem where he acted as secretary, had been the constant companion of Paul in Asia Minor. Being from thenceforth a friend of Peter, it is very natural that he should go to him (then residing near Babylon) and solicit him to address such a letter to those congregations, as an antidote against the Judaizers, who misused his name in order to trouble their consciences and disturb their peace.

That short letter, I believe, is still in existence. If we read, without any preconceived opinion, the first section of what is now called the Second Epistle of Peter (i. 1—11.), we find not only the same diction as in the first, but the very same exhortation, which was required, together with Silvanus's verbal explanations, to confirm those Christians in their faith, just as

the words in the longer epistle indicate. Moreover, that section concludes (v. 11.) with the very same words, "of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," which precede, in the conclusion of our present Epistle, the doxology, "To Him be glory both now and for ever. Amen." This doxology I believe to have been the conclusion of the short letter of Peter, referred to in his longer epistle *; the text of which is subjoined.

The Shorter Epistle of St. Peter.

"Simon Peter, a servant and an Apostle of Jesus Christ, to them that have obtained like precious faith with us through the righteousness (justifying grace) of our God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ: grace and peace be multiplied unto you through the knowledge of God, and of Jesus our Lord, according as His Divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of Him that hath called us by His own glory and virtue: whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust. And beside this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; and to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness; and to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity. For if these things be in you and abound, they make you to be neither barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh these things is blind, and cannot see afar off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins. Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure by your good works: for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall: for so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To Him be glory, both now and for ever. Amen."

* In this longer Epistle, *συγκληρονόμοι* (iii. 7.), the constant reading of all ancient manuscripts, arbitrarily changed into *συγκληρονόμοις*, is merely *συγκληρονόμῳ*, which has been misunderstood.

III.

ST. PAUL.

WHILE Peter preached the gospel in Asia, James remained with that branch of the Christian Church which was not destined to flourish; but he was among his own people, and he was the man fitted, both by birth and by character, for that sphere. His death took place eight years before the extinction of the Jewish nation.

But more than twenty years before that period a much greater man had risen at Antioch, the Apostle of the Gentiles. He had taught first in Antioch, afterwards all over the world, speaking and writing to the Gentiles as a Hellenistic Jew, but never giving up his love to his people, nor his hope for Israel.

All his Epistles were written between 54 and 65. They clearly present to us two great periods in his Christian development, the distinction between which it is as uncritical to deny, as it is to question the identity of their authorship, and to fail to perceive the germs of the second in the first. All the elements of the second, indeed, are contained in the first; and the first and last Epistles bear the stamp of that same strongly-marked and almost unique individuality. The Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philippians preach "Christ in us," as those to the Thessalonians, Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans preach "Christ for us." This is the natural history of faith in every individual and in the world. Critics agree in assigning to the less Jewish Epistles a later date; and I think the arrangement proposed and carried out in Neander's well-connected historical demonstration by far the most probable. He places the three most spiritual Epistles in the time of Paul's captivity at Rome; and assigns also to the same period the Pastoral Epistles or the letters to Timothy and Titus.

As to the genuineness of these doubts have been raised, which I think can now be removed by a more advanced insight into the development of the organisation of the earliest Christian communities at the end of the first century, which would be the earliest possible date if they were not Pauline. I have en-

deavoured in my Ignatian Letters to prove that the Christian constitution was in that age much more advanced than that contemplated in the Epistles; that the stage of development described in them had disappeared at the close of the first century.

Some German critics have a peculiar idiosyncrasy which leads them to disbelieve the second captivity of Paul. Yet it appears to me very arbitrary to deny a fact for which we have the explicit evidence of Paul's disciple and companion, Clemens, the first historical bishop of Rome. In his Epistle to the Corinthians (written, as we shall presently see, before the Gospel of St. John, between 78 and 86) Clemens describes (chapter v.), as warning examples, the sufferings which in the latter years had been inflicted upon the Apostles themselves by jealousy or party spirit (as we should say) and envy: "Peter suffered through unjust jealousy, not one or two but many hardships; and having thus given his testimony (as martyr), went to the place of glory due to him. Through jealousy Paul obtained the prize of patience: seven times he wore bonds, was exiled, stoned, became a preacher in the East and in the West, and gained the noble honour of his faith, after having travelled through the whole world and come to the extremity of the West, and after having given his testimony under three emperors.* Thus at last he was delivered from this world, and went to the holy place, having become the greatest example of patience." Paul suffered martyrdom, not earlier at all events than Peter, and after he had journeyed *into the* extreme west, which certainly cannot mean Rome.

* The MS. reads ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων. Ἡγούμενοι can only mean Emperors. It would be inadmissible in the imperial times to render the word by Consuls: and to suppose, as some have done, that it is in allusion to the two Prefecti Prætorio established by Nero after 63, is still more so. The idea of it being an allusion to the two all-powerful men, Tigellius and Sabinus, prefects in the last year of Nero (67 to 68, and therefore after the death of Paul), is an ingenious conjecture of Pearson's, but inapplicable to this passage. The notion that Nero and Helius his favourite were alluded to, as Greswell maintains, is simply absurd. Now, taking ἡγούμενοι in its only legitimate sense, Clemens must have had in view a certain number of Emperors; and Paul indeed suffered persecution under Caius, Claudius, and Nero: the word τριῶν therefore is required by the sense; the only numeral for which τῶν could well be mistaken. We, therefore, read ἐπὶ τριῶν ἡγουμένων, instead of ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων.

IV.

THE CATECHETICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE APOSTOLIC MISSIONARIES CONCERNING THE LIFE OF CHRIST; THE CANONICAL WRITINGS AND CONSTITUTIONAL CHARACTER OF THIS PERIOD.

As regards the state of the evangelistic (missionary) reports respecting "the good message," it does not seem to admit of reasonable doubt that some portions of the records of the Life and Sayings of Christ collected in our first three Gospels, were consigned to writing during this period: some may even have been so in the first section of it. Among such Memoirs of this period relating to the public life of Christ, the most considerable continuous piece is the Itinerary, peculiar to St. Luke (ix. 51. to xviii. 14.), although it is a collection of sayings (logia or oracles) of Christ, during different, but consecutive journeys, not a chronological Memoir, as is his Itinerary of St. Paul's travels during which he was his companion.

Of the persons who committed these accounts to writing we know nothing. In the age we are now considering, Mark and Luke lived as missionaries employed and instructed by the Apostles, but they did not then compose the Gospels bearing their names. We shall see forthwith that in this age the historical account must have been given to the catechumens orally, according to some general heads. Nobody was anxious to have a written biography of Him whose return was daily expected. As to the first Gospel, it stands upon the very same ground of catechetical, unchronological, cyclical tradition as the second and third do; and if, as I have no doubt, John wrote the fourth, the first Gospel cannot have been written by a co-apostle and fellow eyewitness. We must, therefore, suppose that the Matthew, whose name it bears, was, like Mark and Luke, one of those younger men who had not seen Christ; and indeed the fragment of Hegesippus seems to say what the Gospel itself obliges us to assume. Paul himself had

only seen Him in a trance, and in the spirit; and James had known Him his whole life, without recognising the Messiah in the brother, and without listening to Him and following Him and His teaching. Apollos again, a highly enlightened converted Alexandrian Jew, who in this period enjoyed almost equal authority with Peter and Paul as a teacher, and who, as we shall see in the beginning of the next age, is the probable author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, had never seen Jesus.

As to the History of the Apostles and of the first congregations of Christians, the contemporary account of St. Luke begins with the thirteenth chapter, as remarked above. This second part of the Acts contains the Memoir of an eyewitness and companion of Paul on most of his missionary journeys; and that eyewitness is Luke, the writer of the first part, which forms the foundation of the recital. There is no greater proof of the unhistorical spirit of the Tübingen school than their denying this fact and its consequences, and that, too, after Paley's masterly exposition. Nobody but Luke or Timothy could have written it; and, independently of the universal evidence, the internal probability is in favour of Luke.

As to the Christian congregations of this period, their members were in the first instance mostly of the lower classes, working men, slaves, or freedmen. Soon, however, Christianity gained proselytes among the rich and the higher classes, at least out of Palestine, particularly among the women. Each congregation was called originally by the same name as their place of worship, a synagogue, of which "congregation" is the Latin translation. Afterwards the Hellenistic expression "popular meeting," "Ecclesia," became prevalent; the late appellation, taken from the name of the place of worship (Kyriake, the house of the Lord), has caused this word to be translated Church, Kirk, Kirche. The Hebrew and Hellenic names have in common the idea of a congregation of people.

Each Church was independent of the others; they were governed by leaders, called by the translated Hebrew name Presbyters, that is to say, Elders, or by the Hellenic name Bishops, Episcopi, that is, Superintendents or Overseers, Inspectors. The Apostles acted as the general visitors and advisers

of these congregations; but they did not interfere with their legislative autonomy any more than did the Elders or Bishops. In all cases the Ecclesia was autonomic, sovereign; the Apostles themselves took their place in these assemblies. That autonomy did not produce separation, because the Christian congregations had the spirit of Christ in them. The practice at Jerusalem of a community of goods was, naturally, soon abandoned, because it would have led, if farther developed, to mischievous results. "Pray and work" was the watchword. But the principle of brotherhood remained: the whole fabric of the growing community was based upon mutual brotherly aid and assistance, proceeding from a spirit of thankful love to God. Thus, serving charity, the Diaconia, became the substitute for police and military command, and foreshadowed the immense, unparalleled change which the social state of the world was destined to undergo.

In this manner, under such leaders, and with such an organisation, a chain was formed almost imperceptibly, through all the provinces of the Roman Empire, of secretly worshipping, self-supporting, independent, but sincerely attached societies, which gradually disconnected themselves from the Synagogue, holding no communion with the Temple or such magicians and philosophers as attempted to make "religious capital" of Christ, and, if possible, to supplant him.

The first link of that chain was in Jerusalem, from whence it extended itself to Antioch and Babylonia, and from Syria to every part of Asia Minor, as well as Egypt; and having reached Europe, by way of Macedonia, Achaia, and the isles of the Ægean Sea, it embraced the metropolis of the ancient world a few years before the two princes of the Apostles perished there in the Neronian persecutions of the year 65 of our era.

THE

SECOND GENERATION,

OR

THE JOHANNEAN AGE.

FROM THE YEAR 66, TO THE YEAR 99.

(XIIth year of NERO to IIIrd of TRAJAN.)

LINUS AND CLETUS. CLEMENS. EVARISTUS.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS.

66.	NERO.	XII. Linus and Cletus jointly at the head of the Roman congregation.
67.		XIII. The Epistle to the Hebrews (Alexandrians).
68.	GALBA.	Time of the Apocalypse of St. John.
69.	OTHO, VITEL.	
70.	VESPASIAN.	I. Jerusalem taken, 18th Sept.
71.		II. Linus ✠. Cletus continues his office.
78.		IX. Cletus ✠.
79.		X. Clemens, Bishop.
80.	TITUS.	I. Clemens, second year.
82.	DOMITIAN.	I. „ fourth year. Polycarp born. Persecutions.
83—86.		II—V. „ fifth to eighth year. His Epistle to the Corinthians.
87.		VI. „ ninth and last year.
88.		VII. Evaristus, Bishop of Rome.
96.		XV. Cerinth in Alexandria.
97.	NERVA.	I. The Gospel of St. John, and the First Epistle written.
98.	TRAJAN.	I. St. John dies at Ephesus.
99.		II.
100.		III. Evaristus ✠. Elchasai (in Parthia) teaches a general remission of sins. (Hippol.)

ST. JOHN THE APOSTLE, AND CLEMENS OF ROME. 66—100.

I.

APOLLOS AND THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

Soon after the martyrdom of the two great Apostles, the apostolic circle was disturbed by persecution: among others, Timothy was cast into prison, as we learn from the Epistle to the Hebrews. We shall give in the Analecta, where we treat of Hegesippus and the Fragmentum Muratorianum, a succinct view of the reasons which make it highly probable that "the friend of Paul," who according to all ancient authorities wrote that Epistle was Apollos, and that it was addressed to the preeminently Jewish church of Alexandria, his native place, to which he expresses the hope of being soon restored (xiii. 19.). The ruling party in Alexandria was a Judaizing one, and of the most dangerous character. By a tendency very much like that of Philo they endeavoured to spiritualize the Mosaic ordinances. Such a system leaves no place for Christ, scarcely any indeed for the fundamental idea of his life and teaching, universal redemption. Apollos foresaw and pointed out that such a system—which, indeed, is that of the Judaizers of all times—must lead, if not to an avowed, at least, to a virtual relapse into Judaism. The scope of the Epistle, therefore, is to a certain extent, the same as that of Paul to the Galatians: but as the heresy to be combated had taken a more speculative and spiritualizing character, so the controversy was carried on in a different manner, and one indeed for which Apollos (Apollonius) was eminently qualified. He is characterized by St. Luke (Acts, xviii. 25.), as "an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures," and Paul himself considered him as his own and Peter's equal. But the predominance of

the Judaizing party seems to have thrown Apollos into the background; and this probably is the reason why several of the churches did not incorporate his letter among their collection of the apostolical writings. As to the later Church of Alexandria, she very naturally exerted her authority in causing the Epistle to be recognized, not only as canonical, but as written by St. Paul himself. Barnabas retained his standing in that Church with which an ancient tradition connects him: the very early Epistle to which his name is absurdly attached certainly belongs to the Alexandrian sphere; but Apollos disappears altogether. Had Barnabas been the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as Tertullian supposed, his authorship could not have been easily forgotten: nor have we any right to expect to find in Barnabas, from whom Paul separated early and for ever (Acts, xv. 30.), so Pauline a turn of mind as in Apollos, who was his fellow labourer, and whom he places on an equal footing with himself and with Peter.

II.

THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS.

THE first Decennium after the destruction of Jerusalem gave birth to the three Gospels which bear the names of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. The hypothesis of a primitive Gospel, various Aramæan and Greek texts which they were supposed to have had before them, has fallen to the ground, owing to the artificial nature of the system itself, by which Eichhorn and Bishop Marsh were obliged to maintain it, and the inextricable difficulties into which such an assumption necessarily leads the enquirer, without, after all, solving the real problems and critical difficulties which our three Gospels present. The assumption is certainly in itself very tempting, but it cannot be denied that it is a very bold and rather gratuitous one. No mention is anywhere made of such a protevangelium, which could scarcely have been and remained anonymous, or have been entirely superseded afterwards by these three compositions. Again, when could it have been composed? Not, certainly, in the time of the Apostles, that is to say, before 65: for though eye-witnesses might have ventured to give an unchronological account of events they had seen, they could not propose an arrangement seemingly chronological, but in reality irreconcileable with the chronological order. Such, however, is the relation which the first Gospel, as well as the two others, and the chronological groundwork common to them all, bear to that of St. John, the undoubted author of the fourth. The same considerations must also convince us, that such a primitive Gospel could not have been written contemporaneously with the other three. Mark and Luke, if they were the authors of the second and third, cannot have written their accounts later than the period between 70 and 80. The age required it: they were themselves at that time men advanced in years, and at the head of the missionary body of the Apostolic

circle. Moreover, their friend, Bishop Clemens, who died in 86, possessed Evangelical accounts agreeing essentially with ours, and in particular with that of St. Matthew. This must therefore be presumed to be at least as ancient as the two which follow it, and to have been received by the congregations earlier than they were. Of these arguments I think the first the strongest. If we consider the whole question from a historical point of view, we shall see the necessity that such accounts as ours should have been written in the first ten years after the destruction of Jerusalem. When it had fallen, and the prospect of a further continuation of the life of this world opened upon the Christian congregations, they found themselves thrown more than ever upon the person and life of Christ. Both the older members who had never seen Him, and the catechumens, as well as the heathens throughout the empire, eagerly inquired after the particulars of the life and sayings of the Author of their faith. All the active and influential members of the body of the Apostles, including St. Paul, were dead, with the exception of St. John, who, after his banishment at Patmos, had settled at Ephesus. There existed, however, Apostolic men among the missionaries who had lived more or less with the Apostles. Such men were very naturally requested to connect into one narrative sayings of Christ, and anecdotic accounts of His life, which had been committed to memory or writing during the course of the First Generation. St. Mark was one of these. Now was his Gospel copied by Matthew and Luke, or can the undeniable harmony in the groundwork of their records be explained by the shape which the oral catechetical account of Christ's life had gradually assumed? The unfortunate notion that the Gospel of Mark is an epitome made from those of Matthew and Luke, with neither of which it agrees, has been repudiated by critics of the first order, such as Schleiermacher, Thirlwall, and Lachmann, and has, indeed, nothing to recommend it to any critic.* But I confess I see no proof that

* I regret that Reuss should have countenanced this miserable hypothesis in his recent work: Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften des Neuen Testaments," 1853, § 178., a work which forms an epoch, as being the first which,

Matthew or Luke had Mark's Gospel before them: if they had, why did they make use of him so unequally, and deviate from him so frequently?

Being thus thrown back upon the assumption of an oral tradition, we soon discover that it never could have been so disorganized as to lose its historical character; for we can restore its general frame or outline from the three Gospels before us. It consisted of the five following great sections, each of which comprised various heads or chapters:

I. How Christ was announced and baptized by John the Baptist.

II. How Christ, after his temptation, taught in his Galilean neighbourhood, performing miracles, and healing the sick.

III. How Christ resolved to go to Jerusalem, and how He journeyed through various districts beyond those round the Lake of Gennezareth.

IV. How Christ entered Jerusalem, and taught in the Holy City, announcing the end of all things.

V. How He was apprehended two days before Easter, was judged and condemned; how He died on the cross, but rose again the third day, and appeared to his disciples until He was taken up to the Father.

The second, third, and fourth sections, in particular, consist of a considerable number of subdivisions, which are common to all the Gospels, although not always in the same sequence. The sayings and anecdotes which they contain, are in most cases almost literally identical: not so the sentences or words which connect them. Those, especially, which connect one section or chapter with another, bear the marks of individual authorship. All this is explained by assuming that there existed conventionally an oral catechetical tradition, preserved in the circle of

emerging out of the imperfect form of an introduction, treats the subject in a historical manner and with true learning and criticism. He abandons, indeed, virtually such a supposition in the notes to the paragraph quoted, as well as the still more unfortunate conjecture that our gospel of St. Mark is not an original but an interpolation: a conjecture which is one of the inventions of the Tübingen school, based upon a gratuitous interpretation of the passage in Papias.

the Apostolical missionaries, and parallel with it written memoirs, consisting partly of detached sayings of Christ, brought together in one way or another, partly of more or less connected anecdotes of his life. These two elements are the two equally primitive sources of our three Gospels.

The whole framework of that catechetical tradition is now represented to us, with very few, but unmistakeable, signs of authorship, in the Gospel of St. Mark. St. Luke, on the contrary, exhibits more authorship than either of the other two Gospels as to the facts. Matthew's authorship is exhibited in the sayings.

Before we proceed to examine the origin and history of the Gospel of St. Matthew, we are anxious that our readers should consider with us the real nature of catechetical tradition, and the dangerous stage at which it had arrived when the Apostles were gone, and Jerusalem was destroyed.

The arrangement itself of which we have here given the outlines recommended itself by its simplicity. For catechetical purposes, it was by far the most convenient, and it ensured at the same time the historical character. The catechetical form omitted such details of external events as would have complicated the instruction. But what would have been the result of such an arrangement if the course of oral traditions had not been stopped in time? It is essential to consider the difference between such traditions and individual authorship. Any one may add to traditions, even when committed to writing, may rearrange and alter the connection of their separate parts, without being chargeable with corrupting a text. For catechetical purposes, indeed, in the living narrative this must have occurred every day. But the account when once stamped with individual authorship, is sacred: it can only be altered by an imposture, which will easily betray itself by its style and character, or by comparison with other copies, bearing the same author's name, or by both. The congregations will cling to the unaltered copies of the author. Now this stamp of authorship is most evident in Luke's Gospel: it is also discernible by the unity of style and by some individual traits in that of Mark: but where does it appear in Matthew? Evidently in the connecting together of

detached sayings of Christ, as such, according to the analogy of their contents, stripped altogether of the garb of anecdote, if they possessed it. These strings of pearls form the peculiar charm and truly popular element in the Gospel of St. Matthew. But the formation of them is neither historical, as will appear from a comparison with Luke and Mark, nor merely traditional: for the traditions about Christ's sayings are most strictly anecdotic. It must, therefore, be the work of a missionary, one of the apostolic circle, a Jew of Palestine or Syria; for the book is generally admitted to have been written in modern Hebrew or Syriac.

Now is not this the most natural interpretation of the passage in Papias, the enquiring bishop of Hierapolis, who lived about the year 128, which has created so much discussion? His words are: "Matthew composed the words (Logia) of our Lord." If, as Schleiermacher thinks, this means that Matthew wrote merely the sayings, not the events, not the life of Christ, how could Eusebius quote it as evidence respecting the first of our Gospels? He ought, in that case, to have said that, according to Papias, Matthew was not the author of the Gospel, as the Church in his time generally assumed, but merely the compiler of certain speeches. But the words of Papias themselves prove that he meant to speak of an entire account of Christ's life, such as we find in our first Gospel. Our interpretation, therefore, is the most natural, and explains the general tradition. We find in our text four of these main compositions, of which that of the Sermon on the Mount (ch. v., vi., vii.) is by far the most important. This Sermon is not mentioned at all in St. Mark, but is given in St. Luke in a form which bears substantially the character of an historical speech. Into this framework Matthew placed the analogous sayings of Christ respecting the Law and the Commandments, where a contrast is made between outward righteousness and real piety. Such sayings were found enshrined in anecdotes or transmitted singly by themselves. It is remarkable, however, that the sayings in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount belong exclusively, or almost exclusively, to the first period of Christ's teaching. There is a much smaller but kindred collection of ethic sayings, in the form of a speech, in

ch. xviii., which belongs, on the contrary, to the second, or later period of Christ's teaching. In like manner we find two composed speeches about the Pharisees and Scribes, one of the earlier (part of ch. xii.), and one of the later (ch. xxiii.) period. In these two pairs of compositions, Matthew gave to Christendom, as it were, Christ's own code of ethics. Guided by the same view he compiled in the form of speeches many dispersed sayings of Christ; for instance, one respecting his instructions to the Twelve, two about the Pharisees and Scribes (ch. xii. 22. and ch. xviii.), one of parables on the Kingdom of Heaven (ch. xiii.), and one on the end of all things (ch. xxiv., xxv.). All these are inserted into the framework which the cyclical account of oral tradition offered. A comparison between the single sayings of which these speeches are respectively composed, and Mark and Luke, can leave no doubt about the fact of Matthew having performed his task subsequently to the anecdotic delivery of those words in verbal tradition, in so far as they were not originally detached sayings. But such a comparison will also prove that there are enshrined in this collection many noble sayings of Christ not found in any anecdotic garb, either in Mark or Luke, and that they are consequently detached sayings. Who, if he considers their sublime simplicity, will deny that this task was performed under the guidance of the Spirit of Christ, and in the true primitive, apostolic spirit? But the essential identity between most of the sayings connected together as parts of a speech, and those contained in anecdotes preserved by Luke, is direct proof of their substantial authenticity.

The view here propounded is conformable with the gospel texts, with the general laws of the development of tradition, and with the unsophisticated interpretation of the evidence before us. Upon any other hypothesis, a great part of this evidence must either be interpreted in a non-natural sense, or rejected altogether; and even then the theory cannot be made good from the Gospels themselves. Great abuse has been made by the Tübingen school of the undeniable fact, that the most ancient writers, from Clemens to Justin (80 to 150), quote the texts of our first Gospel, each different from the others, and all of them

often, as to the letter, different from our canonical Greek text. They forget that the same author quotes the same text differently in different passages, and that the Fathers often quote from memory what we now call the Scripture of the New Testament. But above all, they overlook the remarkable fact, that most of the passages quoted by all these writers are such as imply that the text was that of St. Matthew; I mean, the sayings of Christ, as grouped together by the author of our first Gospel. Here is a proof that Matthew's act of authorship, which fixed the Aramæan tradition, or at least settled it within certain limits, was anterior to Clemens, or to the ninth decennium of the first century. This agrees also most perfectly with our general assumption that the years immediately following the destruction of Jerusalem gave birth to our three gospels. St. Matthew's being placed the first would lead us to suppose that this apostolical missionary, who bore the same name as is given to Levi the publican among the Twelve, commenced that individual recension of the evangelical tradition which prevented its degenerating into legend.

But, on the other hand, we must not overlook the real differences which those early quotations manifest. All of them, of course, are Greek. Now, what says Papias in the above-cited passage? "Every one," these are his words, "interpreted Matthew's Aramæan Gospel" (that is to say, translated it into Greek), "as well as he could." So even this Gospel, thus individualized and fixed, took provincially a different form as to the letter, but within those narrow limits. We know, moreover, that at the end of the fourth century there existed among the Aramæan Gospels in Palestine a considerable discrepancy at the beginning. Jerome saw a variety of these texts, some with, some without, the first two chapters. One of them, that of the orthodox Nazarenes, the "Gospel according to the Hebrews," he copied and translated. He describes it as being on the whole identical with our text, but as containing the story about the woman taken in adultery, to which Papias alludes as being found in some texts. It is well known that this interesting anecdote, instead of being incorporated into St. Matthew's Gospel, was, unfortunately, foisted most awkwardly into St. John's, contrary

to the evidence of Papias, the quotations of the earliest Fathers, and the most ancient of our manuscripts, namely, that of the Vatican.

If Lardner's views, and those of the Harmonists of the seventeenth century, are untenable in the face of these and many other collateral facts, recent theories and doubts respecting the vagueness and lateness of the present text of our first Gospel are not less uncritical, and some of them more worthy of the school of Voltaire than of that of Tübingen. The hints now thrown out here and there respecting the supposed difference in the old Syrian text, discovered and prepared for publication by Cureton, and in particular of our Greek version of St. Matthew, are most ridiculous. The difference which really exists is restricted to various readings of one and the same text. The special importance of this, by far the most ancient Aramæan text in existence, is, that, as modern Chaldee and Syrian differ from each other, orthographically rather than dialectically, the text of the Libyan manuscript must be regarded in the light of a transcript, rather than as a translation of the original of our canonical Matthew. Coming as it does from Syria, it, on the contrary, confirms most strikingly the authenticity of our text. We may, moreover, hope to gather some useful hints as to some difficult passages, from a text containing the original word which the translators had before them, and which must sometimes be understood and rendered differently. Discrepancies and obscurities do exist: the question is not to invent or deny, but to explain them.

The Syrian text will shortly be published, with a comparison between it and that of our manuscripts. As to the others, our readers may without any trouble satisfy themselves in a few hours as to the real bearing of the differences between the present text and that which was read in this and the following age, by a perusal of Anger's recently published Synopsis of the Gospels. I cannot help regretting that in this work the traditional text has not had justice done it, owing to the learned Editor not adhering strictly to Lachmann's great principle of restoration. Respecting the text of the three Gospels, and particularly that of St. Matthew, as it was read by ancient ecclesiastical writers

of the second century (including Hippolytus, and the passages extracted by him), there is not a single various reading which justifies the assumption of the Tübingen school, as to general vagueness in the text, and the existence of a great number of gospels. These variations, on the contrary, when taken together, and compared with what all the writers have in common, condemn such an hypothesis as untenable.*

* My readers will not expect from me a more detailed exposition of the theory here presented, as I have already announced that the whole question will be discussed in a work which I hope to publish at no distant period. I will only add that I have drawn up a Synopsis, in which St. Mark takes the lead of the three, as St. John does of all four. The fact that this can be carried out without any difficulty is the best proof that St. Mark's Gospel is not an extract from the other two. Whoever wishes to see the system of the original Gospel (Ur-Evangelium), and the theories resulting from it down to 1825, examined in the light of a truly historical criticism, should read the introduction to the English translation of Schleiermacher's "Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke," from the pen of the great historian of Greece, the Bishop of St. David's. The whole history of the opinions entertained upon this subject is given in a compendious but historical manner, with full reference to everything written upon it, in the latest work of Reuss, which has been quoted above.

III.

CLEMENS OF ROME AND HIS EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

THERE lived in this second age a disciple of Paul, a true Roman, the successor of him and Peter, who not only was the first Bishop of that metropolis in the sense of the Fathers, but who during his life exercised considerable influence as a historical personage over the West, and after his death as a mythical name over the East—Clemens of Rome. He had neither the spirit of an Apostle, nor the vocation of an Evangelist, nor the speculative aspirations of the beloved disciple, of whom he was the practical complement—the man of government, the Peter of the West, a Gentile Roman, the disciple of Paul, the friend and admirer of Apollos. Linus and Cletus (Anacletus is a mythical personage originating in a blunder) had divided between them the charge of the Roman congregation; the one, the Pauline, taking that of the Gentile Christians; the other, the Petrine, that of the Jewish portion of the congregation. The Petrine survived his colleague, and became, from 71 to 77, Bishop of the whole Church. Clemens, his successor, a Roman, but writing in Greek, the prevailing language of his congregation, as did his successors during two hundred years, was Bishop of the city of Rome from 78 to 86, or from the 9th year of Vespasian to the 5th of Domitian.* His Epistle to the Corinthian presbytery and people must therefore have been written during this period, and consequently be anterior to the fourth Gospel. Clemens, the prosaic Roman, was a man of good and deep practical sense, a pious Christian, full of divine wisdom, who had studied his Greek Bible and read some of the classics, but feeble in his criticism and weak in his learned arguments. Mosheim and Neander think

* This chronology which I shall establish in my Table destroys Hilgenfeld's assumption that the latter might be as late as 94.

some passages in this Epistle* interpolated, because, from their mythical tendency, they are unworthy of a disciple of the Apostles. This is begging the question, and mere fancy. The importance of the Epistle is great historically, constitutionally, and doctrinally.

As to the first point, it is a partial completion of the account in the Acts. This book, which was composed about ten years before the Epistle of Clemens, had never been completed, the author having evidently been prevented from writing the third part of his Memoir from the year 63 downwards. From Clemens, who was the best authority, we learn something about the last exploits of Paul, and of his and Peter's martyrdom at Rome.

As to the constitutional point, the Roman Bishop considered episcopacy as an open and a simply constitutional question. He advised the Presbyters of Corinth to stand by the Apostolic principle, that Presbyters are for life, not to be wantonly deposed by the congregation.† It never occurred to him to exhort them to change their constitution into episcopacy. As a good Roman, Clemens did not believe that the end of the world was near: he thought it necessary rather to preserve the new life which had been given to the world, as long as it should last. This was to be done, according to his reasonable view, principally by two great institutions: a wise ecclesiastical constitution, based upon Christian liberty, and Catholic communion among the Churches. The constitution of every Church (town congregation) was to be based upon the two apostolical principles; the sovereignty of the congregation and the sacredness of the apostolical office, upon Christian liberty and goodly order. Catholic communion was to be cherished by one Church taking the advice of another, and giving such advice in the

* I have analysed the Epistle in my Ignatian Letters, to show its unity, and rejoice to see that this argument has now been carried out triumphantly by Hilgenfeld (Apostolische Väter).

† Hilgenfeld in his text (p. 71., compare p. 77.) maintains absolutely the same; but in discussing my conjecture (ἐπιμονήν, instead of ἐπινομήν, which is not Greek in the sense of that very erudite and rare word, ἐπινομίν), he contradicts himself, and forgets the very point at issue, by saying: "Die Lebenslänglichkeit versteht sich wohl von selbst, es handelt sich nur um die Wiederbesetzung nach dem Tode."

spirit of charity and Christian frankness, leaving the decision to each separate Church as being an independent, self-responsible body politic, in the Christian sense. There is inspiration and prophecy in all this.

In a doctrinal point of view, the Christology of Clemens is highly important; for it is that of the disciple of the two Apostles, of a man who presided over the Church of Rome, and wrote as being already Bishop before the fourth Gospel was written. It is preposterous to ask him after the three Persons of the Pseudo-Athanasian Creed; but it is ridiculous to make him, as Baur has done, an Ebionite. Such an idea is precluded by what he says, as a true disciple of St. Paul and the friend of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, respecting the atonement. The redemption of mankind was achieved by Christ's self-devoted death for us according to God's eternal decree of grace (ch. xxi. 49.). The Holy Spirit of God, by which Christ also spoke to mankind by the Prophets, appeared in Him in the flesh: He appeared in humility, as a servant, not in divine majesty, although He might have done so (ch. xvi.). Christ therefore, in the Spirit, existed before all creation, because He is the consciousness of God in Himself and in the creation. As Jesus of Nazareth He is the servant of God.* This is a view of God, and of Christ, and

* The celebrated passage in ch. ii. "Τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Θεοῦ" (the means of sustenance for our spiritual pilgrimage and service, as soldiers of Christ) ἀρκούμενοι, καὶ προσέχοντες τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελῶς ἐστερνισμένοι ἦτε (ἐν) τοῖς σπλάγχνοις, καὶ τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ ἦν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν does not make Clemens a Patripassian. It may be, as Dorner judiciously observes (i. 139.) a less accurate way of using the pronoun, of which, indeed, we find another example in ch. xxxvi. "Διὰ τούτου (Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) ἀτενίζομεν εἰς τὰ ὕψη τῶν οὐρανῶν· διὰ τούτου ἐνοπτριζόμεθα τὴν ἄμωμον καὶ ὑπερτάτην ὄψιν αὐτοῦ. Where αὐτοῦ stands for Θεοῦ, as Dorner remarks, Christ being the ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μεγαλοσύνης (Θεοῦ), as He is called in the same sentence, or the εἰκών, ch. xxxiii., both in strict adhesion to the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is strange enough that Hilgenfeld should have understood that passage in ch. ii. differently. As to a similar expression in Pseudo-Ignatius ad Rom. ch. vi., see my text of that Epistle, p. 107. Dorner should not have spoken doubtingly (p. 142.) about the sense of the passage, ch. xxvii. Ἐν λόγῳ τῆς μεγαλοσύνης αὐτοῦ συνεστήσατο τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἐν λόγῳ δύναται αὐτὰ καταστρέψαι. It certainly does not relate to Christ's pre-existence. Λόγος is not used here in the Johannean sense of ὁ Λόγος.

of mankind, which flows naturally out of the doctrine of the Apostles: we shall find it developed in a popular form, and with a certain tendency towards self-righteousness, about sixty years later, by another Roman, brother of another bishop of Rome, in a book which was considered, even by the Council of Nicæa, almost as an inspired mirror of orthodoxy, and which is indeed the great exponent of the religious mind of the second century.

IV.

ST. JOHN AND HIS GOSPEL.

St. John, the mysterious apostle of love, appears as the leading personage at the beginning and close of this period. In the year 68, after the death of Nero, when the fulfilment of ancient and modern prophecies was drawing near, and the spiritual atmosphere was charged with the elements of the approaching catastrophe, John saw and wrote down, or dictated, his vision of the imminent destruction of Jerusalem, and of the approaching end of the city of the Seven Hills. I have shown in my Preface, that this is the epoch of the Apocalypse, and shall only treat here of the Gospel.

In the month of September of the year 70, the Holy of Holies of the Jewish dispensation was despoiled and buried beneath its ruins. Jerusalem and Jewish nationality ceased to exist. This awful event roused the Christian congregations all over Asia, Africa, and Europe, from a slumbering expectation of the end of all things. It became clear to them that God's work on earth was to be carried on by Christ's followers. And great was the work doing and to be done. Man as man was to become a temple of God, sacred as such, whether he was a slave or a king: he was to be self-responsible, whether layman or teacher; he was to be in immediate connection with Christ and the Father, whether illiterate or learned. Then the new structure of family life was forming upon the Christian principle: the relation of husband and wife was to be sanctified by the equal Christian position of the woman, and the duty of moral education. A hard problem for flesh and blood! but had it not appeared so to the Apostles themselves before Christ's Spirit came upon them? Parents were to respect their children as co-heirs of the kingdom of God, and children to love their parents for God's sake, and to respect

them, as such, not less, but more. This world-renewing spirit could not stop short with the family relations: its work became social, in spite of aristocratic pride, of mammon and of state-law, of philosophers and national economists. Masters also and slaves learned to recognise their mutual positions as brethren: the Christian slave might remain a slave, but he ceased to be without a body and soul of his own. Finally, each member of the congregation was bound to assist every other, as a brother; and the congregations all over the earth were to feel themselves united by the Spirit as one body of redeemed men, Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and Barbarians. Many of them continued during this period to be ruled by Elders, called also Overseers (Bishops): in part of Asia Minor and at Rome, the people confided the direction to one chosen individual, while they retained the supreme legislative right of making regulations. Thus, while in the dignity of Bishop man again is truly honoured, because trusted and freely obeyed, the universal Christian conscience sways supreme, as in the time of the Apostles: more so, indeed, inasmuch as the Apostles were chosen by Christ, founded the congregations, and stood above local governments; whereas the Bishops were chosen by the people themselves, and possessed only local, and that a limited authority.

But what is the Christian view of the state? To the Christian the state is a punishment, to be borne with patience: it belongs to this earth, and is doomed to perish with it. The Christian honours the Emperor as Christ did Tiberius, and respects his representatives as Christ did Pontius Pilate. Caiaphas is no more: his last successor lies buried under the ruins of the Temple. Nero, too, is gone: is he really (as the general prophecy and belief goes) to return from the East and destroy the new Babylon, the guilty queen of this doomed world? Such were the rumours which, together with many strange doctrines and speculations, Jewish and Gentile, pervaded the Christian world. As Peter had to combat Simon the Samaritan, and Paul the Jewish Gnostics, with their genealogies of angels and aeons (1 Tim. iv. 7., Tit. iii.), so John had to warn them against Cerinthus. He, also a Jewish Gnostic of Alexandria (Neander, i. 683—690), who speculated deeply on the nature of the cos-

mogonic process, concluded from the suffering and death of Jesus that the Christ had departed from him; and in respect to the kingdom of God, which was to come, indulged in images of chiliastic happiness, which remind us of the Bacchic mysteries, and border upon Mohammedan sensualism.

Almost a century has passed away since Christ was born: the aged disciple still lives: is he (as was believed) really not to die before the Lord returns? or is he to fall asleep, like all the other Apostles and eyewitnesses?

All is dark and dreary upon earth; there is no light even for the believer but in Heaven; no abode for the faith but in the Jerusalem above. Thither the Church is to be elevated. The kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdoms of the Lord; but before that can come to pass, the world must perish. And perish it will: Christ has announced it. When? Nobody knows.

Such was the temper, such were the doubts, fears, and expectations of the latter part of this second age of the Apostles, in which St. John at Ephesus wrote his Gospel and his great Epistle. They both breathe the spirit of his last and constantly repeated injunction and message to his congregation: "Children, love one another!" As in the life and writings of Paul so in those of St. John we clearly discern two periods. In the Apocalypse we see his ardent mind subject to prophetic ecstasies, in his Gospel and Epistle we behold the calm teacher, the Apostle of love. This difference is independent of another circumstance which may help to explain the contrast as to language. I mean the difference between a Jewish secretary who may have acted the part of amanuensis in committing the vision to writing, and whose style would naturally be Hebraizing and barbarous, and the men of Asia Minor, the Bishops and Elders of the Greek cities, who (as we shall see presently) edited his Gospel in good Hellenistic Greek. We trace the same amanuensis in the Epistles which date from the latter portion of his life. According to a uniform tradition, St. John died at Ephesus, in the year 98 or 99, the last of Nerva's, or the first of Trajan's reign.

The fourth Gospel decidedly belongs to the last decennium of the first Christian century. There is an ancient tradition trace-

able to Hegesippus, the first Christian historian, who, after making diligent researches in Asia and Europe, wrote about the year 175 or 180, that St. John, who was the only survivor of the Apostles, consented at the request of some fellow-disciples, (Andrew, Peter's brother, being mentioned by name), and that of the neighbouring Bishops and Elders of Asia, to write what he had seen. The same tradition also states that all these recognised or confirmed it ("recognoscentibus cunctis"), which implies them to have been the editors.

The Gospel itself, indeed, contains plainly enough this confirmatory evidence of the editors. They it was who after St. John's death added the 21st chapter, at the end of which they address themselves to the reader in the words of v. 24. "This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things: *and we know that his testimony is true.*" The Apostle speaks of himself in the third person, when addressing the reader, as he does towards the very end (xix. 35.): "And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true; and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe."

In order to understand the arrangement of this Gospel, we must recall to our minds the position in which John stood to the catechetical tradition, and to the faith of the congregations, when he undertook to write down what he had seen.

At that time a generation had passed away since the destruction of Jerusalem, and two generations had succeeded each other since the beginning of the catechetical teaching about Christ all over the world. This account originally contained the five great chapters: How Jesus was baptized by John; How He preached and worked miracles in Galilee; How He travelled about, going towards Jerusalem; How He preached at Jerusalem; How He suffered and died there, and rose on the third day. By far the greater part of these five chapters is anecdotical: that is to say, consists of Jesus' doings and sayings loosely strung together, and capable therefore of gradual addition and enlargement. These accounts were historical, but could not, and never were originally intended to be considered as chronological. The sentences which connect them, being the work of the individual compiler, evidently form no part of the primitive tradition.

Christ left Galilee very soon after his baptism, and remained about a year in Judæa, till he heard of the Baptist's death. This was the occasion of his visiting Jerusalem for the first time, to which he afterwards twice returned. In the meantime he had made a longer stay in Galilee, and travelled about the country in various directions. Circumstances such as these were unimportant to the catechumens, who of course could only wish to have analogous sayings put together, and the whole framework as simple as possible. This course John could not adopt and sanction: but he must have been very reluctant to oppose it, and thereby disturb the popular account which was written down and circulated throughout the Christian world. He accordingly resolved to sketch the true chronological framework as lightly as possible, and to expatiate only on such points as bore upon the great theme of the prologue. This is the key to the right criticism of his whole Gospel.

The second age closes the period of the Apostles, and includes the life of the first of the Fathers.

Then follow five generations of Apostolic Fathers, who form the age of the primitive Church which had not seen Christ in the flesh. All these five generations are closely linked with the Apostles, and the first two consist of their disciples, their followers and opponents. Ignatius, with Basilides the representative of the third age, was, according to date and tradition, a disciple of St. John. Polycarp of Smyrna, who, with Justin the Martyr, represents the Church of the fourth age, as Valentinus and Marcion represent the Gnostics, had likewise heard St. John and been taught by him. Polycarp had been seen and listened to in his earliest youth by Irenæus, who, with Victor of Rome and Pantænus and Clemens of Alexandria, represents the fifth age. Irenæus became the teacher of Hippolytus, the representative of the sixth. Origen, who represents the seventh generation, was disciple of Clemens and knew Pantænus and Hippolytus.

Before proceeding to the delineation of the leading men of the third generation, we must endeavour to solve the problem presented by a curious pseudonymous monument of the second age.

APPENDIX.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.

THE Epistle of Barnabas is obviously one of an early Christian teacher, but not the Epistle of Barnabas, the Levite, of Cyprus, the friend and assistant of Paul in his first missionary travels. He expressly calls himself a teacher, not an Apostle (c. i. and viii.)*, and he associates himself moreover with the Gentile Christians, in opposition to the Jews, thereby stamping himself as a Gentile Christian. "Let us not run to their (the Jews') law, as if we were proselytes" (c. iii. end). The Epistle, therefore, was written by a Gentile, and addressed to Gentile Christians. Had he not said so, indeed, his gross ignorance of Jewish ordinances and customs would abundantly prove it; nor could the Barnabas of the Acts be so ignorant of the customs of the Syrians as to say that they all practised circumcision (c. ix.). Hilgenfeld, in his excellent critical Essay upon the Epistle, has developed this point triumphantly both against Hefele†, who assumes it to have been addressed to Hellenistic Jews, and against Schenkel, who imagined that the chapters vii.—xii. and xv., xvi., were foisted into a genuine letter of Barnabas. This also explains the reason why the Epistle was not considered canonical, as one written by Barnabas would have been. Whence, then, did this very remarkable Alexandrian production acquire that title, and obtain such authority, that Clemens of Alexandria quotes it as the Epistle of the Apostolic man, or the Apostle, Barnabas? Celsus, indeed, about the middle of the second century, takes advantage of the strange expression in ch. v. "that Jesus chose for himself as Apostles the most lawless of men," in order to inveigh against Christianity upon the ground of their own books. I have shown in my Preface, in treating of the second Epistle of St. Peter, that expressions such as this of Clemens merely meant that the book went by such a name. The

* The words *οἱ ἀπόστολοι* have been left out in the passage, ch. 8. *Ὁ μόχθος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· οἱ προφέροντες ἄνδρες ἁμαρτωλοί . . . οἱ δὲ ῥαντίζοντες παῖδες οἱ ἀπόστολοι, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι ἡμῖν τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν . . ., οἷς ἔδωκε τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὴν ἐξουσίαν, οὗσι δεκαδύο.*

† Hilgenfeld, Die Apostolischen Väter, 1853.

estimation in which it was held at a very early date, is, in my opinion, easily explained, by its high antiquity, its ethical depth and simplicity, and, if I may so term it, its anti-Judaistic spirituality. I have no hesitation in saying that I think the Epistle as old as that of Clemens to the Corinthians, and consequently anterior by about fifteen years to the Gospel of St. John. The author was in prison, and hoped to be liberated; in the meantime he was comforted by the attachment of his flock or pupils (ch. i.). The time was one of persecution, the days were very evil, and the Adversary (the Devil) had power over this world (ch. ii.). Antichrist was very fast approaching (ch. iv.). "The day is near in which every thing shall perish, together with the Evil One. The Lord is near, and his reward" (ch. iii.). Jerusalem had been destroyed not long before; "you have seen those great signs and marvels among the Jewish people" (ch. iv.). In consequence of their warring, the temple had been destroyed by their enemies: the servants of these enemies (the Christians who quietly submit to their rulers in this world) will build it up again (the spiritual temple, the Church, as he himself explains it). All these are indications of the real horizon of the times; we have to decide between the persecution in the earlier years of Domitian (72—86), and that of Trajan. The reference, however, to the destruction of Jerusalem having been witnessed by his readers, the expectation of Antichrist, the forerunner of Christ, and the question, whether the Gentile Christians should allow themselves to be considered by the Jews as Proselytes to the law, preclude me from thinking of Trajan's time. It bears, on the contrary, the undoubted stamp of the beginning of the reign of Domitian.

As regards its ethical depth and simplicity and its spirituality, the following passages will satisfy my readers on that head. He begins with teaching (ch. ii.) that the Jewish sacrifices had been abolished, in order that "the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ which is without the yoke of necessity, may have the self-sacrifice of man." Inward purity is required, not conformity with outer ordinances. The whole time of our life and faith will avail us nothing, if we do not hate that which is evil, and the temptations which will come upon us; as the Son of God says: "Let us resist all iniquity and hate it." Christ's spirit (he continues ch. v.) pervades all the prophets; indeed, they speak out of the spirit that comes from Him, who is the Lord of the Heavens, to whom God spake before the world was constituted, "Let us make man in our likeness." But He veiled His godlike nature, appeared as man, and underwent death, displaying His divine power not by wonderful works and signs, but by apparent acts of humiliation, such as

living with sinners, choosing His Apostles from among the most lawless of men, and dying the most ignominious death; thereby freely fulfilling God's commission (ἐντολήν) and the prophecies about Himself.* We read in (ch. vi.): "The Lord saith, See I will make the last as the first," an unwritten traditional saying of Christ, intimating that the second creation will be as wonderful as the first; such at least is the sense in which our author understood it. "Now see how we have been new formed, as he says in another prophet (Ezek. 11.), I will take the stony heart out of their flesh (meaning those who have been foreseen by the Holy Spirit), and will give them a heart of

* This is the meaning of that very difficult and corrupt passage in the Epistle, chap. v. in the midst of which our Greek text begins. We give the leading passages with our corrections. "Propter hoc Dominus sustinuit (ὑπέμεινε) tradere corpus suum in exterminium, ut remissione peccatorum sanctificemur, quod est sparsione sanguinis illius. . . . . Et ad hoc (εἰς τοῦτο) Dominus, sustinuit pati pro animâ nostrâ, cum sit orbis terrarum Dominus, cui dixit die (l. Deus) ante constitutionem mundi: 'Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostrum.' Quomodo ergo sustinuit cum ab hominibus hoc pateretur discite. Prophetæ ab ipso habentes donum prophetaverunt, ille autem, ut vacuam faceret mortem et de mortuis resurrectionem ostenderet quia in carne oportebat eum adparere sustinuit (sc. mortem pati) ut promissum parentibus redderet, et ipse sibi [ἵνα τὸ πατράσιν ἐπηγγελμένον ἀποδώσῃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ] τὸν λαὸν τὸν καινὸν ἑτοιμάζων ἐπιδείξῃ, ἐπὶ γῆς ὢν ὅτι τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτὸς ποιήσας (MS. κρίνει. Πέρας γέ τοι) κρινεῖ πέρατα αὐτῆς. Διδάσκων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τηλικαῦτα τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ποιῶν ἐκήρυξε καὶ ὑπερηγάπησεν αὐτὸν (l. ἔκρυψε καὶ οὐκ ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτόν)." Ὅτε δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους, μέλλοντας κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ, ἐξελέξατο, ὄντας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους, ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθε καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν, τότε ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ εἶναι." Πέρας γέ τοι is in this epistle always followed by λέγει as introducing a concluding scriptural passage after others quoted by him (c. ix. init. c. xv., bis). Πέρας can never mean any thing but "lastly," not "further," as the commentators say. Besides, neither the one particle nor the other will do here. Hilgenfeld has misunderstood the whole passage, when he thinks it alludes to miracles and preachings of Christ before the election of the Apostles, consequently to a Gospel account which made the Sermon on the Mount prior to that act. The great corruption of the text of our MS. may be seen by the quotations which follow in the same chapter: Λέγει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὴν πηγὴν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν, which the old Latin translation renders: "plaga corporis illius omnes sanati sumus:" the text of Isaiah. 53, 5. τῇ πληγῇ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ πάντες ἰάθημεν, a loose quotation combined with a reference to 1 Pet. 2, 24. In the above sentence, the old interpreter is as unintelligible as the Greek, which proves the corruption to be ancient or twofold.

flesh: that is to say, He was to be manifested in the flesh, and dwell in us. For a holy temple, brethren, is to the Lord the dwelling-place of our heart." This same spiritual idea is developed in the beautiful conclusion of the first, or argumentative, part of the Epistle (ch. xvi). He had said that the temple of Jerusalem being destroyed, it would be rebuilt by the Christians; and then adds that he will teach how it is to be built again in the Lord's name. "Before we believed God, the dwelling-place of our heart was corrupt and powerless, as indeed a temple built by hands; because it was full of idolatry, and was a house of demons, by doing what was contrary to God. But the temple will be built in the name of the Lord: be careful, that the House of the Lord be honourably built. Learn how. Having received absolution of our sins, and believing in the name of the Lord, we have become new, having been built anew from the beginning. Therefore in our dwelling-place God dwells truly in us. How? By His word of faith, the calling of His promise, the wisdom of His judgments, the precepts of His teaching, He Himself prophesying in us, He Himself dwelling in us. To us, who were enslaved to death, He opens the doors of the temple, which is the mouth, gives us repentance, and introduces us into the incorruptible temple. He who longs after salvation does not look to man (who preaches the Gospel to him), but to Him who lives in him and speaks in him; and he is astounded at never having either heard such words from the mouth of man, or himself wished to hear them. This is the spiritual temple built up to the Lord." Frequently as he indulges in allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament, which he calls the science or Gnosis (ch. vi.), he abstains from all systems of metaphysics, and is free from the pernicious dualism of the Gnostics.

The whole Epistle points to that dark period of the Church of Alexandria in which the Judaizing party had the upperhand. Apollos had attacked that spirit, about fifteen or twenty years before; but, even after the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple (which was soon followed by the pillage and desecration of that of Leontopolis), it was still powerful enough to adhere to Jewish ordinances to such an extent as to treat the Gentile Christians as proselytes of the Gate. Barnabas may have preached after Apollos, in the same sense, to the Alexandrians; indeed he, as well as Mark, his relation, is traditionally connected with Alexandria. A Gentile teacher, the author of the Epistle, preached and wrote in the spirit of Barnabas, and so the false tradition arose that it was written by Barnabas.

Of course, Barnabas does not quote the Gospel of St. John; but he

does quote the Lord's words," as "written down." The Latin text has (ch. iv.) "*sicut scriptum est:* multi vocati, pauci electi" (Matth. xx. 16.). It appears highly uncritical to strike out, as Credner does, these words, which are required by the sense, or to suppose, as Hilgenfeld does, that they are an inaccurate rendering of the lost Greek, "the Lord says." The Latin interpreter evidently understood very little Greek, but where the words are so easy he could not make a mistake. It would be still more uncritical to say that the author had before him, when making his quotations, our text of St. Matthew: there is no one passage literally the same; but the fact is that he quotes nothing which is not found in St. Matthew (if anywhere), and two of the passages cited are neither in Mark nor Luke, and only in Matthew. It is probable therefore that he had before him one of the texts of the Palestinian Gospel, which had already at that time been stamped as St. Matthew's, owing to the ethical arrangement of the sayings of Christ, particularly in the Sermon on the Mount. His designating (ch. xv.—end) the Lord's day as that of His resurrection and ascension is perfectly compatible with the closing verses of our first Gospel. We shall have to develope this point more fully in the introduction to the next age.

Several Churches admitted this letter into their collection, and read it. Clemens of Alexandria must have found it in high estimation there, or he would not have commented upon it in his Hypotyposes, as he did upon the apostolical writings. This was a homage paid to Alexandrian customs and feelings.

THE

THIRD GENERATION,

OR

THE AGE OF IGNATIUS AND BASILIDES.

FROM THE YEAR 100 TO THE YEAR 127.

(IVth year of TRAJAN to XIIth of HADRIAN.)

ALEXANDER. XYSTUS. TELESPHORUS.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS.

101.	TRAJAN.	IV.	Alexander succeeds Evaristus. The Communion becomes at Rome, under Alexander, a strictly liturgical act.
104.		VII.	Average time for the appendix to the shorter Epistle of Peter.
105.		VIII.	End of first Christian century, according to the correct chronology.
106.		IX.	Sixth year of Alexander. ✠
107.		X.	First year of Xystus. Eusebius's false date for the martyrdom of Ignatius.
110.		XIII.	Pliny the younger, Prefect of Bithynia and Pontus. Trajan's Edict: Christianity declared a religio illicita.
111. to 114.		XIV. to XVII.	Seventh year of Xystus. The Sanctus used at Rome before the free Prayer of Thanksgiving (Consecration) which closes with the words of Institution.
115.		XVIII.	Earthquake at Alexandria. Ignatius sent to Rome to fight with the wild beasts.
116,		XIX.	Last year.
117.	HADRIAN.	I.	Last year of Xystus.
118.		II.	First year of Telesphorus. Under him the Gloria in excelsis was first used as the Communion hymn in the nocturnal Christmas Service, and afterwards generally.
124.		VIII.	Hadrian's journey through Greece. The addresses of Quadratus and Aristides.
127.		XI.	Last year of Telesphorus.

INTRODUCTION.

The general Situation of the Christian mind in this Age, its Difficulties and Problems.

As to the external framework of this epoch, it begins with the first year of the Roman Bishop Alexander, the successor of Evaristus, who had succeeded Clemens in 87, the sixth year of Domitian. This starting point corresponds with the second or third year after the death of the Apostle St. John, who left this world, according to universal tradition, either under Nerva (97), or in the first year of Trajan (98). The epoch ends with the year 127, which is the last year of the episcopate of Telesphorus, the predecessor of Hyginus. Telesphorus, in 117, or the first year of Hadrian, succeeded Xystus (107—116), the successor of Alexander. We have thus rather curtailed the duration of this period, which we might otherwise have commenced a year or two earlier, and ended a year or two later; because already in this age we have no safe chronological guide except the succession of the Roman Bishops. From the time of Hyginus, with whom the next generation will commence, the Roman Church becomes, moreover, the central point of ecclesiastical history, and her Bishops are frequently referred to by contemporaneous or later writers, in order to fix the chronology of an important event. For details we refer to the Synopsis.

The last of the Apostles was gone: Christianity entered upon an epoch of immense importance for mankind, but one also which presented to the believers a world of problems, embarrassments, and complications. The capital and other towns of the Roman empire, were rapidly filling with Christian congregations, formed and organised by the Apostles and their dis-

ciples. The Christian had become an object of judicial and administrative persecution: Christianity now began to be even an object of inquiry among the wise and the powerful. Already Domitian had for a time been disturbed by the universally spreading rumour, mentioned by Suetonius and Tacitus, that out of Palestine, and from among Christ's people, would come the future masters of the world. He ordered that the surviving members of the family of Joseph and Mary should be summoned and examined personally; and, as a good Roman, he was satisfied on being informed that they were hard-working, poor, and illiterate peasants, who had no idea of becoming princes or emperors. We shall see that in the very beginning of the next generation, emperors and their preceptors asked deeper questions as to Christianity than the son of Vespasian. But even in the earlier part of our age, Trajan and Pliny paid more serious attention to the point, than Domitian and his prefects: the police and criminal judges had begun to meddle with this illicit religion.

The questions proposed by inquiring minds in this and the two following ages, were more particularly these:— Who was Jesus of Nazareth? Who is Christ? What was his religion? Is not the whole a fallacy and a failure? Jesus has disappeared and not returned as his disciples expected he would; how can one believe in their religion? What is, according to the belief of the Christians, to become of them and of the world? The answers the inquirers received might not appear to them satisfactory: particularly when the Apologists entered into learned arguments: as to the evangelical accounts, who would read such a strange story in such bad Greek? There was, however, an undeniable element of life in the Christian congregations. The fall of Jerusalem had annihilated Jewish nationality: it had only strengthened the bond of union among those who had been supposed to be a Jewish sect. That event had, indeed, given them the consciousness of a rational, not vicarious and ritual, worship, independent of the Temple. The people had no longer to wait in outer halls; they entered at once into what the Gentiles called the innermost—the sanctuary The Christians themselves knew of no sanctuary but that within themselves: of no temple but of that built up in their

hearts in the act of common prayer and Christian life: of no God, but of Him "whom they carried in their bosom," as the old saying of Ignatius the Theophorus has it: of no sacrifice but that of their own thankful heart: of no mediating sacerdotal cast or order: indeed, of nothing and no one between God and themselves, except the Saviour, whose Spirit, as they felt, was with and in them. The more of them were killed, the more numerous they became; their holy life, truthfulness, mutual brotherly love, and dignified courage in death, made converts of the bravest men — even of their gaolers. The mothers and sisters clung to the pure and dignified words of womanhood and marriage. The poor grasped at what they wanted, association and brotherhood.

What, then, did the Christians know of Christ and of His Apostles, and their doctrine?

As to Christ himself, they knew rather less than more about Him than we do. Undoubtedly there was a living, unwritten tradition floating about: we know all its elements, but not as children of tradition, listening to some secret priestly knowledge, but as men of conscientious research. There were current sayings of Christ not contained in the Gospels: one of which ("It is more blessed to give than to receive," Acts xx. 35.) is recorded by St. Paul.. A few more, some of which appear genuine, some tainted with Gnostic mysticism, are quoted as authentic by the Fathers. There are certainly some remarkable sentences among them; the following for instance, "Lo, I shall make the last things like the first" (which cannot have been derived from the sayings of Christ, in St. Matth. xix. 30. xx. 16., Luke xiii. 30). "Those who desire to see me, and to partake of my kingdom, must find me after afflictions and suffering." Another saying runs thus: "I have been weak on account of the weak, and I have hungered on account of the hungry, and I have thirsted on account of the thirsty. If you have not kept what is little, who will give you what is great? For I say unto you, he that is faithful in that which is least, is also faithful in much." (Compare Luke xvi. 10.) The same Bishop, Clemens, Paul's disciple, a Roman, and certainly no Gnostic, by whom this is quoted, gives also the following: "When the

Lord was asked by some one, when His kingdom was to come, He said, 'When the two things shall be one, and the within shall be the without, and that which is male shall be with the female, neither male nor female.'" Clemens of Alexandria found two cognate sayings in the Gospel "according to the Egyptians" (another form of the first or Palestinian Gospel): "I am come to dissolve the works of the female;" and in answer to Salome's question, How long mankind are to suffer death? the reply, "As long as women bring forth." The same Father and Justin Martyr report the following saying: "In what things I find you, in the same shall I also judge you." Clemens of Alexandria read in the Gospel "according to the Hebrews": "He who has been resting will be king, and he who has been king will go to rest." *

I have collected all these unwritten sayings in the Prolegomena of the Analecta.

There were in circulation, besides, fabulous amplifications of some of Christ's parables, particularly of those respecting the nature of the kingdom of Heaven, and the abundance of all things in that happy state to come which awaited the believers as certainly as destruction and death would come upon this globe and its unbelieving inhabitants. Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia in the last years of this, or the earliest of the next age, collected a considerable number of such sayings or legends from surviving "Elders," that is to say, from men of the first two generations, who had seen Christ or (as the term was afterwards used) His Apostles; most of them, therefore, men of our age. Some of these legends we know from Irenæus. They consisted partly of poetical embellishments of historical accounts, partly of silly misunderstandings of parabolical spiritual sayings. Out of them, and out of the never-sleeping power of fiction, grew, in the course of this century the few truly ancient among the pseudo-Gospels; legendary novels, perhaps originally intended to be received as such. None of them ever enjoyed any authority;

* I have translated it as if the reading were ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΑΣ instead of ΘΑΥΜΑΣΑΣ, "he who has been wondering." The sense is, he who has been made to rest (stopped in his efforts by men) shall be king, &c.

the sound sense of the congregations rejected them. Nothing, therefore, can be more absurd than that trite sophism of the Romanists of our days (borrowed imprudently from the Voltairians), that we know only through the Church (that is to say, through their priesthood) that our Gospels are genuine. If that were the case, it would be a sad comfort for Christian believers, and a condemnation of Christianity itself, historically and spiritually. But the fact is, that if our Gospels did not contain sufficient direct external and internal evidence to satisfy the inquiring mind, the pseudo-Gospels would, by the law of contrast, serve as a foil.

As to our Gospels, the Churches at that time possessed neither a greater nor less number than we do. The real critical question respecting this age is, how far the text of our canonical books was fixed during its course. And here I must repeat, either there exists no objective historical criticism whatever, or the Christians had at that time essentially the same text of all of them. Three men, disciples of the Apostles, had impressed upon the current catechetical tradition the stamp of individual editorship, and of respectable and respected authorship. I must again call the attention of my readers to this point. To add to the stock of traditional instruction, accompanied always by the living word, particularly as regarded the sayings of Christ, which were originally in a great measure left to personal teaching, was a natural right, and one that was freely exercised. But to add to a book bearing the stamp and name of Apostolical men, would have been a forgery unworthy of a believer, and repudiated by the Churches, which considered themselves more and more as one body. After John, the favourite Apostle, had written his Gospel, the cyclus was concluded for ever. He was gone, as the writers of the first three had gone before him. Papias could collect some anecdotes and detached sayings, the test of the authenticity of which every reasonable man would feel, as they themselves did, must be found in the four Gospels.

Now these Gospels were thus written down as individual compositions, exhibiting the "joyful intelligence." The name of "the Scripture" was, however, still reserved to the Old

Testament by orthodox Christians, that is to say, by those who saw in the Law a preparation for the Gospel, and who did not discard the whole Jewish dispensation as the work of the demiurgic or worldly principle.

The Epistles which the Apostles themselves, assisted by their friends, had addressed to the Christian congregations, enjoyed among all Christians the highest authority after the Lord's own words. The proofs of this origin and authority are unexceptional; and while the Tübingen school cannot establish their contrary doctrine without denying facts to suit subjective feeling, misnamed historical criticism, we have nothing to reject or to alter, and the new facts which have lately come to our knowledge strengthen the historical conclusions.

As to the first Gospel, I have already observed that there is not a single quotation made by the Fathers or their opponents from those parts of catechetical tradition which have received a new form by Matthew, which does not presuppose his great work, that is to say, the collection and stringing together of analogous sayings, as an integral part of the missionary account of Christ's life. Besides, with the exception of some stray traditional sayings, whatever they quote as Gospel statement is found in our St. Matthew. The only reasonable conclusion then is, that they had his work before them. With the exception therefore of the Greek wording, that is to say, translation, and of some details in the account of the earlier portions of the history of Christ anterior to and including His Baptism, those written texts of St. Matthew's Gospel must have coincided with our own.

As to the texts of our second and third Gospels, they never underwent any variation of note. The beginning of that of St. Mark may have been read, in this age, without the two quotations (ver. 2. and 3.) which render the period so involved that before Lachmann the first words were taken as the title. Owing to a very strange accident, as it appears, the end of it was lost at a very early date, and a more ample conclusion substituted (xvi. 9—20.) The evidence of the ancient Fathers removes all doubt as to this fact, quite irrespectively of the undeniable difference of style. No trace has been left of the

original text, the loss of which it was intended to supply. To suppose that Mark's report and consequently ancient tradition could have stopped at verse 15., is too absurd to be seriously discussed. Assuredly, no account of the resurrection could close with the words: "And they (the women) went out quickly, and fled from the sepulchre: for they trembled and were amazed: *neither said they anything to any man:* for they were afraid." The whole history of the resurrection hinges upon their giving to the Apostles the first intelligence, but in consequence of an apparition of the Lord Himself. This, therefore, must have been stated by Mark. Now, as Matthew agrees almost literally with him in what immediately precedes, Mark must have had the words which we read in Matthew, verses 16. and 17., about Christ's apparition and command. With this the old traditional account of Christ's terrestrial life may have stopped: hence a new era begins, the definitive end of which, Christ's glorious return as judge of the world, was long daily expected. Consequently the real end of the Gospel of Mark most probably ran thus (see Matthew, xxviii. 16, 17.): "And as they went, behold Jesus met them, saying, All Hail. And they came and held him by the feet and worshipped him. Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid: go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me. Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him, they worshipped him: but some doubted." The words which now follow in St. Matthew (verse 18.), "And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth," are not the conclusion of what precedes, but the introduction to another saying of Christ with which our first Gospel terminates, "Go ye, *therefore*, and teach all nations," &c. (ver. 19, 20.).

The conclusion of Mark was evidently not a definitive one. Now, as the evangelical account respecting Christ had already received in our period a farther development through Matthew and Luke, and St. John's Gospel had appeared, it was very natural that, instead of appending to Mark the last two verses of Matthew, the whole account was, in the course of this or the

next age, recast by a composition which aimed at establishing a sort of harmony between those two Evangelists and St. John.

But, however it may be explained, our present text is not found in two of the three oldest manuscripts, that of the Vatican and the Paris palimpsest. As a traditional text, it has, nevertheless, been retained by Lachmann, although he agrees with Tischendorf in believing it spurious.

As to St. Luke's Gospel, it forms a standing chapter of the Tübingen novel to maintain that its original text is lost, and its author doubtful. Hahn has proved (what indeed ought never to have been doubted) that Marcion had before him essentially the same text of Luke which we possess, and purposely mutilated it in order to make it harmonize with the Gnostic system he had adopted. Their delusions on this score are the necessary corollary of their unfortunate supposition that the Gospel of St. John was written by an impostor about the year 150. It is natural that if, in a historical series, a principal limb be put out of joint, all the others must be disjointed equally. Thus they have been driven to the conclusion that one half of the books of the New Testament are spurious, and all those of the most ancient Fathers. The same happened to Harduin as to the Latin classics. The exceptionally genuine "Pliny" of the school of Baur is the Apocalypse; and their key to the mysteries of History are the novels and legends of the Clementines. These aberrations, which are not endorsed with the name of any classical scholar of first-rate eminence, and have against them not only every other theological critic from Bleek to Ewald, as well as Neander the historian, but also the immortal names of classical scholars and historians, such as Niebuhr, Schleiermacher, and Lachmann, are kept up by professorial dictatorship against real criticism, which is nothing but the common sense of the world. Though they are now fast losing their power over the German mind, being no longer a substitute for political excitement, it is still necessary to bring them before the tribunal of common sense in Europe and America as a timely warning. This is so particularly in the case of the fable of Marcion's own Gospel. The perusal of Hahn's useful work, and still more the patient reading of Epiphanius and

Tertullian, will convey to every critical scholar, not blinded by the all-deranging, fundamental assumption of that school, the full conviction that Marcion's mutilations themselves are the best evidence in favour of the text he had before him. This, however, does not alter the fact that some of Marcion's various readings were genuine, or at least traditional, and known in the age now under discussion. They deserve the greatest attention: for our knowledge of manuscripts of the second century mainly depends upon Origen, and he, the first critical observer and reporter of the biblical texts, knew of no manuscripts older than about fifty years before his time (the age of Irenæus), as Lachmann has judiciously observed.

The same must be maintained as to the text of the Acts of the Apostles. This book, the incomplete continuation, not the intended close, of St. Luke's account, was then read by the Christians exactly as we have it, perhaps with the omission of one or two marginal glosses. They possessed also the same text of St. John's Gospel, in support of which we can now quote not only Valentinus, but also Basilides, from original writings of twenty or thirty years before the epoch of the Tübingen fiction. Such facts can only be slighted by those who are wedded to a system irreconcilable with history, and to a chronology which is an insult to all records!

As to the Epistolary collection, its two component parts undoubtedly existed: "the Catholic Epistles," and "the Apostle." The first, however, comprized at that time only such of the Apostolic Epistles as were congregational addresses: that is to say, the Epistle of St. James; the longer Epistle of St. Peter (the genuine shorter one seems not to have become known till later as part of the spurious one), and the first Epistle of St. John. His second and third were known, but not classed with the others for regular reading during the service, as being short, occasional private notes.

"The Apostle" contained, on the same principle, Paul's nine Epistles to the Seven Churches. Not that any one imagined the Pastoral letters to Timothy and Titus, and the Epistle to Philemon, to be spurious: but, as being private letters, although some of them possessed ecclesiastical interest, they might be

added or omitted in the Church-books, according to the peculiar custom.

Apollos's address to the Alexandrinian Church was slowly making its way into the "Apostle," as an Appendix, for reasons explained above.

Finally, as to the Apocalyptic books, St. John's Revelation was a floating element; not as being of doubtful authenticity, but as not being considered by all as adapted for didactic reading during the service. Peter's Apocalypse is a forgery of this age: for it was, in the middle of the second century, read in most Churches, although with dissentient voices.

But, besides these Apostolic works, which are found in the Communion service as being authentic accounts of Christ's life and doctrine, many edifying writings of Apostolic men were read in congregational meetings. Such was the Epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians, anterior to St. John's Gospel by about seventeen years: such was, forty years after St. John, the "Shepherd," written by the brother of Bishop Pius, about 140.

It is clear, that in this state of the Evangelical and Apostolic accounts, the great requisite would have been a critical sifting of books and texts: but where was the man who could undertake that? The Churches were independent of each other, and adhered to their own tradition: besides, the Church had to fight for its very existence, and many still expected the immediate end of the world. As to the history of the Apostles, the ruling Petrine or Judaic party had no desire to continue the work of St. Luke, which might easily have been done in this generation. A fraction of them, on the contrary, at a very early period, and probably in this age, adopted that anti-historical tendency which, if it had prevailed, would have given us, as sacred books — perhaps as *the* sacred books — the Apostolical Constitutions and the novel of the Clementines, both which we now possess only in a garbled form.

Such were some of the difficulties respecting the historical element of Christianity. Behind them, in second line, stood those which referred to the interpretation of the original "Scripture," the canonical books of the Jews, adopted by the Christians as the Old Testament, but explained in a manner

which did not satisfy the Jews, and which shocked or puzzled the inquiring Hellenic mind. How were they to be explained? According to the Hebrew text and Jewish tradition, or according to one of the different texts of the Septuagint? And whether literally or allegorically? What could the converted Gentiles do with Jewish ritualism and external history? Christ certainly was the fulfilment of the Law and of the Prophets, in a spiritual and, consequently, in a rational sense: but what was that sense?

These difficulties were great: but what were they when compared with the puzzles and problems presented by the ideal or philosophical element of Christianity?

The ancient Christians were not so lost to all religious sincerity and thought as to overlook or deny this philosophical element as an integral part of Christianity. In this respect they differed widely from those who, at the present day, under the mask of "Evangelical" zeal, sap the deepest, because the eternal, foundations of Christian revelation with the united energy of ignorance and Pharisaical bigotry, and who persecute all intellectual Christian divinity as rank heresy. These same persons, however, exhibit in their very accusations, and in their own writings, with piteous self-complacency, the grossest materialism in philosophy which the Christian world has ever witnessed.

The ancient Christians could not help remarking, that Christ never ceased to warn the Jews against the insufficiency of the historical element. He had told them plainly that it was a vain imagination of theirs to find eternal life in the letter of the Scripture (St. John, v. 39.) and in the ordinances founded upon the Law, and in such Messianic expectations as their Pharisaical blindness had built up upon their materialistic interpretation of the Prophets. He had told them with equal plainness, that Christ, as David's son, could no more redeem them from their misery than Jesus of Nazareth could, as such. Only the Son of Man, the Man who was at the same time conscious of being the Son of God, could realize the Father's eternal decree of redemption; and God's Spirit alone could explain what none but the Father and the Son knew, and he to whom God would reveal it—that knowledge of God and of His Christ which is

eternal life in the midst of time, and in spite of all the limitations and imperfections of human nature.

What is Man? What is God? What is their eternal (substantial) relation to each other? The first question already startled Nicodemus, when Christ spoke of the new birth to be produced by the Spirit in every man who is to be saved. And still this was only "terrestrial"—it only considered man upon this earth, in his disguise. What could Christ say to those who did not even understand this psychological element, of "heavenly things," of God's own eternal nature and the infinite self-manifestation of the conscious spirit?

"And then, what is the world?" asked the inquirer: "God's own creation, you simple Christians say. Do you believe it is God's will that is done in this world of ours? You know the contrary: you pray for the Kingdom of God, but you are obliged to throw the fulfilment of your prayer into another world, another existence, in order not to appear as impostors or dupes. How, then, can you maintain that Christ has taught this visible world to be the creation of the good, the loving God, whose eternal Word and own Son was manifested in Jesus of Nazareth? This world, which is a continual warfare of elements and creatures against each other, a world of death and destruction, must rather be the work of another power: the Creator, the Demiurg, cannot be the Father of Christ and of Christians. He, and not the Father, may have been the author of the Mosaic Law with all its outward ordinances, not freeing but enslaving the immortal Spirit, the Soul, God's own image. We are prepared to believe in the Gospel, and we cling to St. John's doctrine. But the few words above cited rest upon a hidden speculative substruction which we must try to lay open, in order to show that our faith and our reason can go together. In the mean time we shall pray and sing psalms with you, and hear, and speak, and worship in common with you, if you will let us."

Thus reasoned those philosophical minds who believed, or were ready to believe, the whole of the Gospel. But there were others who spoke as sceptics. They said, "We can see nothing of a change having taken place in the world through Christianity. On the contrary, the political and social state of the

world appears to get worse and worse. Can and will Trajan or Hadrian make it better? May not Nero, or, at least Neronianism, return to-morrow in a worse form even than it did in Domitian? And even under Trajan are you better off? Does your God protect you from tortures and ignominious death? Have you not, as it were, the hatred and curse of the human race upon you? Great problems are to be solved according to your own teaching: and can you do this, barbarians who cannot even write a page of decent Greek, and who know little, if anything, of science?"

"Indeed," said others, still more sceptical, "are you not worse than the Jews, who at least kept their superstitions to themselves, whereas you intrude them upon the civilized world? Great fanatics, and still greater rogues, we always held the Jews to be; but then they were a nation. They had a country, a temple, and a monotheism more easily understood than yours. What are you? Not a nation, and still intermeddling with all: not a state, but undermining the religion of the empire, that symbol of thought and of victory, sanctified by art. You preach a new world to come, and do not hold an honourable place in that in which we live at present, and, according to our philosophers and all appearances, shall have to live for ages and ages."

Whoever has read Celsus and Origen, and the earlier apologetic writers, knows that what I have here condensed in a few words is not an imaginary picture, but a faint outline of the innumerable struggles which harassed men's thoughts in the doubts and scoffs and objections which filled volumes, and pervaded the whole mind of the second century. The elements of these struggles existed already in the age before us.

Under such circumstances there were two ways open: that of practical, and that of theoretical or speculative Christianity.

Why did not all serious Christians pursue the former? There was the element of life, Christian sociality, so to speak, or socialism in the proper sense of the word. There was in the Christian congregations a society of bondmen, freedmen, and free and noble men and women, all united by their faith and by their mutual confidence. They were all free, because they

felt freed from their sins. They felt free within to act according to the dictates of their conscience struggling for the Divine life in them: free without; for they were ready to die rather than to worship idols and utter a lie on the most sacred subject of truth. And in these congregations a noble and powerful mind found ample opportunity of employing the greatest gifts; for as such they considered what the world calls talents. They might comfort the afflicted, instruct the ignorant, preach to the faithful, receive new light in the solemn moments of adoration, when all felt as one soul and one body in Christ, and when the spirit of the worshipping congregation flashed through every mind, opening up new views even to the most enlightened. Here all human wisdom appeared as nothing, charity and humility as all in all.

In these congregations there were also to be attained the noble offices of Deacon and of Elders. The one was a ministry ennobled by its object and by the freedom with which it was undertaken: to serve was to reign with God. The office of one of the Elders or Overseers also was the free mark of the confidence and respect of the congregation, often of the Apostolic man who for the first time had organized it. The highest honour, finally, was to be chosen the Overseer or ruling Elder. This Episcopate itself was a unique phenomenon in the world: it conferred a power to rule, but under the sacred code of Christ and the Apostles, under the control of the board of Elders, which the Bishop was bound to consult in important emergencies and in his judicial acts, and under that of the congregation, which possessed the supreme legislative power. There was a kingship, such as the Germans, not yet Christians, had formed among themselves nationally: a governing headship, leaving to the individual the liberty to act according to his conscience, and still subjecting him to a sovereign common law, under which his own was the first right, but not the only one. He governed in serving the whole of which he was only a part, and of which Christ was the Spirit.

To choose this way was evidently the right resolution. That a great portion of the leading men did choose it was the salvation of the Church. Not that the Christian world was saved

because the congregations followed the leading men, their governors. It is much more correct to say that Christianity was saved because the leading men clung to the practical congregational life of the brethren, serving instead of lording it over them, and, likewise, because both clergy and laymen recognized the paramount authority of Scripture, and believed in the unerring guidance of the Spirit in adopting or rejecting regulations for the government or the worship of the congregation.

Why, then, did not all the eminent men of that age, who were sincere Christians, follow this practical line? Why did they indulge in abstruse speculations? Why did they scrutinize the secret things of God?

First, because the one tendency is as innate in man, and as necessary for the harmonious life of the individual and of society, as the other. Secondly, because Christ had proposed those problems to men, and even challenged them to occupy their minds with these heavenly subjects. Moreover, both the Jewish and Hellenic mind had for several centuries been perplexed, and was at that time even more than ever perplexed, by the great problem of the world and of man. Further, Paul and John, and even James and Peter, far from avoiding those questions, had spoken of them as of a reality, and had left elements of a positive teaching about them. The highest words had been pronounced and brought home to every man's conscience: God and World, Man and Mankind, Responsibility and Eternal Life. Finally, they had been defined, not by a system, but by the life and consciousness of Jesus the Christ; this life had been represented as the substantial realization of God's own nature and the source of life eternal. The Hellenic and Hellenized mind, particularly in Alexandria, was anxiously engaged in finding a bridge between two things which evidently had to be brought into contact with each other: the historical faith in Christ, and all the facts of the world's history centring in him, on the one side; and philosophical truth, not merely ethical, but metaphysical also, on the other. The last word of the last Apostle, the Gospel of St. John, connects, in Hellenic terms, the great phenomenon of the world with the

philosophy of Plato and Philo. The Logos did not grow out of the Old Testament and out of Jewish ordinances and speculations. "Let us seize this philosophical element, and throw Judaism to the winds!" cried some. Those who said so were not pagan philosophers wishing to make capital out of Christianity. They received the Scriptures, professed Christ, worshipped and lived as Christians; but combined with a burning anti-Judaism, so enticing for many a Gentile believer, a wild metaphysical tendency, mixed up with Asiatic dualism.

The congregational leaders themselves, the Fathers, entered into the speculations which now sprung up, partly apologetically, and with a view to guide them, and partly from sharing many of those speculative opinions. Thus a confusion arose between the three elements, the strictly metaphysical, the anthropological, and the historical, which led the Gnostics into extravagant dreams, and which, in the time of Hippolytus, had already brought the Fathers into exegetical difficulties and logical perplexities. But the problems themselves were not imaginary: they have the highest reality as well as the highest authority.

Might it not be possible, under the pure light of the Gospel and with the assistance of more methodical historical analysis, to reduce to plain simple language these problems of the second and third centuries? Would it not be worth while thus to obtain a safe standard for judging the permanent value and due authority of the formularies by which the Councils endeavoured to fix the truth of the ontological problems, and the Schoolmen of the Reformation that of the anthropological? For both these formularies now present themselves again, under hierarchical colours, before the world, claiming Divine authority. The plan I propose seems, at all events, more worthy of our age than to ignore or scoff those problems, which all those do who connect no idea with them, but allow them only the magic power of a curse for him who questions that authority.

The problems alluded to are, in the main, two: the one apparently only metaphysical and ontological; the other, on the surface, only ethical. But, on closer inspection, the one appears most intimately connected with ethical Christianity; the other,

the ethical, links itself irresistibly with the metaphysical domain in which the former moves.

The first problem is the connexion between God and Man; the relation of Christ to Father, and to the Believers.

The other has reference to sin and justification: it attempts to understand the origin of the evil which is in the world, and the purposes of God to free man and the world from it.

Eighteen centuries have a long history to tell about both, in different terms, but still always ask the same questions; and there is through every age, more or less, a response to both in every soul which, aspiring above the necessity of its existence, ascends to its source, the First Cause and Thought of the Universe.

I endeavoured, in the first edition of this work, to exhibit in a few aphorisms what I consider the thread which may lead us, not into this historical labyrinth, but out of it. For reasons explained in the Preface, I have omitted them in this picture of the life of ante-Nicene Christianity, and have treated the subject more in detail in a separate work, destined to give, as it were, the philosophical key to that historical picture. I shall, therefore, endeavour here to condense in as few words as possible what I consider as the real philosophical and Christian value of the metaphysical terms of scholastic speculation, particularly the words Father, Son, and Spirit, Evil and Redemption. I shall do so the rather, because the recent distinguished historian of Christian philosophy, Heinrich Ritter (fifth and sixth volumes of his "General History of Philosophy"), has, in his Introduction, left the first and principal question at issue almost untouched; I mean, what Christ and his Apostles really did or did not teach upon these points.

A. *The Problem of the Trinity.*

All speculations respecting the manifestations of the Infinite in the Finite must fail and lead to glaring contradictions, unless the facts be well established and the investigation conducted according to the laws of historical evidence. Speculation can no more supply historical evidence than it can produce facts. The world of thought presents notions, abstract ideas, not history; if it attempt to transform such notions into reality, the result will be unauthorized mythology, a morbid mixture of facts and ideas, arbitrarily connected. The historical phenomena, again, cannot be transformed into abstract notions without losing their reality. Whatever names philosophers and poets may invent, there are but two great realities before our eyes; the individual man consisting of a body and a soul, and mankind as the organic chain composed of those original and immortal individualities. But reflection on these realities leads us with necessity to a First Will and Cause. There is only one God; man and the universe, and, consequently, man and humanity, are his finite realization. A mixture of facts transformed into ideas, and of ideas transformed into facts, may be poetry; but it is neither history nor philosophy, and it becomes involved in all that is unreal as soon as it attempts to represent reality. Such a mixture may serve as a temporary vehicle for combining great historical phenomena and pregnant ideal thought; but it loses that partial truth as soon as the symbol is identified with the substance, as soon as the finite manifestations are identified with the infinite idea. No religious speculation can overstep these boundaries, without falling into contradictions which are ill-concealed under the name of mysteries. The real mysteries of our existence are three—God, Man, Humanity. As to God, the starting-point and end of all speculation, He can, considered in Himself, only be contemplated as the Eternal Thought and Will of all Existence; and, therefore, simply as the living Infinite. In this sphere we may express Aristotle's profound remark that Eternal Reason

can think only Reason itself; in this manner God is by His eternal Will making Himself, His existence, the object of His thought. Or, to speak in Platonic terms, with St. John:— Reason (Logos) is Divinity itself ("the Word was God"): which logically implies that, in infinite consciousness, existence and thought are one. We are thus led to the contemplation of the Divine triad:

EXISTENCE, THOUGHT, CONSCIOUS EXISTENCE.

So much as to the contemplation of God, considered in Himself. We do not enter into the method and limitation of such a contemplation; but no intellectual man will deny that it is, and remains, and always must have been, in deep minds and serious ages, the first legitimate object of man's thought. Now if, looking upon the universe, we consider philosophically the Godhead as the creative power, which is the next object of contemplation, or the demiurgic or cosmogonic sphere, we are led to that line of development of thought in space and time which is very currently and significantly expressed as Father (Creator) and Son (Creation), and which, followed out logically, leads to the formula —

FATHER.	SON.	SPIRIT.
(Infinite.)	(Finite.)	(Conscious Unity of both.)

If, finally, we contemplate the relation in which the two great visible manifestations of the Spirit, the individual man and Humanity, stand to God, we may consider God either as the Eternal Thought, or as Cause of Creation, and we come necessarily to the following juxtaposition:

GOD, the infinite Being:	the Creator, the FATHER.
SON, the infinite Thought:	the individual MAN.
SPIRIT, the consciousness of both:	HUMANITY.

The two formulas are identical, if we waive the considera tion of the difference between the Infinite and Finite: they are contradictory if we contemplate this difference. It is clear that we must get into logical absurdities, whether we deny this triad absolutely, or whether we confound the three spheres;

the metaphysical and the cosmogonic among themselves, and both with the anthropological. This, therefore, must also be our leading principle, when we apply our formula to Christ, The Man by eminence, and to the Church, as redeemed Humanity. We there have the following parallelisms: —

GOD, absolutely.	GOD, as Existence objectivized by Thought.	GOD, as conscious Unity of Both.
Θεός.	Λόγος as Θεός.	Θεὸς Λόγος.
Father.	*Son as Christ.*	*Spirit as Church.*
FATHER.	MAN.	HUMANITY.

Here we find that Christ in His own person, and by the element of life He called into action, becomes, as it were, a bridge between the absolute infinite God and mankind.

The individuality of Christ evidently was considered by Himself and His Apostles as an entirely human individuality, subject, therefore, to all the Divine laws of human nature, from generation to death, considering actual sin, not as the substance, but only as the accident, of that nature. But it is also clear that He considered Himself, in an eminent sense, as the Son of the Father: and that St. John believed and knew that Jesus was not only the Messiah, or Christ, or the chosen Man, God's Messenger and Prophet, but also the living manifestation of God Himself as eternal Reason (Logos). He therefore considered him neither an Angel nor Spirit, nor a mere prophet: not a special intellectual or moral manifestation, but *the* manifestation of God.

Here two great dangers beset the path of believers as soon as they began to think and to unite facts which they believed on good evidence, and ideas which their reasoning powers presented to them with convincing force.

They might lose sight of the laws of historical man born of a woman, confounding his sphere and nature with that of which he is the manifestation. This is the mythical element in its proper sense; true in the idea, but imperfectly expressed, and therefore not true in the letter but in the spirit.

They might confound the first and the second spheres, and place God the Absolute at the head of the line of temporal development, thus confounding in their conclusions God the absolute Being, the Unconditioned, and God the Creator of the world and Father of man.

In both cases the result must be a logical contradiction. And such it has been. This fact must be stated for the honour of truth. Yet to negative the whole contemplation would have corrupted the very essence of Christianity. If Christ's nature be not identical with the Divine nature, but only similar to it, there is an end of the Christian religion. For religion rests, under whatever form, upon the assumption that Divine and human reason are identical, only with the difference between the Infinite and the Finite. This may be expressed imperfectly, but it must not be negatived. The appearance of such a negation killed Arianism as much as the imperfections of its own positive theory, which would have made of the history of Christ a mythological fiction, and would have led to hero worship, demonology, or any idolatrous worship. The dry Unitarianism of the eighteenth century is the first real negation, and has proved itself to be as incapable of explaining the history of Christ as the intellectual mystery of man and mankind. As religion, it cannot pretend to more than a latitudinarian Mohammedanism, or, at most, to a denationalized Judaism; in short, to modern deism, taking Christ as a moral model. Such, however, is not the Unitarianism of some of the present leaders of that denomination in England. Negation, then, of the problem being suicidal, let it be well considered that the most absolute form of negation is to declare the problem incompatible with reason.

The evil lies very deep. The Church history of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries resolves itself into two tragedies. In the fourth century one party among the clergy appeared to negative the problem, and the other solved it illogically and unhistorically. The latter view having triumphed by a persecuting and often unscrupulous majority, the victorious hierarchical party canonized, in the course of the two next blood-stained centuries, the confession of its intellectual bankruptcy into a confession of faith, and made submission to it the condition of

churchmanship and the badge eternal salvation. The Germanic nations received this sad heirloom unwillingly, and spiritualized it nobly. The Churches of the Reformation accepted the legacy with a saving clause, its two principles.

But, however this be, the legacy is not that of the ante-Nicene Church, least of all of its first ages. It stood faithfully upon those two indestructible pillars, Scripture and Reason: the one as the mirror of God's good-will towards mankind and of the destinies of the human race, and the other as response to the highest object of thought, the Divine and human nature. It did not set up speculative formularies as tests. It was free from that mixture of facts and speculative thought which constitutes the false groundwork and original sin of scholastic divinity, both in the Greek and Roman and in the Protestant National Churches; and from that irrationalism which has killed spiritual Christianity in the bud, and produced or favoured, by the worst kind of negation, indifference, ignorance, infidelity, immorality, servitude, destruction, despair.

What is true of the first is true of the other speculative problems of the age. Whoever ignores or does not understand and appreciate their nature will, as a thinker and a historian, understand no more of Christ and early Christianity than of the present yearnings of the human mind. As to the idolizers of those formularies of Councils or Synods, they seem to me to show a gross ignorance of primitive Church *History*, as much scepticism as Voltaire and his friends, and infinitely more than many amongst the eminent and serious thinkers of that age who negatived Christianity historically, often reproducing it philosophically. As to those who, knowing better, have not the wish to know and the courage to speak the truth, their faith or their philosophy is worth nothing, if it does not move, yea force, them to face Scripture and Reason, or whatever they may like to call that one Divine voice within us, which is the conscious and intelligent response of the soul to the history of mankind, and the truthful reflection of its mirror, the Bible.

B. *The Problem of the Origin of Evil, of Sin, of Justification, and of the Destinies of Mankind.*

The second problem, which presented itself to the minds of serious Christians at the beginning of the third Christian age, or of the second century, was this. Does there exist, as mankind feels impelled to believe, a Divine Providence? Here it is essential not to forget how deeply the state of the world had affected the speculative mind. The philosopher felt himself oppressed and crushed by the weight of the present. How, millions asked, can the dreadful state of the world be reconciled with the belief of the Fathers in a moral government of the world and in Divine avenging justice?

Plato and, to a certain extent, Aristotle had given to the Greeks and Romans the means and the inclination of solving the philosophical part of the first problem; and the contact of Judaism and Hellenism at Alexandria impelled the naturally contemplative minds of the Jews to combine for its solution Hellenic ingenuity with the wisdom and sacred traditions of their nation, and even of the Egyptians.

But as to the second problem, it was brought before the philosophical mind first of all by the awakened consciousness of sin. As soon as the Jewish idea of justification by mere profession of the Law, and by the accomplishment of external ordinances, was found to be a delusion, and Hellenic polytheism with its accompanying fables and levity and impurity worse than the Jewish superstition, the Christian idea of redemption arose in its Divine splendour through the preaching of the Gospel. Christ's doctrine, life, and death awakened in man the deadened or obdurated feeling of moral self-responsibility, and of a hidden Divine power in himself to act according to the inner law of the conscience, neither losing sight of his incessant shortcomings nor of the direct and indissoluble union between God and his soul. Paul's wrestling with the external formalities and pride of the Jews had led him to stamp the word Faith with the seal of the Gospel, and use it in a sense which speaks to all men's conscience, and which found a

response in every breast and in every tongue, above all among the Hellenic nations. For the preaching of this real life-restoring faith met the universal feeling that no outward action or work can help man, but only the inward disposition of the mind ("Gesinnung"). It is this disposition of the will which of itself produces good actions, and which makes actions good. Good works presuppose a mind steadfastly looking upon the eternal Good, and never losing sight of the wickedness and wretchedness of selfish enslaved will. St. John, in preaching of thankful love to God and charity towards man as brethren, had completed these Divine ethics. But, at the same time, thinking and serious Christians found much to puzzle them, both in these ethics and in their own heart.

First came the philosophical difficulties. What is the origin of evil? Why did Adam fall, and the law of sin remain in his children? What is to become of poor ignorant people falling into perdition for not having known God? Is there no salvation for the immortal soul hereafter? The passages in Scripture are obscure: much depends upon the general view taken by the meditating divine of the nature of God and human destinies. As soon as that question is raised (and it was raised at that time by philosophizing minds, both Jews and Gentiles, and even Christians themselves), we find the same antagonisms appear which in the fifth century are represented by St. Augustine and Pelagius; in the sixteenth, by Luther and Calvin; in the seventeenth, by Arminius and Jansenius. The antagonistic views have each of them its good side: their fault lies in a one-sided conclusion, which loses sight of the collateral principle; and their curse is the attempt at making a matter of faith out of what is a dogma of the school of the age, past or present. The struggles and debates of the first half of the second century are not inferior in depth to any of those of subsequent epochs; but the state of the Christian mind appears in that age very superior. Great freedom is allowed, so long as the parties move on Christian ground, and appeal from those antagonisms to Scripture as their code and to the universal conscience as their judge. That this freedom was not maintained, that this principle was not carried out as

it ought to have been, was the tragedy of that century and of Christianity. This catastrophe was the result partly of hierarchical bigotry, partly of the calamity of the time. There is only one way of giving its proper place to speculation in Christianity individually, by a Christian life of moral earnestness and self-sacrificing love, and socially by a sound public life. Now, such an honest public life was not possible: as we now say, because the ancient world did no longer, or did not as yet, possess a fresh popular element for forming a nation; or, as the Christians then said, because the world was to perish. This deep tragedy rendered a perfect solution impossible.

The speculative reflection was, secondly, supported by the contemplation of the realities of life. The Christian was puzzled, as soon as he could not conceal from himself that the destruction of the world was indefinitely postponed. What an accumulation of sin, of crime, of misery! If the devil governs the world, why does God not give it over to perdition? And if it is not to perish, why does God not take up the government, and establish His kingdom of justice and peace at this late hour? And this brings us to the consideration of the second element which was at work in directing and formulizing those inner reflections of the Gnostic philosopher, the hopeless complication of the world, which neither Stoics nor Epicureans had succeeded in solving. The moral bankruptcy of both was undeniable, even in the eyes of the heathen. Cato had committed suicide; the last words of Brutus are said to have been — "What is virtue?" To deny the existence of evil seemed to the wise man a mockery. Yet men could not make up their minds to endeavour to laugh it away by enjoying the pleasures and luxuries of life. Conscience and reason among both Gentiles and Christians could not help asking — If there be a God, where is He in this world of evil and misery? Where is the Divine moral government, if all the hopes of mankind are blasted, and liberty and virtue are trodden down as crime? Luxurious dynasties have been devouring Asia and Egypt, and imperial and pretorian Rome is now crushing all the remains of national life by a well-calculated machinery of military despotism and of centralizing police. This despo-

tism, since the time of Nero, had weighed, to a certain degree systematically, and with special force, upon the Christians. Not that the regular despotism of youthful imperialism could be compared, except as a playful kitten may be compared to a grown-up tiger, with the machinery of modern military governments. The forms and even the action of municipal life existed unimpaired, and Nero and Domitian were ill served out of Rome, having neither railways nor telegraphs. But it was bad enough for the times, and hard enough for the sons of those who had saved and freed and civilized Europe with their blood and self-denying virtues. As to Christians, even the mildest among them could not help considering the principles of such government as the working of the devil. God permitted it for the punishment of the wickedness of the world: it was the sign of the approaching extermination of the present race of man, when those who here condemned to temporary flames the living bodies of Christians would be cast into eternal fire. Their prayers for the emperors were curses for their reign, race, and empire. "Thy kingdom come" had the same meaning.

The matchless personality of Christ settled the first of those speculative problems for the believer. His Divine nature, manifested in suffering humanity, substituted a living individual for the abstract metaphysical notion of the Platonic or Stoic philosopher, which warmed no heart, and exercised no influence upon any human will. This Divine image banished from the mind the deceits of sorcery; that is to say, the delusions produced by the bewildering effects of the hidden power of human will over the minds and bodies of other individuals. It rendered to the mind the consciousness of the power of the will of Divine love in man. St. John's Prologue did not originate, it settled, the Logos question, which was agitated by the disciples of Plato and Philo, and by several mystical Jewish sects. It settled it, not by discussing their speculations, nor by anticipating those of Basilides and Valentinus, but by the simple juxtaposition of God's eternal love and Christ's life and self-sacrificing death. Since Christ's appearance, the Logos was no longer, even to one who believed only what the first three Gospels declared of Christ's life and sayings, an abstract idea, as it was even to Philo, lying as a deadweight or incubus upon the realities of

life. The Logos was indissolubly connected with the individual: it bore the perfect type both of the Godhead, loving sinful and ungrateful man, and of humanity rising to Divine majesty under the weight of the deepest humiliation, and manifesting god-like love under the pangs of death.

But Christ had opened by his life and teaching a prospect also for the satisfactory solution of the second question. Nobody, not even the Apostles, so far as their writings allow us to judge of their progress, was able to elevate himself to the height of Christ's great prophetic mind and words so as to believe that the kingdom of God, announced by Christ as near at hand, could appear upon this wretched and sinful earth without the previous physical destruction of our globe. The world, as it existed, was believed to be about to perish by fire, as a former one had perished by water, in consequence of a similar state of general depravity. It seemed, indeed, to grow daily more wicked, and daily running more headlong into perdition. Christ was soon to come back to judge the living and the dead, and to raise up a new state of things out of its smouldering ruins — out of the dry bones which the grave and death should surrender. In the mean time, "Blessed are they who die in the Lord!" The Lord is coming (Maranatha), and blessed be God that human life is short, and that the end of this cruel world is at hand! Such a solution satisfied the general class of believers and the leading practical men among their governors. But it satisfied neither the mystical Jew, nor the speculative mind of Christian Egypt, nor the wild imagination of Syria and Asia Minor — a mind having a tinge of Hellenism without its sobriety, of Hellenic idealism without its moderation, and of Christianity without its practical spirit and social tendency. We can scarcely doubt that the Simon Magus of the Acts connected some speculative ideas with his impure Christianity: his disciple, the Hellenic or Hellenistic Menander, certainly did; so did Cerinthus, as we have seen; and so did the Ophites, as we shall see when treating of Basilides.

But we will commence the picture of the two leading men of this age with the representative of the ecclesiastical or general congregational (catholic) life, Ignatius of Antioch.

I.

IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH.

THERE lived in the latter part of the first century a freedman called Ignatius, whose name must be connected with that of the old Roman family of the Egnatii. As to the precise date of his martyrdom, it is nowhere positively stated. The Canon of Eusebius places it in the year 107 or 108 (Trajan 10, 11.), evidently for no other reason than that such a year suited the catalogue of Antiochene bishops he had before him; a list which, in this epoch, has no chronological value. Syncellus says nothing, and the "Chronicon Paschale" speaks of the martyrdom only accidentally. When, under the head of the first year of Trajan, the martyrdom of Simon, Bishop of Jerusalem, is mentioned, that chronicle adds, in a similar manner, "Ignatius of Antioch suffered martyrdom at Rome." The spurious Acts of Ignatius have the ninth year of Trajan in the Greek, and the fourth in the Latin text. Here Pearson has shown the right way for historical criticism, which Ussher had failed to find, and which Grabe could not discern.* The Acts connect the martyrdom on the one side with the victory over the Daci, on the other with Trajan's stay at Antioch. Now, the first Dacian war took place in 101, or the fourth year of Trajan; he received the name of Dacicus in the following year. The second Dacian war does not extend (see the proofs in Ekhel) beyond the year 105, and the Roman colonists were sent thither in 106. The Parthian war begins in the spring of 114 (seventeenth year). Trajan passed the winter of 115 at Antioch, and set out for the Armenian campaign, which is mentioned in the Acts to mark the time, in the spring of 115 (eighteenth year). It was in the beginning of that eventful year that Trajan was in danger of

* Pearson's excellent discussion of this subject was found among his papers, and is printed in Jacobson's "Fathers." Critical readers will compare with that dissertation Ekhel's documents and arguments, Doctr. Vett. Num. tom. vi. p. 414—438., and Niebuhr's observations on the chronology of the Dacian war in his article on the Arch of Constantine in the "Beschreibung Roms," vol. III. i. pp. 314—318.

perishing in that dreadful earthquake which destroyed a great part of Antioch. This is sufficient to prove that no emendations (which Grabe tried), and no imaginary late Dacian war (Ussher's expedient), can mend the matter. The Acts are an unhistorical and forged document. It would, therefore, be in the highest degree uncritical to place the transportation of Ignatius to Rome in 115 *because* the Acts give us his conversation with Trajan at Antioch, which could only take place at that period. But there appear to me to be other, and good reasons, for assuming for it the year 115, and none for placing it between 106 and 108. On the contrary, this and any earlier period is historically highly improbable, not to say impossible. There must have been some very urgent reason to cause Ignatius to be conveyed from Antioch to the amphitheatre at Rome, and that because he was a Christian bishop. Trajan speaks of the Christians, in his Rescript to Pliny, as if the whole question was new to him, and that rescript is of the year 110, as Pearson has most learnedly proved. The great disaster which befel the metropolis of the East in the first months of the year 115, must, according to the temper of the times, have created a great ebullition of popular feeling against the Christians, as similar events regularly did under the Antonines and later. One can, besides, understand that the emperor, being on the spot, should order Ignatius to be made an example of; not, however, at Antioch, where it might have excited a bloody tumult, but at Rome. Trajan himself, with imperial power, satisfied the popular voice and his own laws by condemning Ignatius to death; but, as a wise sovereign, he prevented the mischief his execution in the amphitheatre of Antioch might have occasioned.

For these reasons I think the transportation, and consequently (according to our view of the case) the martyrdom of Ignatius, is an event of the year 115, or the eighteenth year of Trajan. As he died Bishop of the metropolis of the East, and, after the destruction of the Church of St. James at Jerusalem, the most ancient Church in Christendom, and as he was evidently a man of great renown in the Christian world when he wrote his farewell Epistles, the tradition that he was a disciple,

if not of Paul, at least of St. John, would seem to be correct. He is said to have organized the worship of his Church liturgically, and his Epistles prove him to have been an ardent promoter of episcopal government, as the only means, in those times, of giving or preserving unity and peace in every city, and keeping up brotherly relations between the different Churches.

Ignatius was no hierarch for all this. What is Episcopacy? In its essential character nothing more or less than the first office in the Church, one which gave a personal, governing power, with constitutional limitations; an executive power, controlled by the elders and the people, which with the Bishop formed the congregation of the faithful. This Episcopacy was an offspring of trust, founded upon mutual confidence; and in that sense we cannot help seeing in the institution, which is cognate with primitive Germanic Kingship, a providential improvement of the Presbyterian form of government. This, however, was the primitive one: the administration of the Church was in the hands of a board or committee whose members sat, as long as they were able and worthy, for life, according to that arrangement left by the Apostles, to which the Roman Clemens referred the Corinthians.

The immortal Epistles and name of Ignatius are, however, principally wound up with his death, he having been transported to Rome to be thrown before the wild beasts in the Colosseum, where he died, seeking, rather than fearing, martyrdom. There is no better reason for doubting this fact than the authenticity of his three letters, as preserved and read in the national Syrian Church. All three are farewell letters, the parting words of a martyr. The first of these is addressed to a young man, already Bishop of Smyrna, to Polycarp, who, more than half a century later, followed his paternal friend as a steady and determined martyr. The second is addressed to the Ephesians, who had sent their bishop, Onesimus, to greet Ignatius on the way: the third to the Romans, who seem to have been disposed to use their influence to save him from the cruel death which awaited him.

No description of the character of the writer, or of the nature

of his Christianity, can give so clear a view of the close of this age as the text of those precious letters themselves conveys to us. And still this text is less known than all the legends and controversies about him and the Epistles forged and re-forged under his name! We, therefore, subjoin the letters themselves, in a faithful English translation; the original Greek stands at the head of the patristic texts, in the first volume of our "Analecta." A detailed analysis of the character, life, and doctrine of this great man will be found in my "Ignatian Letters."

There certainly is in Ignatius a morbid element. He looks forward to his death, neither like Socrates nor like St. Paul. When near the imperial city, the destined place of his martyrdom, his feelings are roused to the pitch of enthusiasm, and his mind does not show that sublime self-possession and serenity which the words of the Apostle breathe in a similar position (2 Tim. iv. 6—8.): "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing." Ignatius indulged in what appear to have been visionary speculations, which he withholds from the Romans, for whom he thinks they are too sublime and too difficult to understand. But this intellectual weakness is not a moral one. He knows full well that all his speculations and all his burning zeal cannot make him worthy to be called a disciple and follower of Christ. He feels that his duty is now a steadfast confession of his faith, not by words, but by deed, and that deed is to die.

The Epistle to the Ephesians exhibits the mind of Ignatius at its culminating point. The conclusion is the most prophetic and sublime expression of the wonderful change which Christ's appearance worked in this world, by substituting the consciousness of the free action of the Spirit, and of moral responsibility, for the fear of the hidden powers of nature.

THE THREE EPISTLES OF ST. IGNATIUS.

A.

The Epistle to Polycarp.

IGNATIUS [who also is Theophoros] to Polycarp, overseer of the Smyrneans, who rather is overseen by God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, much greeting.

I. Heartily welcoming thy mind, which in God is founded as upon an immoveable rock, I praise God the more abundantly for having been accounted worthy to behold thy unblameable countenance, of which may I have to rejoice in God! I beseech thee by the grace with which thou art clothed, that thou add to thy course and exhort all men to be saved. Make thy office to be respected with all diligence both of body and spirit. Be careful for unanimity, than which there is nothing more excellent. Bear all men even as the Lord beareth thee. Have patience with all in love even as thou doest. Be instant in prayer. Ask for more understanding than thou hast. Watch, for thou hast already a spirit that sleepeth not. Speak to every one according to the manner in which God speaketh. Bear the infirmities of all men like a perfect athlete; for where there is much labour, much also is the gain. If thou love the good disciples only, thou hast no grace; rather subdue by meekness those who are evil. All wounds are not healed by one salve. Allay paroxysm by embrocation. Be wise as the serpent in everything, and harmless as the dove. For this reason art thou both of flesh and of spirit, that thou mayest be persuasive as to those things which appear to thee before thy face, and mayest ask for the things invisible that they may be revealed to thee, in order that thou mayest be deficient in nothing and mayest abound in all gifts; which it is time thou shouldest pray for, as the pilot for the wind and as he who is tossed by the tempest for the harbour, that thou mayest attain God. Be vigilant as God's athlete. The meed is incorruptibility and life eternal, of which things thou also art persuaded. In everything I pledge for thy soul myself and my bonds, which thou hast loved. Let not those confound thee who, appearing worthy of truth, teach strange doctrines. Stand in the truth like an anvil which is struck, for it becomes a great athlete to be struck and to conquer. More

especially on God's account it behoveth us to endure everything, that He also may endure us. Be careful more than thou art. Be discerning of the times. Expect Him who is above times, him to whom there are no times, him who is unseen, him who for our sakes became seen, him who is impalpable, him who is without suffering, him who for our sakes suffered, him who for our sakes endured everything in every form.

II. Let not the widows be neglected; after our Lord be thou their guardian. Let nothing be done without thy will, neither do thou anything without the will of God; nor indeed doest thou. Stand well. Let the meetings be more frequent; seek to know every man personally. Despise not the slaves, male and female, neither let them be puffed up; but as for the glory of God let them work more, that they may be meet for that more excellent liberty which is of God. Let them not desire to be redeemed from the common stock, that they may not be found the slaves of lust. Fly the coquetting women, but the more hold converse with the aged matrons. Say to my sisters that they love the Lord, and that they be content with their husbands in body and in spirit. Likewise charge my brothers in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they love their wives as the Lord his church. If a man be able to continue in chastity of body for the honour of our Lord, let him continue without boasting; if he boast, he is lost: if he have made it known to anybody except the bishop, he is gone into perdition. It is becoming to men and women who marry, that they be married by the counsel of the bishop, that the marriage may be made according to the Lord and not according to lust. Let everything be done for the honour of God.

III. Keep ye to the bishop, that God also may keep to you. I pledge my soul for those who are subject to the bishop and the presbyters and deacons: may my portion with God be with them! Labour together, struggle together, run together, suffer together, go to sleep together, rise together as God's stewards and intimate friends and ministers. Please him under whom you serve, from whom you also receive the wages. Let no man of you be found a deserter. Let your baptism be to you as armour, and faith as a helmet, and love as a spear, and patience as a panoply. Let your credit be your good works, that ye may get paid out what is worthy of you. Have patience in meekness as God has with you. May I have to rejoice in you at all times! The Christian has not power over himself, but is in the service of God. I salute him who is deemed worthy to go to Antioch in my stead, as I charged thee.

B.

The Epistle to the Ephesians.

IGNATIUS [who also is Theophoros] to the church which is blessed in the greatness and fulness of the Father, to her *who is* pre-ordained before the world to be for ever unto lasting and unchangeable glory, perfected and elected in a true purpose in the will of the Father of Jesus Christ our God; to the most blissworthy church which is in Ephesus, all hail in Jesus Christ in pure joy!

I. Since I have received in God that much-loved manifestation which you have rightmindedly made according to the faith and love in Jesus Christ our Saviour, because, as those who imitate God, you have been excited in your blood fully to accomplish the God-like work; for when you had heard that I was bound *and prevented* from visiting *you* on account of our common name and hope, trusting in your prayer (to obtain) to be thrown among the beasts at Rome, in order that by achieving this I might be enabled to be a disciple of God, you have made haste to see me: — since, therefore, I have in the name of God received the visit of all of you in the person of one, nay, *who* in unspeakable love *is* your bishop — and I pray in Jesus Christ that you may love him and that you may all be like him, for blessed is he who has vouchsafed you to be worthy of having such a bishop: — since, then, love does not allow me to be silent towards you, on this account I have chosen to exhort you to conform to the will of God. For when no lust worketh in you with power to torment you, ye live according to God. Your offscouring is also your sanctification, O Ephesians!* ye of that church which is renowned in the world! Carnal men cannot do spiritual things, nor spiritual men carnal things; just as faith cannot do the things of unbelief, nor unbelief those of faith. But even the works you do according to the flesh are spiritual works; for you do all in Jesus Christ, prepared *as you are* for the building of God the Father, carried up to the height through the engine of Jesus Christ which is the cross, using the Holy Spirit as the rope, while Faith is the pulley and Love the way carrying up to God.

* Περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ ἁγίσμα ὑμῶν: "Even your offscouring (the temptations of the flesh) are your lustration;" that is to say, become to you a means of sanctification; for having been overcome they are made subservient to the spirit, for spiritual purposes, under the spirit stronger and purer.

II. As to other men, pray for them — for there is a hope of their repenting — that they may be partakers of God. Give them opportunity of becoming your disciples even by your works. Against their lofty words put humility, and against their blaspheming meekness in constant prayers, against their seduction firmness in the faith, against their violence mildness; not striving to imitate them. But by meekness let us strive to be imitators of the Lord, than whom who was ever more wronged? or deprived? or depressed? For it is not a question of promise, but whether one be found in the strength of faith even unto the end. Rather than to speak and to be nothing, it is better to be silent and to be *something*, in order that one may work by what one speaks, and may be known by what one is silent about.

III. My spirit boweth down before the cross, which is a scandal to the unbelieving, but to us salvation and life eternal. There were hidden from the Prince of this world the virginity of Mary, and the birth and death of the Lord; three shouting mysteries *were* operated in God's quietness. From *the appearance of* the star and the manifestation thereby of the Son, every magic power disappeared, and every bond was dissolved, and the old kingdom and the ignorance of wickedness perished. From that time everything was put in commotion, because the dissolution of death was meditated, and what was ordained with God took its beginning.

C.

The Epistle to the Romans.

IGNATIUS [who also is Theophoros] to the church which has found mercy by the greatness of the Father most High; to her who presides in dignity over the country of the Romans, to her who is worthy of God and is worthy of her honourable position, worthy of being called blessed, worthy of praise and worthy that her prayer be heard, who excelleth before all in love and hath Christ for her law blamelessly, much greeting!

I. Having long since prayed to God, that I might be worthy to see your God-worthy faces, I now hope that I shall salute you *being* bound in Jesus Christ, if it be God's will that I should be deemed worthy of God to the end. For the beginning has been well disposed, if I attain to receive without hindrance my portion at last by suffering. For I am fearful of your love, lest it should injure me. For to you it is easy to do whatsoever you please; but for me, it is difficult that I should attain God, if indeed you do not spare me. For I shall not have such opportunity to attain God; nor will ye, if ye now be silent, ever have the benefit of a better work. If ye keep silence about me, I shall become God's speech; but if ye love my body, I shall be again an echo of myself. Do not try to give me anything better than this, that I should be sacrificed to God whilst the altar is prepared, that ye, becoming a loving choir, may praise the Father in Christ Jesus that he deemed the bishop worthy to be God's, when he called him from the rising *of the sun* to the setting. It is good that I should set from the world to God, that I may rise into Him. Ye have never envied any man. Ye have taught others. Only pray for strength from within and from without, that I may not only speak, but also may will; that I may not be called only a Christian, but also may be found to be one: for if I am found to be, I am also fit to be called, faithful even when not appearing in the world. Nothing, indeed, that *is only* appearing is good: for Christianity is not a work of persuasion, but of highmindedness, when hated by the world.

II. I write to the churches, and I declare to all, that willingly I die for God, if it be that you hinder me not. I beg of you, do not become to me an unseasonable love. Let me be of the beasts, by whose means I am enabled to obtain God. I am God's wheat, and by the teeth of the beasts am I ground, that I may be found God's pure

bread. Rather entreat kindly the beasts that they may be a grave for me, and may leave nothing of my body: that not even when I am fallen asleep, I may be a burden upon any man. Then I shall be in truth a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world seeth not even my body. Supplicate our Lord for me, that by these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God. I am not commanding you like Peter and Paul: they were Apostles, I am a condemned convict; they were free, I am hitherto a slave. But if I suffer, I am a freedman of Jesus Christ; and I shall rise from the dead, in Him, a free man.

III. And now, since I am in bonds, I learn to desire nothing. From Syria to Rome I am cast among beasts, by sea and by land, by night and by day; since I am bound between ten leopards, who get worse when I do good to them. But by their ill-treatment I am furthered in my apprenticeship: still by that I am not justified. May I have to rejoice of the beasts prepared for me! and I pray that they may be found ready for me, and I will kindly entreat them quickly to devour me, and not, as they have done to some, being afraid of them, to keep from touching me. And should they not be willing, I will force them.

IV. Pardon me: what is expedient for me, I know myself. Let nothing envy me, neither things visible nor invisible, that I may attain Jesus Christ. Fire and the cross, scattering of the bones and the array of the beasts, the mutilation of the limbs and the grinding of the whole body—hard torments of the Devil!—let them come upon me, if only I may attain Jesus Christ. The pains of child-birth await me: my love is crucified, and there is no fire in me to love matter. I do not desire the food of corruption nor the desires of this world. The bread of God I seek, which is the body of Christ; and as drink I seek His blood, which is love incorruptible.

V. My spirit saluteth you, and the love of the churches which have received me as for the name of Jesus Christ. For also those who are not bodily near to the road accompanied me in every city. And now that I am near to Rome, I meditate many things in God; but I moderate myself, that I may not perish through boasting: for now it is becoming in me that I should fear the more abundantly, and should not look to those that puff me up. For those who say to me "Martyr," scourge me: it is true that I desire to suffer, but I do not know if I be worthy. For my zeal is not apparent to many, but it wars within me. I want, therefore, meekness; because by that the Prince of this world is made powerless. I am able to write to you heavenly things; but I fear lest I should do you harm (pardon me), that, not being able

to take it in, you might be choked. For even I, for being in bonds and able to know heavenly things, and the places of angels and the station of powers and the things visible and invisible, am for all that not a disciple: for I lack much of being perfected for God. Farewell to the end, in the patience of Jesus Christ!

CRITICAL APPENDIX.

The Ignatian Question.

As to the authenticity of the Syrian recension, I have shown, in the Preface to the fourth volume of the first edition of "Hippolytus and his Age" (now reprinted at the end of the second), that the gratuitous fiction of a heterodox monk (whom the Rev. Dr. Wordsworth has discovered), or as Licentiate Uhlhorn of Göttingen * proposes, of an ascetic monk, who made certain incoherent extracts from the genuine Seven Epistles (out of sheer heterodoxy, or for his own edification), must, at all events, be abandoned. Neither heterodoxy nor asceticism explains anything, and both suppositions are contrary to very positive facts. Not only have we now in the British Museum, instead of one, two complete sets of "The Three Epistles of St. Ignatius," but Colonel Rawlinson has seen at Bagdad the same Three Epistles annexed to the manuscript of a Syrian New Testament; treated therefore as an acknowledged, nay, almost canonical, text of the Syrian Church. The illustrious decipherer of the cuneiform inscriptions has since confirmed this fact in one of his letters to me, and he hopes to be able to secure the manuscript for Europe. Uhlhorn thinks the argument of Cureton and myself, which is derived from the subscription of the one Syrian MS., "*The* Three Epistles of St. Ignatius," not a stringent one, because the sense of the Semitic article is doubtful; but he does not reflect that, if there be an ambiguity, the sense must be decided by the context. Common sense ought to have told him that nobody would say "Here end Three Epistles," if he knew there were others. The inscription, therefore, can only mean that the Syrian Church recognised, as Ignatian, the Three Epistles, in this text, and no more: but, what is still better,

* Uhlhorn, Verhältniss der kürzeren griechischen Recension (A) der Ignatianischen Briefe zur Syrischen (S). In Niedner's Zeitschrift für historische Theologie, xv. p. 368. and p. 247. 341.

the other manuscript says so expressly, by closing the text of the three letters thus: "Here endeth what is of Ignatius."

These being the facts, what shall we say of such puerile criticism as that of Uhlhorn? (p. 10.): "The MS. is of the sixth century. At that time the (Greek text of the) Seven Epistles existed; the Syrian copyist, therefore, either did not know their existence, or he used criticism (that is to say, mutilated the text): either of these assumptions places him in a doubtful position." First, there is no such dilemma: the copyist knew only three Epistles. Secondly, what were these three? The same which his own Church, the Church of Antioch, knew, the authority of which he naturally followed, and not that of a foreign Church.

That same text, then, is found in another manuscript, and even as a sacred text of that Syrian Church, appended to the canonical books. In following her, the writer did what the copyist of the Syrian Constitutions did; and both acted most wisely. They preferred copying what they had every reason to believe to be true, and took no notice of what Greek interpolators had made out of the genuine Letters.

It is a fact proved by Cureton that no original genuine Syrian author quotes any text not found in the Syrian text of the three Epistles: as, indeed, no ante-Nicene author does. Both, moreover, quote the texts acknowledged by the Syrian Church. Is it good criticism to pass by such facts and arguments? Who can doubt that the Syrians must have had a translation of the relics of their Apostolic Patriarch? From the earliest times it was their jewel. How is it that the Greek text is unknown to the Church most interested in the glory of Ignatius?

It is true all this is not learned; it does not rest upon the interpretation (or misinterpretation) of doubtful texts; it is not a corollary of a metaphysical formula: it is only common sense. Any good scholar can find it out: any man of common sense can understand it. I, for my part, confess that I have lived too long in England not to think that common sense is a good argument even for learned men, and that the public have a right to exact from them a certain respect for it. For this reason, also, I cannot submit, as far as my conscientious opinion is concerned, to any common sense criticism being put down by dictatorial assertions, even though they come from a really learned and acute writer like Dr. Hilgenfeld. To my great astonishment I find that this critic objects to the conclusion I have drawn, together with Dallié and others, from what is called the last chapter of the Epistle of Polycarp. My readers may remember that

the Apostolic Father is made in that passage to inquire after Ignatius (whom he before had classed among the celebrated Martyrs of the Church!) "et de his qui cum eo sunt." I know as well as they that this may be the translation of the original Greek, "οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ," "those with him:" but I should like to ask those critics whether they can produce a single passage where such a phrase is used about persons who are departed, and who, therefore, if with him, are only with him in the grave. My Greek masters and common logic tell me it cannot have been used in that sense; for a good Greek phrase never implies an absurdity. Indeed, it is only used about living men. Consequently, that chapter is spurious; and what it states about the many Ignatian Epistles, and about those who were with him, is no evidence in favour of the Seven (or rather Eleven) Epistles of the Martyr of Antioch, but an imposition convicting its author of complicity in the Ignatian fraud.

Facts, however, find no greater favour with certain people than common sense. The proofs brought forward, with as much modesty as learning, by Dr. Weiss of the University of Königsberg, the learned reviewer of Petermann's edition of the Armenian version of the Seven Epistles *, that the greater part of the facts alleged by Uhlhorn do not exist, some of them being gratuitous, some impossible assumptions, have found so little grace with Dr. Hilgenfeld that he does not scruple to say, in his recent work on the Apostolic Fathers, that this refutation, taken from the Syrian (and Dr. Weiss has given specimens of his being a Syrian scholar), is the best justification of Uhlhorn, who is not known to the world either as a Syrian scholar or as a critical scholar at all.† A few words will show the justice of this dictatorial verdict. Uhlhorn's famous monk is said to have made extracts from the complete text, for his own edification, and therefore to have left out, as far as he could, whatever related to the reverence inculcated in the Seven Epistles towards the Divine authority of the bishop. Had he thought these passages not very edifying, I think we should not quarrel much with his taste. But why (asks Weiss) did he not leave out the whole Epistle to Polycarp, which is throughout an Episcopal instruction, and in which the

* In Reuter's Repertorium, vol. lxxviii. part 2. p. 98. sqq.

† As to his accurate Greek scholarship, Hilgenfeld himself quotes the following specimen (p. 190. note). Dr. Uhlhorn (p. 32, 33.) translates in the passage of the Ignatian Epistle to the Ephesians (ch. iii.), Νῦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι, καὶ προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν ὡς συνδιδασκαλίταις μου, the last words thus: "As to my fellow-disciples (wie zu meinen Mitschülern)." This certainly is no title for speaking so slightingly of Dr. Weiss's criticism.

duties towards the Bishop are distinctly mentioned ?* Uhlhorn has thought fit to meet his argument by asserting he could not well leave out that passage without destroying the context. Now, Weiss might have ridiculed the whole argument, as being in contradiction to the general assumption of the Monkists, that the man who made the extracts cared little or nothing for the context, and only picked out what he thought edifying. But he simply observes that the assumed fact does not exist. The passage might, with the greatest ease, have been left out, as a glance at chapters v. and vi. will show. Nor are the expressions of the genuine text identical with the obnoxious passages peculiar to the Greek text. The argument of Uhlhorn is that of Baur, *ex ungue leonem.* "Once give Divine authority to the Bishop, and the whole system is there." But Weiss has very rightly observed, first, that, in the Epistle to Polycarp, obedience to Bishop, Elders, and Deacons is enjoined; in the others the Deacons are left out, and the Elders alone named with the Bishop: and secondly, that the Syrian Ignatius exhorts the Bishop to do nothing without God's advice; as a counterpart of the admonition that nothing should be done without his, the Bishop's, advice. This, Weiss modestly submits, seems to imply that obedience to the Bishop was free, like the love he desires the flocks should show him, and not irrespective of the nature of his behests. He therefore submits that the idiomatic expression of Ignatius, in his letter to Polycarp, "Keep ye to the Bishop, that God may keep to you," should be interpreted in that sense, *cum grano salis.* The Greek text, on the contrary, makes out that his authority rests upon Divine ordination, and that he who does not submit to the Bishop is cut off from the Church: the Bishop is the vicegerent of God and Christ, as the Presbyters were of the Apostles. This doctrine is inculcated *ad nauseam.*

Weiss might have added, that the interpolations of the Apostolic Constitutions, which now are revealed by the Syrian text, and on record, prove that all this was part and parcel of a system. The hierarchical party already, towards the end of the second century, made the most of the captivating idea of the Catholic Church which originated about the middle of that century. They used it as a basis for the doctrine of spiritual absolutism, and foisted the doctrine into all the documents, fathering their unholy tenets upon the ancient Bishops with the same zeal and impudence as in later times the Papists did in their Decretals, the foundation of the Canon law, which is, according to Dr. Pusey and Father Newman and their

* In Reuter's Repertorium, vol. lxxviii. part 2. p. 169. sqq.

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friends, the ecclesiastical law of the Church of England, and indeed the only prop of their system.

But he does not fail to observe that the undeniable reference to sects which no more existed in 115 when Ignatius died, than they did in 97 when St. John wrote his Gospel, betrays the age and the motive of these doctrinal, as well as hierarchical interpolations.

Instead of following Dr. Weiss in his triumphant demonstration that the Syrian text contains, in almost all cases where there are various readings, that which appears to be more original *, I shall conclude these critical remarks with a few words respecting Baur. He has shown superior judgment in not venturing to defend any longer the philological argument. "There are," he says, in his recent work, "three opinions; that of those who maintain the Syrian text to be genuine, of those who believe in the authenticity of the Greek text, and of those who believe neither to be genuine. This last is my own. There are arguments in favour of the first and second opinions; but the question must at last be decided by the general view adopted of the character of the age." Against this we demur. We think the question stands, first of all, upon philological grounds, and then upon chronological. Certainly, if St. John's Gospel (as Baur still maintains) was written by a clever impostor, therefore about the middle of the second century, and the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians by another impostor only ten or fifteen years earlier, no text can be genuine which refers or alludes to either. Away then with Ignatian Epistles, Syrian or Greek! woe upon the extracts from Basilides! woe upon those from Valentinus! woe upon those of Heracleon! woe upon whoever ventures to quote, twenty or fifty years before Baur has made out they were written, the one proscribed half of the canonical books!

* There is only one point on which I must differ from him. The Syrian text renders the *παροξυσμοί* in the Epistle to Polycarp (ch. ii.) by a word (derived from the root *gzar*) which would signify *abscissiones*. Cureton, therefore, thought that the translator found in his Greek manuscript *παράξυσμα*. Uhlhorn defends the Syrian reading; but it appears to me, that as the Syrian translation of the New Testament gives in the Epistle to the Hebrews, x. 24., for *παροξυσμός*, the word *gurógo*, from the root *gar*, and as the letters Sain and Resh may be mistaken for one another, the true reading of the passage is *gurógo*, as conjectured by Petermann, or *guroyo* (from *garah*). The sense of either form is *excitamentum* (Job, xxxi. 34., Prov. xxiv. 6.): *gar*, *garah* means *excitare* (Acts, xiv. 2.; compare xxi. 17.). This is exactly the meaning of *παροξύνειν*, *παροξυσμός*. As to the Syrian translation of *ἐμβροχαί*, it means embrocations, "liniments," and is, therefore, also quite in keeping with the simile.

I deeply regret that Hilgenfeld, in dealing with Ignatius, has relapsed into the unhistorical and unchronological subjective criticism of this school. He first rejects the Syrian text, because Uhlhorn and Petermann have proved that it exhibits extracts, and then goes through the Seven Epistles, and at great length shows that they refer to a time posterior to Ignatius. Thus we have no genuine Ignatian text, because the Seven Epistles are certainly not genuine. Had he begun with this argument, the spuriousness of the Seven Epistles, and then bestowed an impartial criticism upon the Syrian, so wantonly rejected, he would have arrived at the same result as ourselves. Both Hilgenfeld and Baur, however, offer fresh proof of my assertion, that the Greek text of Ignatius has no defenders among men of critical reputation and skill. Of the two Romanist writers who defend its authenticity, Hefele gives no reasons, and Denzinger's are as bad as those of Dr. Wordsworth. This does not surprise me; for no good reason can be advanced in behalf of what they have to defend. "Roma locuta est." "Pearson (who did not know the Syrian text) has said so;" consequently the Seven Epistles are genuine. Let them be so for them: but they should not attempt to defend them by argument. The worst of all however, I must confess, is that based upon the Armenian text, which, by a monstrous paralogism, is dignified into being the original of the Syrian text. A text which exhibits, not only the Seven mentioned by Eusebius, but even the other long-rejected Epistles (including the most absurd of all, the correspondence with a Cilician Mary),—such a text, I say, is assumed to be the original from which the Syrians (who always translated from the Greek, and never from the Armenian) made extracts (avowedly containing all the passages quoted as Ignatian by the ancient Fathers); and this too done by the Church of Antioch, Ignatius' own Church, which must have kept from the earliest times, and indeed did read, the Epistles of their great patriarch with a respect second only to the canonical books to which they have been found appended!

Every one who considers for a moment the nature of such criticism, will agree with me that there is no hope of mankind being delivered from hierarchical impositions, theological delusions and quibbles, until the Christian nations begin to interest themselves in such topics. Then classical scholars will take those sacred texts in hand, and plead the cause of truth and common sense before the Christian public at large; and truth will reign supreme even in Church history, and common sense even in theology.

II.

BASILIDES.

We have already stated, on different occasions, that Gnosticism within the Christian congregations was coëval with Peter and Paul; that Simon the Samaritan was a historical personage and a Gnostic philosopher; that Cerinthus was opposed by the Apostle John; and that Hippolytus gives us an account of various Christian or Christianizing sects which preceded Basilides and Valentinus. As, however, it is impossible with our present knowledge, to ascertain whether the works of these ancient sects, quoted by Hippolytus, were really anterior to the systems of those great men, I abstain from introducing their primitive records, as documentary evidence in my picture of this age and in the "Analecta."

Their general principles, however, must not be entirely passed over in silence. The most positive and remarkable among them are the Ophites, or, in the equivalent Hebrew name, Naassênes (from *nakash*, the serpent). This sect, whose origin is as ancient as the Pauline age, undoubtedly believed (as is proved by the extracts given from their writings by Hippolytus, even if they be of a later age and fashioned after Basilides and Valentinus) that in Jesus of Nazareth the Logos had become incarnate. But they connected this belief so intimately with their own speculative theory as to the first moving cosmogonical principle of nature and history, which they called (in allusion to the old sacred symbol of the Jews) the Serpent, that they necessarily transformed Christianity into a vehicle for propagating their fantastical, pantheistic system. They were not, however, devoid of profound and extensive ideas. If the Logos, they said, be really the first principle, it must have been worshipped and glorified, as the manifestation of the Godhead and the means of approaching God, in the mysteries of all the great nations of antiquity, from the Babylonians and Assyrians down to the Greeks, as well as by the inspired Hellenic poets like Pindar. Starting from this idea, they adopted a half-cabalistic, half-gnostic misinterpretation and mystification of

all mysteries and orgies, as well as of the simple language of Scripture, and particularly of the divinely childlike words of the prologue of St. John's Gospel. Not satisfied with the plain and eminently ethical and practical words of Christ, which they knew from the Palestinian Gospel, they interpolated them with mystical sayings, unknown to general tradition, though found at a very early date in provincial and sectarian forms of that Gospel, such as the "Gospel of the Egyptians," or the "Gospel of Thomas," quotations from which occur in Hippolytus and elsewhere. They possessed also sacred books of their own, partly didactic, and partly liturgical. The following passage in Hippolytus will convey an idea of their contents, and is directly suited to our present purpose. "The Naassênes," he says (Cod. f. 27.), "honour the Father of all other things, their Logos, as Man and Son of Man."*

They worshipped what they called the Logos, as Hippolytus afterwards explicitly states (Cod. f. 32.): "This Man is man and woman, and is called by them, Adamas." This name, which means the Unconquerable, was probably selected by them in allusion to the Hebrew Adam, but is not derived from it.

They had many high-flown hymns, of which the following given by Hippolytus, may serve as a slight specimen:—

"O thou citizen of Heaven!
Thou much-praised man!
From thee comes Father,
Through thee comes Mother,
Those two immortal names,
The parents of the Æons."

These verses, however, no more prove them to have considered the ideal man literally as man-woman, than what follows

* For the restoration of this whole passage, see Bernaysii Ep. Crit. pp 8, 9. I read the first sentence, however, as it stands in the MS. with one correction only—that of παρὰ into πατέρα, which is Bernays' emendation:

Οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων πατέρα τὸν αὐτῶν Λόγον τιμῶσιν ἄνθρωπον καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. Bernays reads: τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, which seems to me not only to be unnecessary, but also contrary to the meaning of the author.

proves that they regarded him as threefold in person (a Geryon, as Hippolytus says). These are the words:—

> One part of him is mental (Thought, Spirit), another psychical (subjective, the sensualized Soul), the third earthy (the material, merely sensuous).

The report of Hippolytus proceeds thus:—

"They think that to know him is the beginning of the power of knowing God. It is thus expressed:—

> The beginning of perfection is the knowledge of Man; but the knowledge of God is absolute perfection."

Again:—

> All this, the mental, and the psychical, and the earthy, were united, and came down, into one Man, Jesus, born of Mary.

And again:—

> These three men together spoke through Jesus identically as one, from their own substances (each according to his peculiar nature) to their own people. Jesus spoke spiritually to the men of the Spirit, parabolically to the sensuous, literally to the materialists.

"For they have, in their system, three kinds: the angelic, the psychical, and the earthy; and they distinguish three Churches (orders of believing men), which they call the Chosen, the Called, the Captive."

Although all that follows respecting the details of the Ophite system, when they endeavoured to explain allegorically what had no charm for them in its simple historical shape, is thoroughly fantastical and unsound, there is undeniably a real and deep meaning in the above distinction. Whoever has waded through the labyrinth of theological metaphysics of the following centuries will feel that much absurdity and much persecution would have been spared if that distinction had been attended to. As to the Ophites themselves, they lost, by their allegorizing, the benefit of what was true in their system. In attempting to carry out the rational and Christian idea that there was divine, spiritual, universal truth in all

the sacred parts of ancient religion and religious philosophy, they only proved that an allegorical interpretation is capable of spoiling the symbolical and poetical as well as the historical element in religious institutions. They corrupted the beautiful ethical simplicity of Judaism and Christianity, and destroyed the practical charm of Hellenism. But justice requires us not to forget that, when the Catholics learnt from the Gnostics to philosophize, they indulged in that allegorical folly as freely as the Ophites. And have not our modern Gnostics, to a certain degree, tried to do the same in the full sunshine of philological criticism? But as to philosophical depth and earnest speculation, there was much more in those Gnostics than good Hippolytus would allow or could understand. They undoubtedly touched also in their speculations upon the second problem of those ages, by ascribing the origin of evil to the Creator of the visible world, or the Demiurg. This doctrine is explicitly mentioned as that of the kindred sect of the Peratai.

Such was the state of Gnosticism when a great man arose—Basilides, a native Jew, trained in the school of Menander, and probably also born in Syria, though he settled at an early period in Egypt. He must have been born in the first century; for his followers asserted, what is not contradicted, that he owed his Christian instruction to Glaucias, an interpreter of the Apostle Paul. His contemporary, like him a disciple of Menander, Saturninus, or in the Syrian form Saturnilus, remained in Antioch, and wrote an exposition of his master's system. The synchronism, therefore, is as follows:—

30—65: Peter and Paul — Simon.
66—98: St. John and Clemens — Menander at Antioch, and Glaucias.
99—130: Ignatius — Saturnilus at Antioch, and Basilides at Alexandria.

Basilides is the first Gnostic teacher who has left an individual, personal stamp upon the age. He was a decided Christian, and commented upon the meaning of the Prologue of St. John's

Gospel as part of the Christian Scriptures. Although, according to Baur, Strauss, and Schwegler, that Gospel was written a whole generation later than Basilides, I shall at the end of this chapter show how entirely Baur has failed in evading my argument, and I will only observe here, that Basilides was perhaps not even the first Gnostic who commented upon St. John. Certainly, the writers of those Ophite books were acquainted with that Gospel and attempted to gnosticize it. Of the system of Basilides, as known before the work of Hippolytus was discovered, Neander has given, in the second edition of his "Church History" (i. 690—719.), a clear and honest exposition, to which I must refer my learned readers. Nothing that was written about Basilides, before Neander, is worth reading. As to what we have learned from Hippolytus, Jacobi, in his excellent Latin essay, has pointed out the general bearing of his extracts upon the controverted points, and Baur, in his recent work, has followed in that line.

My method will be a different one. I shall attempt first of all to bring the man himself in his individual earnestness and depth before my readers, and then examine his speculative system in its relation to the realities before us, divesting it of all that is fantastical and unphilosophical. I think the fragments of Basilides preserved or extracted by Hippolytus, and critically reprinted by me in the "Analecta," are the only safe basis for such a reconstruction both of the character of the man and of the system.

1. *Basilides: the Man, and his Ethical Christianity.*

Basilides must be carefully kept distinct from his school. His personal erudition is unquestionable. He had studied Plato deeply. A comparison with his son Isidorus, who had little erudition, and no criticism whatever, shows that Basilides was the master mind. His other disciples added richly to his fantastical constructions without either his learning or his genius. Isidorus admitted the authority of the lost apocryphal books of the Alexandrian Jews, and evidently knew nothing of Plato and Aristotle except through the medium of late writers and

supposititious books. All that is great in the Basilidian system was the originality of thought and the moral earnestness of its founder. His sect was doomed to perish, and did perish by not attending humbly to Scripture, and by separating themselves from the congregational life of simple, Scriptural Christians. Isidorus may, however, be considered as expressing, in his ethical views, the teaching of his father. Hippolytus mentions him with Basilides, as his true son and disciple. I shall, therefore, treat the ethical sayings of Isidorus as a faithful exponent of the thoughts of the father.

Basilides himself was not an anti-congregational proud Gnostic, but a pious Christian, who worshipped with his congregation, and connected his spiritual life in all humility with that of all the other Christian brethren. He does not divide the Christians into two separate classes, the knowing (Gnostics) and the believers. He most earnestly advises the speculative Christian, when he finds himself under heavy temptations, to go to a brother and confess his sins, asking him for absolution. For that is the sense of the words: "Let him [the Christian in temptation] say, I have entered the sanctuary; evil cannot touch me; give me thy blessing, and lay thy hands upon my head: and he will experience comfort, spiritually and bodily." Basilides valued prayer addressed to God in order to obtain something from Him, but he considered it as a lower degree of worship than the prayer of thanksgiving for God's mercies. Faith (*Pistis*), not knowledge (*Gnosis*), was in his eyes the highest. He considered the spiritual world as one whole, but constituted in different degrees. Faith and election of each nature (he said) correspond with the different degrees of the spiritual world, and are conformable to the primitive election made before the world.

Neander observes that Basilides' definition of faith, the consenting disposition of the soul towards the invisible, very much resembles that of Hugo a Sancto Victore. It certainly reminds us of the beautiful passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 1.): "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." Hope and faith exist in every soul, according to Basilides, always in a corresponding degree. Faith con-

nects the soul with the higher world, and in proportion as faith is more exalted, the conviction increases in the soul that what we now hold in faith we shall really possess in that world. "The gift of every one's faith" (these are his words) "is commensurate with his hope." This faith is an operative one: it produces, by the overruling Divine power, the effective will to do good. "Let one will," says Isidorus, "to practise what is good, and he will attain it." But he connects that faith with love: fear of punishment does not eradicate from the soul the inclination to sin. We find the same moral earnestness and depth when he speaks of his belief in Providence, or in the moral order of the world. "There is one world," he says, "and that world is one temple of God." This evidently expresses the thought that there is one Divine law of truth and justice in nature and history, leading us to the knowledge of the only Holy God. "I will rather say anything," he somewhere exclaimed, "than say, there is evil in the Divine foreknowledge."

What was it, then, that caused such a mind to lose itself in wild cosmogonic dreams, substituting speculations for biblical facts and speculative superstitions for the simple faith of the Gospel? What especially drove him to fatalism? Decidedly not a sentimental horror of the sufferings he experienced or observed in the life of other men. It is true, he thought all suffering an evil, and considered it as a punishment for sin committed by the soul in this life or in a former state of existence. He would not even except Jesus of Nazareth from that sentence, although he believed and confessed that the Spirit of God had united Itself to him at his baptism; nor did he see in the bitterest sufferings of that holiest of men any injustice. For Jesus, he said, being conscious that he was God's chosen organ for the holiest of purposes, and that he suffered for a cause the triumph of which he foresaw, his suffering was so much lightened that he was as one who did not suffer at all. The necessity of such suffering, however, arises from the nature of the worldly or demiurgic principle, the ruling Prince or Regent (Archon) of this world: he executes God's decree in a harsh and cruel manner as long as

his reign continues. He it was who imposed the law upon the Jews. Basilides carried out this doctrine with the greatest earnestness, combining it with a system of metempsychoses in the Egyptian sense. All nature is, according to him, striving after a higher development.

To a philosopher who tries to understand man, as a living individual, in all points, the question then arises, How could a mind like that of Basilides thus swerve both from Scripture and that reason which is controlled by conscience through a Christian life? I confess that the answer generally given is to me not satisfactory. It is said that all this was a consequence of the dualism from which he is supposed to have started, or of the mixture of the first principles of existence which, according to Neander, he placed at the head of his system. In the first place, according to the terms in which that answer is generally couched, it is decidedly false. But, even if understood in the more refined shape in which Neander puts it, I cannot help asking, Why could not so earnest a Christian philosopher overcome that dualism or that mixture, when he found the God of love revealed in the Gospels, and especially in that of St. John?

I believe the real historical truth to be this. In the first place, Basilides did not propose his speculative system as a doctrine collateral to and of equal dignity with the Gospel, but as a consistent development of thought soaring to the origin of the moral order of things in which man is placed by the Gospel. In the second place, Basilides was not an impassible, speculative machine. He was a man suffering like others from the desperate state of the world. He saw before and around him so much wickedness and injustice that he could not help taking it into account when philosophizing. He was resolved not to renounce his firm belief in Providence; but he did not see how he could keep it, unless he clung to the old philosophy of Egypt and Asia, that evil triumphs in this world of ours. Nor could he disentangle himself entirely from the false method and the delusions of Simonism, or of what Menander had made out of it in Antioch, where he received his first impressions. The system which placed the present

world under the spirit of evil was in the mind of Basilides not a gratuitous assumption, it was the result of the corruption of the ancient world which, more or less, weighed upon all men of that age. The injustice of a tyrannical government necessarily destroys religious belief in God's providence, however kings, as they have done in all times, may support religious establishments and erect gorgeous temples for their god or gods.

In short, Basilides endangered both his faith and common sense by three errors. He did not found his historical belief upon the living historical Christ, as the Bible represents Him, and upon the eternal love of God manifested in Him; he did not base his philosophy upon the universal conscience and reason of mankind; and finally, he was not satisfied with the realization of Christianity as the nature of his age permitted it. Despairing of the historical living reality manifested in that individual and in the biblical history of mankind, he gave imaginary life to abstractions as if they had a real development. Thus he spoiled both thought and history. He strove earnestly to be a Christian, and he wished his hearers to be Christians; but the wild speculations in which he now found himself entangled, unsupported, as they were, by the facts either of nature or of history, and unwarranted by reason and conscience, by Scripture or Christian experience, carried him away from practical Christianity, and made his followers become fantastical Basilidians instead of congregational Christians. But many of his faults and defects were those of his time, and took only another less fantastical form in the Church. In the hands of the Church also Christ soon became a spectre, when her leading men began to think, and attempted to connect thought with history and tradition. I cannot find that they showed much more respect for the eternal laws of the two elements, facts and thought, phenomena and ideas. On the contrary, history shows that they counted as a triumph what was only the proof of their failure, calling their own nonsense the holy mysteries of the religion of Christ, in order to make them believed.

Basilidianism was doomed to perish in all the absurdities which Basilides had fantastically suspended round his leading idea of a Theodicea, or justification of God's ways with the individual

man and with humanity. But he must be judged by himself; and before we condemn him as a fatalist, or excuse our ignorance by setting him down as a madman, let us not forget the tragic times in which he lived, or the good which he did by stirring up thought and clinging to the intellectual elements of Scripture. Let us not forget that he philosophized upon the basis of the words of the Apostle respecting the eternal Reason as manifested in Jesus the Christ.

This fact has, besides, a direct bearing upon biblical criticism, and gives a peculiar interest to the extracts from Basilides which we find in Hippolytus. It rests upon good evidence that Basilides was a noted heresiarch at Alexandria under Hadrian, and that he was older than Valentinus. That he directed his speculations to the words of the Prologue, and consequently found the whole Gospel of St. John generally acknowledged as authority like the catechetical Gospels, nobody had questioned before Baur and Strauss; and I cannot help thinking that both these critics and those who have followed them will, on further consideration, admit that those large extracts from the work of Basilides given by Hippolytus remove all doubt on that head. In order to see the weakness of the arguments by which Baur and his friends have endeavoured to evade the force of this fact, it is only necessary to refer to the text, as given in the "Analecta." They urge that no conclusion can be drawn from the quotations, because Hippolytus introduces his extracts with the following words: — "Basilides, and Isidorus the true son and disciple of Basilides, say that Matthæus (Matthias) had communicated to them sacred doctrines, which he had learnt from our Saviour's sacred teaching. Let us then see how manifestly Basilides, as well as Isidorus and their whole set, give the lie not only to Matthæus (Matthias), but also to him who was his Saviour." In order to understand this sentence well, let us first look at that which precedes it: — "If then it shall be found that *Basilides* introduces not only the sense but the very words of the doctrines of Aristotle into our evangelical and saving teaching, what have we to do but to restore what is stolen, showing *to his disciples* that, as they are pagans, Christ can be of no use to them?"

It is Basilides personally who is to be examined, and it is his disciples who are to be shown up as having lost Christ's saving doctrine. Nobody denies that Basilides left behind him a work or works which contained an exposition of his system, and that his disciples referred to these works as authoritative. Now, if they themselves could not be refuted except by reference to Basilides, how could Hippolytus argue against Basilides himself from any extracts except such as were taken from Basilides' own writings?

This is indeed most distinctly stated by him in the introduction with which the seventh book opens. The words are these: —"After the exposition contained in the first six books, it now appears to me right not to pass over the system of Basilides, who teaches the doctrines of Aristotle the Stagirite, not those of Christ." It is clear that, in describing Basilides out of his own work or works, he intended to give an insight into the doctrine of the Basilidians, all of whom, and in particular his son Isidorus, referred their wisdom to their master. Now, of what use could it be to quote any of his followers against him? They were to be judged by him whom they followed; but as to Basilides himself, of whom he treats, he could not be convicted of error by what the Basilidians down to the time of Hippolytus or of Irenæus might have written and believed. That Hippolytus did not intend to quote anything here but the words of Basilides, is also proved by the way in which all the quotations without exception are introduced: "He says." Whom can this "He" mean in this context, after all which had gone before, but Basilides? Lastly, this assumption is the only one which agrees with the character of the extracts themselves. They exhibit to us the leading sentences of an original and comprehensive speculative and theological system. Now these leading points in the system of Basilides must have been laid down by Basilides himself: and this argument is independent of what was required at this place for the refutation of his theories. These points are not only delivered here as the authoritative thought and teaching of Basilides, but they could not be anything else, for they constitute the very foundation of the system. His followers undoubtedly modified

and enlarged some secondary points of the system; but here we have (and, for the first time, explicitly) the groundwork itself brought forward as an argument against Basilides and Basilidians.

Moreover, in one passage Hippolytus himself draws the distinction between the fundamental doctrine of Basilides himself, and the amplifications of the system, points of minor importance introduced by his disciples or contained in works of Basilides. Hippolytus says (ch. xxvi. p. 240.):—"All who are in the Hebdomas having been enlightened, and the good tidings having been preached to them, nothing remained but to enlighten also the shapelessness amongst us." This sentence is broken off in the middle by Hippolytus observing, in a lengthened parenthesis, that *the Basilidians* had invented endless Creations, Principles, and Powers, and the 365 Heavens governed by Abrasax, whence the 365 days of the solar year are obtained.

All this can lead the historian but to one conclusion, namely, that our extracts refer to Basilides himself; and, consequently, that he was acquainted with and quoted the fourth Gospel as we do.

It may be very inconvenient to some of the admirers of Strauss's system in Germany and England to be obliged to admit that Basilides, before the year 120, commented on St. John's Gospel, which was not written (as the novel has it) till about the year 150 of our era. But if there be such a thing as historical evidence, it is here before us; and I cannot help thinking that men like Baur and Zeller will come to the same conclusion. One of my reviewers, and a very kind and philosophical one, asks me what interest I attach to this question? I answer: first of all, that of historical truth and respect for evidence. But I hope he will allow me to add, that I should be sorry not to see him coming also to the conclusion, that St. John's Gospel is not a fiction, but the true account of Christ's beloved disciple, and that if it be not, there would be no historical Christ, and consequently no Christian Church, that is to say, no social Christianity. It is a point not to be taken up lightly.

2. *The Speculative System of Basilides.*

Basilides, then, being neither a heathen, nor a demoniac, nor a myth, but a real individual, and a Christian of ethical earnestness my readers will, perhaps, like to have an idea of his metaphysical system, with particular reference to the information derived from Hippolytus. Instead of giving in this place a translation of the extracts made by Hippolytus, which are printed in the first volume of the "Analecta," I think it will be better to direct attention to the answers which those fragments furnish if we question them in our present philosophical language, respecting the eternal problems of all thinking ages. They will be found of interest, I trust, not only for the philosophy of primitive Christianity, but also for that of the universal history of mankind.

We must begin by avowing that we had previously known very little as to what Basilides really thought, and that most of the charges against him now turn out to be the effect of party spirit and ignorance. He never wrote a false Gospel; the "Evangelion" he composed, in twenty-four books, was in the form of a speculative commentary, his own theosophic exposition. Hippolytus says, that he meant by "Evangelion" the gradual manifestation of the Divine principle of life among the Æons and in the universe. As regards Christian doctrine destined for the use of mankind, he believed that God created the world and continued to be its supreme ruler, the destinies of man being the decrees of an eternally good Providence. He believed that Jesus was the Christ and the incarnate manifestation of the Eternal Word, although he seems not to have thought that St. Luke's account of the Incarnation implied a preternatural procreation. He believed the soul to be immortal, although he did not understand the words of Christ in their literal sense as to the resurrection of the body. All this agrees perfectly with what we know respecting his practical Christianity. As to his disciples, they had no scruple about buying and eating meat offered to idols, but they abhorred heathen worship and all acts of idolatry.

Basilides attempted to systematize the Prologue, and thereby fell into the error of hypostatizing psychological thought and treating logical abstractions as Divine history. Hippolytus has ingeniously pointed out that some of his fictions are mere hypostatized Aristotelian terms. In the same manner, Christian ideas and facts are mixed up in this system with Oriental or individual imaginations, and with the weakest portion of antique science, natural philosophy. Thus the whole speculation is absorbed into a mythological process. This process, however, starts from a very profound idea. It exhibits the eternal work of creation as a process of the Divine mind, whose reflex is the human mind. And in this system of evolution there appears a nucleus of deeply Christian thought, and a sound basis of Christian philosophy, in many respects superior to the Jewish and Judaical Gnosticism which preceded it and even to the later Catholic scholasticism. Basilides came to a breach with the history of the world in breaking with the Old Testament, but he extended the views of Christian philosophers for ever beyond the pale of Judaism and Semitism.

Christ is, in the history of mankind, not only the centre of the intellectual history of mankind, but also the author of a new view of its philosophy, and St. John is the principal prophet of His Divine philosophy of Man. But Basilides was the first historical individual who, as a philosopher, endeavoured to apply Christ's view of the destinies of humanity and of the connexion between God and man to the general spiritual history of Man. We learn from the quotations in Hippolytus (vii. 25. p. 238.) that he considered the history of mankind as one great manifestation of the progressive Divine principle, but distinguished in it three epochs: the age before the Law, the age of the Jewish dispensation, and the Christian age, then only just commenced. As to the Law, he taught with St. Paul, that it impressed mankind with the idea of sin, but that it was not the expression of God's own nature. God Himself, His inmost Being and Substance, were only manifested in Christ, not as the continuation of Judaism, but as a new principle, Judaism having by no means been the manifestation of the First Cause of the universe.

To understand the fundamental view of Basilides as to the three ages of the world, we must enter into the elements of his metaphysical system.

All evolution (he taught) commenced by the working of the ineffable, absolute, Divine mind upon matter. His eternal thought is the origin of all created things. The first creation was merely intellectual. The Powers (Dynameis) proceeding from him were, according to Irenæus *, Spirit (Nus), from whom sprung Reason (Logos), and from Reason, Thought (Phronesis), from whom came both Wisdom and Power (Sophia and Dynamis). From these, according to Irenæus, came the first (highest) angels, and they began to create the universe, the first Heaven; and thus came forth, altogether, *365* series of angels, creating a corresponding number of Heavens, beneath all of which is our earth, the Kosmos. All this is merely the mythological form of psychologic speculation, based upon the simple words of the Prologue, and coupled with the imaginary astronomy of the ancient world.

It is stated in our extracts that the words, "Let there be light," produced the germ or seed of the world, "which," adds Basilides, "is the light that cometh into the world" (John, i.). The beauty of Divine goodness attracts the element of life in matter: this Divine element Basilides calls the Sonship. There are three classes of Sonship. The most refined element flies by its own nature up to the ineffable Father: the second Sonship uses the Holy Spirit as a wing, but rises by its assistance to the paternal glory, from whence the Holy Spirit, being repulsed by the Ineffable (and attracted by matter), sinks into an intermediate state, below the Ineffable (purely intellectual), but still above this earth (the mere psychical, or animal). The essence of the life of this earth is concentrated in the Demiurgos, or Spirit of the material World, whose Son (conscious realization) is much more elevated than himself. This material world, in its brute resistance, in its blind hostility, to the Divine formative and limiting power, is the evil principle.

* I. 23. Compare Clem. Strom. iv. 539., Theodoret. Hæret. i. 4., Epiphan. Hæres. xxiv. 1.

This was the ruling idea in the first as to those three ages of the world. The Prince of this World was blind, and had made it in perfect ignorance of the higher purposes it was to subserve. But his Son, whom he placed at his right hand,—the conscious, intellectual principle of the material world, the natural principle, —was capable of manifestation to the human mind. It was he who spoke to Moses, distinctly stating (Exodus, iii. 6.) that the name of the real God had not been revealed to the Fathers. The Demiurgos, or Prince of this World, was the author of the Law; it was his Son who spoke by the prophets who preceded Christ, both among the Jews and Gentiles. This Son was infinitely higher and greater than that of the unconscious creation, and was the real moving principle of that period (pp. 235, 236.); but far from being the expression of the true God — the first cause of all creation — Divine Providence. It is the psychical, not the spiritual, principle which manifests itself in the second age, as it was the purely material one which predominated in the first. It follows from this exposition, that Basilides understood the biblical account of the Fall of our first parents as not belonging to the terrestrial history of the soul and to the real existence of man.

Jesus of Nazareth opened the third age. He was naturally procreated by Joseph, like any other man; but God's own substance was mixed up with his soul in the act of generation. Such is evidently the meaning of Basilides, although Jacobi asserts that our extracts are a refutation of the accusation of Epiphanius on this point. Basilides, in quoting the words of the Gospel of St. Luke (p. 241.): "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee," interprets them as referring to the Divine Spirit passing through the intermediate spheres, and to the Power on High. But all this does not, by any means, exclude the paternity of Joseph. On the contrary, it appears that this paternity was maintained by Basilides, from what Hippolytus proceeds to say (pp. 243. 270.): "As to all that follows in the life of Christ, the doctrine of Basilides is the same as we find in the Gospels." This appears to say that, as to the first point, Basilides did not adopt the Catholic interpretation. It was his speculation which

elevated his views of Christ above that of the Ebionites, and this speculation had a Scriptural foundation. Basilides added, that the life of Christ was the beginning of a progressive shaping and forming of the individual souls of believers, as thoughts of God, out of the shapeless form of unconscious material or psychical existence. The children of God, who, according to St. Paul, are the first-born of creation, are spiritually minded Christians. But St. Paul teaches, and Basilides adopts this view in a cosmical sense, that the whole creation is groaning after redemption. This is the process, according to Basilides, not only of history, but of the whole creation itself. *The history of mankind is the type of the evolution of creation.*

At the bottom of this whole process lies the unfathomable Providence of God, which can never commit any injustice, however appearances may be against this assumption. God is essentially good and just. Bodily suffering is punishment, even to the holy; but the consciousness of virtue and of the Divine cause of the Spirit compensates them for the pain, and makes it scarcely perceptible. By a similar compensation, the lower creation, not yet ripe for redemption, is kept in absolute ignorance of the higher; for otherwise it would not only be tortured without hope, but would perish. *For what exists perishes by attempting to overstep the bounds of its existence.*

In calling all bodily suffering a punishment for sin, Basilides, not guided by a strict philosophical method, oversteps the boundaries of speculation, and, at the same time, obscures the truth of his idea by a wrong conception of the tragedy of human history.

We must not, however, forget that Basilides is not only the first of all Christians, but also of all philosophers, who viewed the history of mankind in the light of a progressive evolution, and attempted to understand it as being founded upon the eternal laws of Divine development.

There are many very deep truths involved in the mythological process of the evolution of the Powers (the "Potenzen" of Schelling), the whole extent of which we learn, for the first time, from Hippolytus. Such appears to me to be the idea

that the philosophical expression of the Sonship is the Divine conscious principle embodied in matter. According to Basilides, this principle is animated by the individual life of the soul, and thus benefited by it, but it also benefits the soul, because the soul receives by the organic life a greater power of action upon the outer world.

Those who desire to enter more deeply into the deciphering of this hieroglyphic may do so for themselves by studying the text, now rescued from oblivion and rendered more intelligible in our "Analecta." But, I think, we have said enough, following Neander, and still more the new and genuine materials preserved by the "Refutation" of Hippolytus, in order to regain for the history of Christianity and of the human mind, a real, eminent man, an active spirit in the age which succeeded that of St. John, and the first who applied thought systematically to the historical revelation centring in Christ.

A breach began to show itself in this age between Philosophy and Church. Both were one-sided, and bore in themselves the germ of death. Philosophy did not sufficiently respect the ethical and practical element of Christianity, nor the Church the claims of thought and speculation. What was worse, neither respected reality and its laws: they made cheap of the laws of creation, as manifested in the universe and in man, and slighted and violated the laws of a historical interpretation of the Bible. As to this interpretation, Gnosticism foisted its speculative assumptions upon the simple words of Scripture and of the Gospel and Epistles, whereas the Church showed a leaning to relapse into Judaism by explaining spiritual and intellectual passages according to the letter, that letter being often arbitrarily and falsely interpreted. This Judaism soon made itself perceptible in the constitution as well as in the worship, and the breach alluded to widened in the next age, in spite of serious efforts of eminent men to repair it.

What saved Christianity and the world was the practical ethic and public life developed by the free congregations of the believers. The revolting persecutions of imperial despotism and the odious vexations of the spy system gave publicity

to those elements of life, and heightened their effect upon mankind.

Paganism had entered, at the close of this period, upon a new fashion. Eclecticism in religion succeeded eclecticism in philosophy. Foreign worships were sought after more greedily than before. Hadrian made Egyptian mysteries fashionable together with Egyptian art, laughing himself with his companions at all religions and their priests and divinities. But while the philosophical and religious mind of the Greek and Roman world in the higher classes continued to ignore or scorn Christianity, men were driven, by an inward impulse, to a more serious consideration of the very problems which Christianity solved. This showed itself already in the next age.

THE

FOURTH GENERATION,

OR

THE AGE OF VALENTINUS AND MARCION, AND THE AUTHOR OF THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS,

POLYCARP OF SMYRNA AND JUSTIN MARTYR.

FROM THE YEAR 129 TO THE YEAR 162.

(XIIIth year of HADRIAN to IInd of MARCUS AURELIUS.)

HYGINUS. PIUS. ANICETUS.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS.

129. HADRIAN.	XIII.	*Hyginus* (129—132) succeeds Telesphorus
130.	XIV.	Valentinus and Cerdo live at Rome.
131.	XV.	Time of organization as to degrees of clerical offices.
132.	XVI.	Ælia Capitolina colonized. Marcion comes to Rome, probably during the vacation of the Roman See.
133.	XVII.	*Pius* (133—150) Bishop of Rome. Hadrian at Alexandria.
134—137. (Jewish war.) (Bar-kochba subdued; Jerusalem demolished.)	XVIII—XXI.	Marcion in the course of these four years quarrels with and finally separates from the Church of Rome, preaches Cerdonism, and begins to be considered as a heresiarch. His first work, a letter, considered Catholic. The Epistle to Diognetus, end of 135, or beginning of 136.
138.	XXII.	Hadrian adopts T. Aurelius Antoninus, who adopts L. Commodus Verus and M. Annius Verus (Marcus Aurelius).
ANTON. PIUS.	I.	Hadrian dies 10th July at Baiæ, and is succeeded by T. Aur. Anton. Pius. Popular tumults against the Christians in the beginning of the reign, in consequence of famine and other public calamities. Edict and severe measures in the provinces against the Christians.
139. (M. Aurelius Cæsar, 8 years old.)	II.	Justin presents his "Greater Apology" in the earlier part of this year: the "Lesser Apology" soon afterwards. The time of the "Shepherd," written by Hermas, the brother of Bishop Pius.
140.	III.	Time of Heracleon's Commentary upon St. John's Gospel.
141—150.	IV—XIII.	Time of further organization of the hierarchy and of ecclesiastical law. Easter fixed on Sunday, in the West.
151.	XIV.	*Anicetus* (151—162) Bishop of Rome.
152—156.	XV—XIX.	Time of gradual settlement of the canonical books of N. T. Greek text of Matthew definitively constituted. Polycarp comes to Rome. The members of the clergy cease to wear long hair. Eleutherus, Deacon under Anicetus.
157.	XX.	First Montanistic movements. Marcellina forms a party at Rome about this time.
158.	XVI.	Earliest possible time for the book of Celsus against Christianity, and of Melito's work on the celebration of Easter: disputes upon the subject at Laodicea.
161.	XXIV.	M. Antoninus Pius dies.
M. AUR. PH.	I.	
162.	II.	Anicetus ✠ in the twelfth year of his pontificate.

INTRODUCTION.

The Framework and general internal Elements of the Age: the Ebionites and Nazarenes and the Clementine Fictions.

1. *Framework and Elements.*

THE fourth age exhibits a wide development of Christianity, both as an association and as a system of worship and social ethics. The Christians felt themselves more and more a universal society of mankind, irrespective of nationality. They were spread even beyond the limits of the Roman Empire, over the whole earth, and the Gentile element took more decidedly the lead when the cruelties of Barkochba towards the Christians, and the final destruction of Jerusalem after this last Jewish insurrection, had made the breach between Judaism and Christianity final. Christian worship having already, in the preceding generation, obtained its distinctive character by the sacrifice of praise becoming its centre, and by the connexion of this act with the meal of thanksgiving, it received in this age its definitive type, distinct from all temple worship and Levitical atonement.

We find, in this pregnant period, the two antagonistic powers of Gnosticism and Catholicism strongly developed. The first is represented by the two most gifted individuals of the age — Valentinus and Marcion, who, though united in one cause, were individually as different to each other as they were nationally. Valentinus brought Christian philosophy to Rome, where Marcion also arrived, about the same time, as a young man. The system of Valentinus, on the whole, stands on the same basis as that of Basilides; indeed, as the extracts in "Hippolytus" prove, the two systems can only be understood as a development of the same basis of Menander, the historical founder of speculative Simonism at the Gnostic school of Antioch. But although likewise a native of Egypt, from the

Arsenoïte nome, or the Fayoom, Valentinus is much more Hellenic and Occidental, and his speculation is divested of the inherent fatalism of the Basilidian; it is more purely Platonic, and not only more ethical, but also more positively Christian. For it is Valentinus who made the Redemption the centre of a grand view of universal history and of individual Christianity. Marcion of Sinope in Pontus is the man of energetic action; whereas Valentinus has more the contemplative mind of the schoolman.

Rome became the residence of these two great men; and their Catholic cotemporaries, Polycarp and Justin Martyr, were also intimately connected with the metropolis of the world. The Christian congregation there was a highly influential one, although the great Roman families kept aloof. Having occupied already, since the time of Clemens, an eminent place in the thinking world from the political importance of the metropolis, Christian Rome became, from the first year of Hyginus with which our age commences, also the centre of Christian philosophy and doctrine. As soon as they wished to make these speculations act upon practical Christianity, they went to the metropolis to establish their influence.

After the death of Hadrian (July, 138) a new line of policy towards Christianity began, and Justin presented his "Apology" in the first year of the reign of Antoninus Pius, the seventh year of Bishop Pius, who succeeded Hyginus in 132 or 133, and died after a pontificate of eighteen years in 150, the twelfth year of the Elder Antoninus. During his pontificate, and probably in 139, Hermas, the brother of Pius, wrote the Christian novel of ancient Christianity, the "Shepherd." In the second or third year of Anicetus, the successor of Pius, Polycarp of Smyrna came to Rome. Anicetus governed the Church of Rome from the fourteenth year of Antoninus Pius to the second year of Marcus Aurelius (151—162), and with his death this generation closes.

Such is the outward framework of our generation. Great were the woes, and noble were the struggles, of the Christians of this age: great also were the efforts of Christian minds to connect thought and learning with faith, to discover the sense

of Scripture, and understand the words of Christ and the teaching of the Apostles, by observation of man and the study of his history. The idea of a Christian literature began in this period. The means at their disposal for attaining these ends were certainly inadequate. But the Christians entered courageously both into the domain of speculation and history, from feeling the necessity of giving to the rising generation safe and spiritual books, and of defending Christianity by apologetic expositions of the faith and life of believers, addressed to the emperors or the leading men about them.

But the struggle with Roman intolerance and Stoical self-sufficiency was not the severest they had to sustain. Other forces were at work against them, and deeper systems stirred up the religious and thoughtful mind of the times. It was, in particular, the old Oriental dualism, that child both of a deep sense of the curse of sin and of the wickedness and oppression of the ruling powers on earth, which now tried to establish itself as a Christian element.

2. *The Ebionites and Nazarenes, and the Clementine Fictions.*

In addition to the anti-Christian element in speculation, which had been sown by the Gnostic school of Antioch, and propagated by that of Alexandria, there were internal divisions between the Jewish Christians of Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor, on the one side, and the Hellenic and Hellenistic Christians in Europe, on the other. And here we encounter, in the first place, the Judaizing Christian party, the Ebionites — the "poor brethren" — in their most orthodox sections called the Nazarenes.

They have produced neither a genuine author nor a genuine work: they begin with Jewish separatism, and end with fictions. It does not, therefore, fall within the plan of this sketch to enter into a critical examination of their floating tenets. I shall content myself here with expressing my dissent from Neander in his exposition of the doctrine of the Ebionites, which I consider as one of the least successful portions of his admirable "Church History." In particular, I do not discover that the question

about Christ's natural or preternatural procreation was one of the fundamental points upon which Jewish Christians differed among themselves. It was, on the contrary, not only an open question among them, but did not even appear to men like Justin Martyr a ground of separation from those who could not find any such doctrine in St. Matthew or St. Luke. It is a perfectly gratuitous assumption on the part of Neander, that the admission of the paternity of Joseph implies the rejection of Luke and the first two chapters of Matthew. The Ebionites, I think, agreed in admitting that paternity, as well as the more ancient portions of the "Clementines," in which no other view is ever contemplated: Adam alone was not generated by the seed of man, according to a passage quoted by Neander *himself*.

The question at issue, on the contrary, seems to me to have been the very primitive one: whether Christ abrogated the Law, even for Jewish believers? The strict Ebionites, who denied this, may perhaps have commonly understood in the sense of Jewish legality the high and unique perfection which they ascribe to Him, and by which He fulfilled all righteousness. Others attempted to spiritualize the Law into its Abrahamitic simplicity: the fiction of Adam, the first-born, as having been the great prophet of God, Christ being the restorer of his pure doctrine, and some dreams about angels, were the highest flight their speculation attempted. But, whatever form it assumed, this party never could contemplate Christ as the Saviour. The idea of redemption was as foreign to them as to the Unitarians of the eighteenth century, who could not understand that placing redemption abstractedly in the eternal decree of God does not bring the world nearer to God, nor Christ to them. The gulf between God and his creation, that great stumbling-block of all Semitic nations, prevented the Ebionites from embracing the true idea of Christianity. As God had sent Moses, or Moses and the prophets, so at last He sent Christ to teach mankind His Will, by obedience to which they will be saved. With the wall of separation between God and man, there remained also the wall of an external Law for man. It is almost immaterial whether this be the law of circumcision, or any other ordinance, ritual, or work, on which the union with God, "justification," is to depend.

As Paul's doctrine consequently was unpalatable to all the Ebionites, and he himself an object of detestation to many, they magnified Peter, only regretting his weakness in not having thrown off the man of Tarsus.

When this party with its Semitic Gospel and worship extended itself beyond Palestine, it began to argue in Hellenistic Greek, abominating alike St. Paul and Alexandrian Gnosticism. No doubt, they found many adherents among the Hellenists. But as they had lost their historical and national footing by the destruction of Jerusalem, so their last stronghold was demolished by the building of Ælia Capitolina; "a providential event," says Sulpicius Severus, "because almost all Christians believed in Christ under the form of the Law."

The Jews had no independent philosophical basis for their speculation even when they had reached the highest point of their national existence. Their lot being cast among Hellenic minds, they began, as they have since continued, to build up systems upon an untenable foundation, and produced a chaos, suspended in the lurid atmosphere of Rabbinism between the earth of history and the heaven of dialectic speculation. Instead of sifting facts, they involved everything in fraud—instead of systematizing thought, they buried whatever they had of it under heaps of rubbish inaccessible even to themselves, and a nuisance to the rest of the world.

The Ebionites separated themselves from mankind in general, professing belief in Him the central idea of whose life was humanity. The history of the Gospel they accepted ran counter to their prejudices, as does the subsequent history of the world. They rejected Paul's Epistles and the Apostolic history connected with them, and were the first, at the very beginning of the present age, if not at the close of the third, to set up in opposition to him "The Preaching of Peter" (Prædicatio Petri), a fiction which gave them an opportunity of making Peter dispute with Simon Magus and some other Jewish and Gentile heretics. This book met with great sympathy, although not as much as the more eschatological Apocalypse of Peter, which probably came from a less polluted source. "The Preaching of Peter" was afterwards extended into a regular novel, and a very ingenious one.

The "Itinerary of Peter" was perhaps the nucleus of the Clementine fictions which appeared in the course of this age, about the middle of the second century. Clemens, the Bishop of Rome, was chosen as the decoy-duck of the Gentiles, and made the hero of the story, as being a supposed disciple of Peter, whom he meets during that Apostle's travels, being himself in search after truth. Of course, both Clemens and Peter are transformed into purely fictitious personages. We are acquainted with two distinct forms of this novel, in the shape of Homilies, the Greek text of which is preserved, and as Recognitions, of which we have only the Latin translation, or rather abbreviation and expurgation, by Rufinus. It is difficult to fix the origin and centre of a lie, and impossible to discover the history of a progressive fraud and fiction. A cautious critic will take care, at all events, not to base any argument upon incomplete documents. An independent text rescued from the Libyan desert, which combines a part of the Homilies with a portion of the Recognitions, remains still to be published and examined.*

* The manuscript in question is in the Catalogue of the British Museum, Cod. 12,150, written in three columns on each page, and bears the respectable date of A. D. 411, in which it was written at Edessa. Its title is simply "Clemens." According to Dr. Boetticher's communications, the order of the MS., written in three columns, is the following :

The pages from 1 C to 52 B contain the *first* book of Clemens: this is the title in the subscription, fol. 52. This First Book corresponds with Recognition I. i—iv. 1. down to the word *denunciavimus*. What follows,

From 52 B to 56 B, is marked in the superscription the *Third* Book against the Gentiles, and corresponds with the Tenth Homily in Greek.

From 56 B to 62 D is called in the superscription the *Fourth* Book=*Homil.* xi.

From 62 B to 67 F bears the superscription, Τὰ ἐν Τριπόλει τῆς φοινίκης. It comprises first=Recognit. vii. ch. i. to beginning of 37. Then follows XIIIth Homily from Chap. xx. to the end. (The Metrodora of the Greek text is constantly called, or simply inscribed, Mattudia.)

From 67 F to 71 F, "XIV;" viz. the XIVth Homily. This closes the whole work, for the subscription in the last page is this: "The writing of the Book Clemens is ended."

Under these circumstances, it appeared to me that I was justified in saying, in the first edition of "Hippolytus," that the problem was not yet ripe for solution. For this reason, neither the solid researches of Schliemann, nor the acute speculations of Ritschl, nor the most recent criticism of Hilgenfeld, seem to me to have produced a satisfactory result. I am far from censuring persons who have bestowed so much learning and acumen upon a work of this character; but I enter my most solemn protest against the attempt made by Baur and Schwegler to subvert history by means of a novel — the canonical writings by the Clementine fiction. Yet Schwegler particularly, in his "Post-apostolical Age," has made the "Clementines" act a conspicuous part in a romance which Baur maintains in his comprehensive work on "Das Cristenthum der drei ersten Jahrhundert" which appeared at the end of 1853 and may be considered as a compendious statement of the result of his researches. That novel (for such it is) runs somewhat in the following tenour.

Paul, having written his five Epistles, died, and was soon overpowered by the Petrine party. Different diplomatic attempts were made in the first half of the second century to bring the

From these dates I have constructed the following Table, which gives a comparative view of the Syrian and our two texts:

Syrus.	*Recognitiones.*	*Homiliæ.*
I.	I. II. III. (IV^a).	(Cf. I. II. III., probably beginning of IV.) Hom. (IV^b). V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. are therefore omitted.
III.		X.
IV.		XI.
Tripolitana	VII. 1—37^a.	XII.
		XIII. 20 to the end.
XIV.		Hom. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX. XX. are therefore wanting.

The whole appears to me to be a text which has already past through many changes: it may, however, be superior to the two others. We may soon hope to see the Syriac text published and commented upon through the exertions of the indefatigable and conscientious Rev. W. Cureton.

two parties into harmony: the Epistle to the Hebrews is one; the Gospel of St. Luke, written to counteract the Jewish tendency of Matthew, another; and the Acts, a third party-work in the Pauline interest: the "Clementines" supported the opposite side. Both parties forged or adulterated as many documents as they possibly could. We are indebted to one of these forgeries for the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and a part of the Epistle to the Romans. The Gnostics, who continued what Paul had begun, at last gained the upper hand over the Ebionite Petrines, and it was thought expedient by the Catholics to bring out a last concluding novel, under the venerable name of John the son of Zebedee, who was said to have lived at Ephesus down to the very end of the first century. This novel appeared as the Gospel of St. John about the middle of the second century, with a view to producing a general union, and building up the Catholic Church by the combination of a tame Gnosticism applied to a mythicized Christ. The writer exhibited considerable genius in counterfeiting John of the Apocalypse: the effect was striking. About the same time, that noted emissary of the Jewish party, Hegesippus, whom they had sent all over the world to collect materials in their favour and compose a history of the Church in the hierarchical Petrine sense, went so far as to represent the Apostle St. Paul as the first of the Gnostic heretics.*

* This last monstrous fable is most broadly and confidently stated, even in Baur's work of last month, p. 77. ff. Here is the document brought forward in its support. My readers will find in Routh's Reliquiæ, i. 219., a report of an early Byzantine writer preserved by Photius, in which Hegesippus is stated to have said in the fifth (last) book of his Memoirs, in reference to the words (slightly altered) which are quoted by St. Paul (1 Cor. ii. 9.) out of an apocryphal book of the time much valued by the Jews: "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the good things which God hath prepared for the just" (instead of: the things . . . . prepared for those who love him.) Now what are the words of Hegesippus? "Those who say these things belie the divine Scriptures and our Lord, who says, Blessed are your eyes which see, and your ears which hear" (Matt. xiii. 16.). Here he does not blame St. Paul, who quotes that verse differently, but those who say so. Who they are he clearly indicates

What would be said of such an hypothesis as that the sons of Charlemagne, being anxious to answer the false state-

by the quotation; namely, those Gnostics who boasted of being "the just" and of knowing things never heard before, consequently such as were not even said or taught by Christ. So, indeed, we find these words used in the extracts from Theodotus made by Clemens (ch. xii.). This is a fair specimen of the philological and historical criticism of the Tübingen school. I will add a second: also from that same recent and comprehensive exposition of the Tübingen system. Baur mentions (p. 69.), as one of the glaring proofs that the first Gospel is a judaizing falsification of Christ's words (as well as Luke an artfully arranged Gospel in the Pauline sense), the following "fact": — "The Gospel called after Luke does not contain that saying about the fulfilment of the Law, and its lasting validity (Matt. v. 18.), which is so characteristic of the Gospel of Matthew. What this Gospel says respecting the indissolubility of even the smallest parts of the Law, Luke's Gospel says, *according to the original reading* (Luke, xvi. 17.), of the words of Jesus. He puts explicitly into the mouth of Jesus the assertion, that the Mosaic Law has already come to its end with the preaching of John the Baptist, and that since, in opposition to the Law, the announcement of the kingdom of God has begun (ver. 16.)." In a note on these words, Baur says: "I adhere, with Hilgenfeld, to the reading τῶν λόγων μου" (instead of τοῦ νόμου). My readers will find no trace of that "original reading," either in Lachmann's great edition, or in Tischendorf, or elsewhere. All the manuscripts, versions, and quotations, have the same text as in St. Matthew: "not a tittle of the Law." But Anger gives the clue to the understanding of the oracle. Tertullian (Adv. Marcion, iv. 33.) says, evidently as part of his own argumentation, not as a quotation from Marcion: "Transeat igitur cœlum et terra citius, sicut et lex et prophetæ, quam unus apex verborum Domini." Thus Ritschl, himself once Baur's disciple, (Die Altkath. Kirche, p. 42.) interprets the passage, whereas Hahn thought Tertullian alluded to a reading of Marcion's, in the passage alluded to: ὡς καὶ ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται. There is evidently no quotation: had Marcion, however, thus quoted the Gospel of St. Luke, it would clearly be one of his numberless systematic perversions of the traditional text; for that passage must have been an eyesore to him.

I challenge any classical English scholar to name one single specimen of fair and critical interpretation by that school in any one of the texts which can be questioned. The whole novel is built upon such misinterpretations and conjectures, as might be called ingenious if they were not opposed by positive realities, philological or historical or both. The ignoring of such dictatorial assertions, such unwarrantable suspicions thrown out against the most simple-minded men and writers (as has been done by many scholars who could not persuade themselves that German professors should so entirely forget common sense and classical criticism), is construed by these persons into acquiescence, or taken as a confession of inability to answer the late

ments contained in the "Gesta Francorum" about their great father, employed some ready penman to write under the name of Eginhard a Life of the Emperor, that is to say, the history of the mythicized Charlemagne, to please both critics and believers? And yet the only difference between the audacity of palming off such a fiction and the Tübingen novel would be this, that the interval between Eginhard and the "Gesta Francorum" is considerably greater than that between John and his supposed counterfeit: a circumstance which alters nothing as to the main point at issue.

The Ebionite records are fictitious and fraudulent throughout. It is true that the Canons and Constitutions of the Apostles are also dressed up in the form of fiction. But then they possess a nucleus of real life, and portray the usages and customs of the Christian congregations; whereas the Clementines are based throughout upon wilful fraud, like a hundred other Jewish impostures, from Aristobulus down to the book of Sohar.

profound researches (which are always those of the same school, one endorsing the other), or it is set down as wilful ignorance. In saying this, with a conscientious conviction, and after a patient perusal of their principal compositions, I fulfil a more agreeable duty in adding, as to the recent work of Baur, that it is written, as to religion in general, in a highly ethica spirit, and that it is full of ingenious philosophical remarks.

I.

VALENTINUS.

VALENTINUS came to Rome during the pontificate of Hyginus (129—132), and there formed a school which endeavoured to remain in communion with the Roman Church. He left behind him the reputation of a man of the highest genius, and not a whisper was ever heard against his Christian character. Jerome speaks of him with great respect. His influence was almost as lasting in the West as in the East. The work of Hippolytus has added considerably to our knowledge of his speculative system. This was hitherto principally based upon the account given by Irenæus, and the uncritical and confused exposition of Epiphanius. That purest mine of Valentinian speculation, the extracts made from Valentinian text-books by Clemens of Alexandria, has hitherto been little explored on account of the obscurity with which it is surrounded. In spite of these difficulties, some eminent German philosophers and historians have disinterred the treasure of thought hidden in their mystical terminologies and left untouched by the earliest historians of Christianity.

Neander was the first to restore that system to historical life, and the speculative genius of Baur has done much towards bringing the ideas of Valentinus into closer connexion with those of the present day. Rossel, a disciple and friend of Neander, who died young, has left behind him what may be called a living reproduction of that wonderful combination of fancy and philosophy. His picture of the system is a masterpiece of composition. As the small volume which contains it* is little

* Herrmann Rossel, Theologische Schriften: eingeführt von A. Neander. Berlin, 1847. 2 vols. The picture in question is found in vol. ii. pp. 250—264.

known to the literary world, I think it will be a real service to my readers to make this portrait of the Valentinian system, as far as it can be gathered from Clemens, Irenæus, and Epiphanius, the basis of what may now be considered as the philosophical Christianity of Valentinus himself and of the strictest members of his school. Although I am far from asserting that Hippolytus gives us the very words of Valentinus when quoting his system, he enables us nevertheless in various places to distinguish, better than we could before, the master's original conceptions and the developments or caricatures added by his followers. When these differ, for instance, in the genealogy of the Æons, we may be sure that the master had said nothing positive about them.

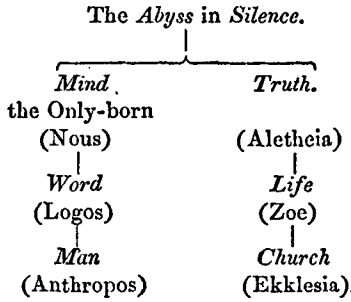
I have therefore to call the attention of my readers particularly to those points, and in general to the essential differences between the accounts hitherto known and that of Hippolytus. They will thus be enabled to see at once what we owe to Hippolytus, and, instead of being bewildered by the dazzling fictions of his school, to seize the fundamental ideas, which become perfectly transparent as soon as the key is found. As to the details, I must refer the learned reader to the text of Valentinus contained in the extracts of Hippolytus, and to the text-book of Theodotus and the oldest and strictest Valentinians, preserved by Clemens. I give them both in the "Analecta:" the first immediately after the extracts from Basilides, and the other as part of the "Hypotyposes" of Clemens of Alexandria. If these are presented here for the first time in a readable form, the world is indebted for it in a great measure to the assistance I have received in this arduous undertaking from Dr. Jacob Bernays. His classical translation is the best commentary upon them, and his second critical epistle explains some of the most difficult passages.

But the leading ideas of Valentinus may easily be understood by any Christian who has ever connected a serious thought with the most intellectual portions of the New Testament, especially with the Prologue of St. John's Gospel,

and with St. Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philippians. As to St. John, Valentinus has dramatized the Divine Epos of the Logos. As to St. Paul, he has first developed into a speculative system, in which much is borrowed from the Platonic "Timæus," those instructive rather than systematic sayings of the Apostle of the Gentiles respecting Christ and the Church. He has, besides, brought prominently forward and systematized the speculative meaning of those hypostatizing expressions of Jewish tradition for the elements of the invisible world, to which St. Paul occasionally refers as the Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, and Powers (Col. i. 16., Eph. i. 21.). Finally, he has attached to his view of the ideal world and the ideal essences of God's substance the word Æon or Æons, which, in the New Testament (as it did originally in Hebrew), signifies world and worlds. Thus the essential part of his system is a spiritual cosmogony, a Christian parallel to the theogony of Hesiod; one, therefore, the key to which, in so far as it is not altogether fanciful in its details, every thinking mind possesses in itself — for *it is the drama of the human mind which is acted in the world of spirits.*

God in Himself is the eternal Thought of His own Essence, which is the eternal cause and essence of the Creation: between this eternal Thought and the manifestation in the material world, we must place a world of ideas. The soul becomes aware of the reality of this ideal world as soon as it perceives that the understanding of the things around it proceeds by the formation of notions (Begriffe), and the scale of species and kinds, and a chain of cause and effect, and that this process implies, as it were, a genealogy of ideas which at last rise up to that of the Essence and of the Deity. Such a genealogy Valentinus presents to us in his own way, which is, however, a speculatively systematized expression of deep speculative truths delivered in Scripture, as it were, occasionally and historically. The highest sphere of manifestation is the following.

The Ineffable Father and the six principles of Life, in three pairs (Syzygies): three male (formative), and three female (substantial).



As the Father is never called an Æon, and has no female element combined with Him to form a Syzygia, this table can never be made into an Ogdoad or circle of Eight: it is, on the contrary, in the mind of Valentinus (as in that of Basilides) the ineffable Hebdomad, or the primordial Seven of the Divine evolution. Although we do not find it so called here, still the Hebdomad is mentioned, in opposition to the Ogdoad, in the sphere of the material world. Sophia is, with the three pairs of Æons, the creative Divine source of the sensual and material world, whose own principle, the Demiurg, serves, without knowing it, her will, and fulfils the eternal decree of the Supreme God, of whose existence he was unaware.

With this sacred number, even, Valentinus must have directly connected the Sophia, or the Upper (heavenly) Wisdom, the youngest of all Æons. We are expressly told, that the Nether Wisdom forms the Ogdoad in her sphere. Valentinus says, in our extracts (ch. 34. p. 87.): "That which was made after the image of that higher and primitive world of eternal ideas." (Valentinus in Hippolytus, Refut. vi. ch. 33. p. 87.)

As to the ten and twelve Æons, whose procreation was the sacrifice of praise made by the first and second, or by the second and third, pair of the primitive Æons, they appear to me only stopgaps, inserted, for one bad reason or another, either as an astrological dream or a psychological fancy, to complete the number of thirty Æons. There being only twenty-eight Æons after all (6+10+12), some persons, most unphilosophically, have added Bythos and Sige to make up the requi-

site number of thirty. We now learn from Hippolytus that others, in order to avoid this absurdity, added Christ and the Holy Ghost in order to make up the thirty. All this proves that this development could never have formed part of the system of Valentinus himself. Indeed, the insignificant and incoherent names of these ten and twelve Æons betray them to be a later interpolation. But there is one direct and explicit proof of their spurious origin. The male partner of Sophia is called Monogenes, the Only-begotten, which is, according to all reason and authority, the exclusive epithet of the Nûs, God's first-born principle of all creation.

No one can avoid seeing, what indeed Theodotus expressly states in the explanation of St. John, i. (in Clemens's "Hypotyposes," ch. i.), that the Word and the Life (Logos and Zoë) are taken from the Prologue, and the Nûs (or Divine Reason) inserted as a specific representative of the highest sphere of manifestation, God's self-manifestation:

GOD.	MIND.	TRUTH.
Absolute Being.	The Eternal Thought: the Only-begotten.	The Consciousness of both.

For the Logos thus remains the demiurgic sphere, or the finite, mundane evolution in its most ideal form:

GOD.	THE WORD.	LIFE.
The uncreated Creator.	The idea of God's finite manifestation.	The principle of finite existence.

Then follows the third, or historical sphere, in its ideal factors:

GOD.	MAN. (Individual.)	CHURCH. (Humanity.)

Thus the bridge was formed from God to reality. From ideal man and ideal humanity to man and mankind on earth, the way is paved by God concentrating all in Wisdom. This Sophia is the old Semitic expression for God's creative working (Proverbs, vii.): but she is made a most essential and indispens-

able part of the great drama of the world's history which now commences. The real substance of Sophia is, as we shall see, the spiritual Psyche, that Psyche whose history is popularly told in the Thessalian myth of Apuleius.

Sophia, then, as the Divine idea of the human soul, possesses in herself the inherent power of not stopping at any created thing, not even the highest Æon (idea or quality of God), but of penetrating into God's own nature and eternal decrees. With that Divine power within her she is liable to the temptation of trying to accomplish what is impossible, the reproduction of that reality which it is only given to her to approach finitely by connecting finite reality with infinite thought. Thus, by attempting to overstep the limits of the finite, she fails, and, instead of bringing forth a thought of eternal reality, produces an abortion, the place of which is not the Fulness, but its opposite, the Emptiness (Kenôma). Sophia herself loses her place in the blessed choir of the Eternities. She is driven into despair, when God manifests His eternal thought of redemption. In order to comfort the Sophia and to shape and fashion her abortive produce, He permits his Only-begotten Mind to produce with his partner Truth two Æons:

Christ, the male element; and
The Holy Ghost, the female element.

He causes, moreover, the production of the Æon of Limitation (Horos), who is the mediator between the finite and the infinite world. Horos brings the bewildered Sophia to her senses; and Christ with the Holy Spirit shapes and fashions the Nether Sophia, so that she is not inferior to any one of the blessed choir of the Æons.

The fallen Sophia remains in the nether world, and Christ and the Holy Ghost return to the choir of the Æons. But now the Æons, being in blessed harmony, out of thankfulness produce a common fruit, which is therefore so called (Karpos); also the Saviour (Soter); and, according to Hippolytus, Christ Jesus, the great High-priest. He appears to the Nether Sophia,

and comforts her for the loss of Christ and the Holy Ghost; and she, being absorbed in the love of his Divine mildness and meekness, becomes his spouse.

He cannot, however, and must not, remove altogether the sufferings which she endures. These were four:—

Fear—Affliction—Anguish—Supplication. Christ separated these elements from each other and from Sophia, and made them the elements, not only of the visible world which was to be created, as well as of that of the demons connected with it, but also of the regeneration and rehabilitation of Sophia herself. The first three passions become the elements of the world.

The fear of Sophia becomes the *psychical* or sensual element; its image and power is the *Demiurg*, Creator and Lord of this world: under him are the psychical, sensual (animal) souls of men.

The affliction of Sophia becomes the *hylic* (material) element, the ruling power over which is the *Devil:* under him are placed the souls of the wicked.

The anguish of Sophia becomes the element of the demons, whose image is *Beelzebul.*

So there remained only the fourth element, which was the supplication and prayer of Sophia. This the Saviour made "the way to repentance." The souls which thus possess, in the consciousness of their sins, the power of turning towards God in faith and prayer, are the spiritual souls, the only souls which are in themselves immortal: the psychical may, however, acquire eternal life, if they develop the germ that is in them: the wicked perish all together. Christians are the spiritual element of mankind; Jews, the psychical; idolators, the hylic or material. The Demiurg, or God of the psychical element (and of the Jews), reigned a long time: it was he who spoke by the prophets. These, however, often followed the inspiration of Sophia, who influenced the Demiurg without his perceiving it, as he had no idea of the existence of the power above him.

When the appointed time came that the veil was to be removed from the children of the Psychical Principle, Jesus was born of the Virgin Mary, with the peculiar influence of the

Holy Spirit upon the substance of his being. Thus Jesus became the heavenly Logos for the Ogdoad of the lower world, of which the Nether Sophia was the Divine principle.

By Jesus and his Church the pneumatic, restoring principle became operative among the children of men. But the eternal decree of God also operates upon the Hebdomad, or the seven powers of the material world. The Demiurg at length understands that there is a God above him, and that he is doing his work without knowing it.

Thus the work of universal redemption is going on to the ever-increasing glory of the ineffable and unfathomable Father, and the ever-increasing blessedness of the souls.

This is the sketch of the leading ideas of Valentinus, according to the new texts extracted by Hippolytus.

I now proceed to give Rossel's picture of the Valentinian system, with my own notes, referring to these extracts.

The System of Valentinus, the Gnostic. A Picture.

Before all beginning, there throned above in unseen, unspeakable heights, the original Essence, the Forefather, *Bythos;* that is, the Divine Abyss, never growing old, ever youthful, exalted above all being. Round about him was great Stillness and deep Silence. And the Silence that surrounded him (*Sigê*) was yoked to him in an equally everlasting union as his *Ennoia*, the thought of himself, by which, while enjoying his own Godhead, he rests within himself.* This *Sigê* is also called *Charis* (that is, Grace), inasmuch as she is the Mother of all created being, the dispenser of Divine life. For after that the Unfathomable had for endless ages dwelt by himself, in his own *Sigê*, the thought arose within him of making being spring out of himself, and of pouring forth the fulness of his own boundless and unfathomable Essence by fashioning it into limited, restricted life.† Therefore, with his spouse he begat *Nûs*, the Mind and the source of all Reason, the Only-begotten, the Father of all things. This *Monogenes*, being in all points like unto him that begat him, is alone able to comprehend his father's Boundlessness; and as he thus knows truth and possesses it as his own, there is joined to him *Aletheia* (Truth) as his female companion, who, together with him, sprung from the Divine Abyss.‡ In him alone Divine

* According to Hippolytus (vi. 29. 30.), the strict Valentinians did not allow that Sigê was to be reckoned as Syzygos, but they maintained that Bythos alone procreated the Æons. And this appears to have been the doctrine of Valentinus.

† "There was nothing at all procreated, but the unprocreated Father alone was, having no space, no time, no counsellor, no substance which can be imagined in any way; but he was alone, solitary (as they say), and reposing in himself alone. But having the generating power, he bethought himself of procreating and bringing forth the most beautiful and most perfect which he had in himself. For he was wholly love, but love is not love if there be not that which is beloved." (Ch. 29.)

‡ "He therefore Himself, the Father, brought forth and procreated Understanding and Truth; and this Dyas became the principle, and the beginning and mother, of all the Æons in the Plerôma (Fulness)."

essence and knowledge of God is given to all those who have come into being after him, inasmuch as they are likenesses of himself, even as he is the image of the Highest. Now, as the Incomprehensibleness of God becomes comprehensible in him, and as this is his Essence to be the limiting form of the boundless, in him alone all other being will be found to exist, and he alone is the principle and original begetting form of everything that has life. But since the Hidden One, He that is without beginning, was without him and wrapt up in his Silence alone, self-sufficient and happy in the incomprehensibility of his Essence, manifest only to itself, the whole fulness of the abyss is not poured out in Monogenes: the Inexhaustible remains unexhausted, the undermost depth is covered by Silence.

Now, Bythos and Sigê, Nûs and Aletheia, these are the first and original Tetrad of Divine Æons (Eternities), the undermost root of the Universe. For Mind came to see that he was brought forth by *Bythos* as the first-fruits of other Essences, and with his spouse begat Logos and Zoë (Word and Life): in Logos the fructifying Understanding came to be the manifested, begotten Word, in Zoë Truth gained living essence; so that stability and living power in all that were born after, derive their origin from these two, and they are called their originating and fashioning power. Logos, again, with his Zoë begat *Anthropos* and *Ecclesia* (Man and Congregation, Church); and thus the first original *Ogdoad* is closed, the source and origin of the whole world of Spirits that sprung from her. For this last *Tetrad*, being created to the praise of the Highest, desired to honour the Father with their own power, and so they in pairs brought forth the *Decad* and *Dodecad* of the after-born Æons.* The ten

* It follows from Hippolytus (c. 30, 31.) that there existed the most different opinions among the disciples about the pairs which procreated these ten and twelve Æons. Valentinus himself, consequently, cannot have treated this point very seriously. It results, besides, from these extracts, that the bringing forth of these Æons, as far as the first and second pairs, Nûs and Aletheia, Logos and Zoë, were concerned, presupposes, as already existing, that succession of the first three pairs of Æons, from Nûs to Anthropos; or, in other words, that these three evolutions were assumed by Valentinus to be connected with each other without any intervening idea.

branches of Logos and Zoë are thus named:—*Bythios* and *Mixis* (the Abyss-like and the Mixture); *Agerātos* and *Henōsis* (the Never-aging and Oneness); *Autóphyes* and *Hédone* (He who has life in himself and Pleasure); *Akinetos* and *Synkrisis* (the Immovable and the Entwining); *Monogenes* and *Makaria* (the Only-begotten and Happiness). The following are the twelve that sprung from *Anthropos* and *Ekklesia*—*Paraclētos* and *Pistis* (the Comforter and Faith); *Patrikos* and *Elpis* (the Fatherly and Hope); *Metrikos* and *Agapē* (the Motherly and Love, Charity) *Aeinoûs* and *Synesis* (the Ever-thinking and the Understanding); *Ekklesiastikos* and *Makariótes* (the Ecclesiastic and Eternal Happiness); *Thelētos* and *Sophia* (Will and Wisdom). These are the thirty eternally happy, never-aging Æons: this is the invisible Fulness (the Plerôma), enveloped in brightness and silence, the kingdom of integration and perfection, of fulfilment and fulness. Absorbed in his Sigê, as the other half of his Essence and its perfecting conclusion, *Bythos* sits enthroned incomprehensible above the kingdom of gods, in male and female satisfaction. Just as Sigê is united to him as his spouse, so also that which has sprung from Sigê is associated with him as his bride, to supply all deficiency; and he waters his Plerôma with fructifying power, and flows through it with its inexhaustible, life-giving Divinity. And as he is called not only Vast Eternity, based on itself, but also the youthful, bridal Æon; Divine life, equal with his own, streams from out of his depths to the Æons begotten in his likeness: twin-born pairs, mutually perfected in each other, they find again the happily united essence of the Father in the entwined duality of their own being.

The dispensing mediator in this community of Essence with the Father is his only-begotten *Nûs*, from whose image and power the remaining Eternities have sprung. He alone beholds and fathoms the Hidden One, rejoicing in immeasurable plenty. In his delight he thought of revealing the Father to the other Æons also; how that he was great and exalted, without beginning or end, not comprehensible to sense or thought: but *Sigê* (Silence) held him back, according to the counsel of *Bythos*, because they were all, of their own accord, to arrive at the consciousness of the Divinity of the Father,

and to long after it. Thus while the Only-begotten is happy in contemplation, the later-born series of Æons are pervaded by an instinctive desire full of quiet sorrow after him who begat them, a dumb longing to behold the eternal, hidden root of their being. This instinctive aspiring desire, which draws the pairs of Æons with ever-increased longing towards the Father, is met by another movement, coming from above and tending downwards, which drives them ever farther away: for, in the same proportion as they recede farther and farther away from their origin, by reason of the lower grade of their birth, their sensation of the Divine power of life which is in them grows weaker. But the more they feel the creative source of the Father to dry up within them, and to bubble up in less steady aspirations, so much the more impetuously are they driven upwards by the longing which is in them. Thus these two antagonistic powers, growing in the same measure, are equalized in each grade of the series of Æons, and in this their proportion there is given, on the one hand, the respective relation which each pair bears to their common origin, and on the other hand the bond is knitted which unites the whole Plerôma together, with the begetting *Bythos*. Now, that which in *Monogenes* is but beginning, and, owing to his most intimate communion with *Bythos*, is continually vanishing in blessed contemplation; that is, the repelling, refusing power and the longing upward desire; this must be found existing in its fullest measure in the last and weakest Æon, who concludes the choir of the God-revealing powers. In him is repeated most forcibly that general state of tension which constitutes the order of *Plerôma* and its connexion with Bythos: the unity of the whole is intrusted to his keeping. But *Sophia*, the youngest Æon, did not preserve the balance of the upholding powers. Despising the measure of her portion of life's fulness, and the companionship of *Thelētos*, her mate, she broke through the limits of the couple (*Syzygia*) in her unbounded passion for *Bythos*, and under the plea of love endeavoured madly to enter into the depths of the Divine Abyss. Like *Monogenes*, she wished to be happy in the enjoyment of the Unfathomable; she desired to embrace the Immeasurable. But she succumbed to the greatness of her

undertaking. As she toiled upwards to the source whence she sprang, and extended her arms towards the Incomprehensible, she fainted from the enormity of her labour and the deadly sweetness of her torments. Destroyed by love and anxiety, and a gnawing desire after his inexpressible loveliness, as she was expanding herself beyond her power, her senses left her, and, from her giddy height, she, in her foolhardiness, sank into unfathomable depths. But little more, and she would have been engulphed and absorbed into the bottomless origin of all things. Then, fortunately for her, she met in the Essence of God with the firm power of Limitation or Finiteness (*Horos*). Repelled by his barrier, she wandered about, sick and uncertain, out of God and the kingdom of Æons, sorrowing for the eternal Father, whom she never had possessed, and now had entirely lost, constantly devoured by a longing after him; and this longing within her began to move and assumed a living form, and she brought forth a fruit of her pains (*Sophia Achamoth*, the Wisdom of Below*), the incorporation of her longing and anxious affection after the Immeasurable. But because this affection had been directed towards that which was without limit, and had remained unsatisfied, that which was born of her was also without form, and became a weak, helpless woman. And this woman, the abortion of the lowest of all the Æons, that is, of the fallen Wisdom of Above (*Anō Sophia*), is the Queen of the whole visible world.

When *Sophia* saw that her temerity had come to so sad an end, she was seized with terror, and endeavoured to retrace her steps as a penitent; but her powers failing her, she prostrated herself before her eternal father and begged for mercy: the other Eternities (or Spiritualities), sympathetically affected by the fall of *Sophia*, seconded her prayer; above all, *Nús* interceded for her with much entreaty. The Highest inclined to his children, and sent forth from himself *Horos*, that saving power (the God of Limitation), who is also called *Horothétes*

* Σοφία Ἀχαμώθ is a conventional signification of the wisdom from below, Achamoth being the Aramæan word for wisdom, the Hebrew khokmah. This is one of the many proofs of the Jewish and Syrian origin of the Gnostic systems.

(he who sets to everything its measure and its goal), and *Lytrôtes*, or *Carpistes* (the Emancipator), and *Stauros* (the Fortifier), and *Metagogeus* (the Restorer); for by preserving everything created within the course and measure of its inborn nature, bringing back with gentle guidance those who have turned aside, and inclosing and keeping all firm by bounds which restrain without force, he becomes the God of Freedom, the spirit who gently overpowers, redeems, and liberates what he catches in his soft meshes. As the watchful Preserver, he points to the creative, establishing power; for which cause he is also the offspring of the latter, and her purest image, in a state of self-sufficient androgyny, not needing any other companionship. But whilst in the Abyss of Divine Depth, every separation and boundary vanishes, *Horos* is opposed to the infinity of *Bythos*, and by the power of setting bounds he is himself the principle of finiteness.

Now, this stay and watchman of the universe had compassion on disturbed, restless *Sophia*. He brought her, the erring one, back again into her settled form and constitution, and restored her to her companion. But he drove *Achamoth* out of the kingdom of pure Fulness (Plerôma) into Emptiness (Kenôma), the dark spot of nothingness; and he drew between them a strict line of demarcation.

Thus the unity of the heaven of gods was again restored. In order to perfect and preserve it for ever, *Monogenes*, according to the forethought of the Hidden Father, that in time to come the Æon world might be preserved from a similar mishap, brought forth another, and this the last, pair (Syzygia), Christos (the male), and the Holy Spirit (the female power), the Divinities of peaceful, restored Plerôma. Christos announced the nature of companionship, how in it the fullest measure of blessedness as bestowed upon two is fulfilled, and how this companionship is the source of all satisfaction and can never be dissolved; and, on the other hand, how Bythos, exalted far above meditation and thought, must ever remain hidden from comprehension, with the exception of that which he himself vouchsafes to reveal through Monogenes in the god-filled Sgzygies. For he thought that Monogenes (God's comprehensiblenes itself) is

the first that can be comprehended of God. He further considered that the comprehensibleness of God—for this is the mystery of that which was not begotten and without beginning, and also of the creature which has come into being—is for the Æons the cause of their own formation and comprehension, of their birth from a bottomless death into independent personal existence; and that, on the other hand, the incomprehensibleness of God is the cause of their eternal, inexhaustible essence. Thereupon the softening power of the Holy Spirit made all Æons like each other, and taught them to offer thanksgiving, and breathed into them the true god-inspiring peace. Thus, then, were they intimately united in brotherly bonds, each one resembling the other in mind and looks, in alternate entwining of beautifully harmonized choirs, each uniting himself to all the rest, and, thus enriched, turning back again to himself. Now that the disruption of the Fulness (Plerôma) was thus restored to peace, the congregation of the blessed Divine beings assembled together and lifted up a joyful hymn of praise to the honour of him who begat them: and he inclined with favour to the joyful song which his sons and daughters sang to him. And, in order to celebrate in a worthy manner this favour, they all gathered together with one consent, and each Æon took the best that he possessed, and with these they formed a happy image, to be the praise of the heavenly Father, the bright Star of the world of gods, the beautiful *Jesus*, who is also called *Saviour* (*Soter*), and *Christos*, and *Logos**, and *the Whole*, because he bears within him the flower of everything; and they surrounded him with ministering angels to be his companions.

Whilst in the kingdom of glory and fulness they were celebrating in this way the recovery of peace, the offspring of Sophia lay shapeless and neglected outside in dark solitude. But Christos had pity on the forlorn, and, descending from the reign of light together with Horos (Limitation), he made the latter shape her body into the image and form of the Æons from whom she had sprung, and himself engrafted into her

* According to Hippolytus, this ideal Christ Jesus is also called Logos, but distinct from the Logos of the inmost Divine sphere, called the heavenly Logos.

soul a heavenly spark, a seed of longing after the worlds above, and then returned upwards into the Fulness with his glory. Sophia awoke from her powerless state of insensibility with a faint perception of immortality in her nostrils, and stretched out her arms with longing after the light, which was disappearing farther and farther and threatened to go out altogether. She strove to enter into the Fulness, but here she met with the firm boundary which Horos draws around the world of gods. As she was in vain endeavouring to break through this, she fell back again into loneliness and darkness, given up as a prey to her wild passions and the torments of despair. Sunk in obtuse ignorance about every higher object, she could not but feel sorrow for her lost home, which she was no longer able to reach. Now she would smile at the remembrance of heavenly glory; now terror would seize her at the idea that even life might desert her, together with the last glimmer of light; then again she would turn with trustful prayer to the Maker and Preserver of her being. And these passions which raged in her soul, became the principle of the world of the senses, the origin of nether things. From out of her sorrowful motions there arose Matter, that is, heavy slothful substance; from her conversion sprang the airy Soul, looking upwards. Thus all that lives here is formed of grief, pang, and longing: the anxiety of Nether Wisdom (Achamoth) is the life of the creature. Terror and stupefaction hardened into solid rock, consternation became a firm mass, the sea and the waters are the tears which she wept in her loneliness; but when a ray of the Fulness fell into her soul, then her traits were transfigured, and from out of her smile there bloomed forth the light.* On

* All this metamorphosis of the fallen Sophia is related in our extracts (c. 32.) in a much simpler manner, without the poetical arabesques of rocks, and tears, and sighs. But, besides, a totally distinct doctrine is laid down, which I have explained in the general outlines drawn as introduction to this picture. The three passions of Sophia — Fear, Grief, Anguish — became the principles of the visible creation, the psychical substance, the material, and that of the Demons: three spheres, represented by their Images or Rulers: the Demiurg, the Devil, and Beelzebul. Sophia being separated from these three elements, her fourth emotion, Supplication, was turned into

hearing her prayer, Christos a second time took pity upon her anxiety, and sent down the Saviour (*Soter*), that he might now fully shape her spirit into consciousness, and deliver her from her wild commotions. Now, as he with his heavenly company approached her, she was dazzled by the unwonted splendour, and bashfully enveloped herself in her veil; but as she became aware of his mild ways and the fulness of his gifts, she went to meet him, full of comfort, and said: "Be welcome, O Lord!" And when her mind and spirit had been enlightened by him, she was inflamed with love to the angels who were around him, and conceived, lost as she was in the Divine sight, germs of the Fulness, the seeds of the pure Spirit in the world of the senses. When the Saviour had left the now freed Achamoth, she created, for the formation of the thus separated world-matter, Demiurgos, the God of the Visible Universe, the ruler and father of all creatures, not merely of those who possess the same essence as himself, the sensual (*psychic*), who are also called his right-hand sons, and of those who have sprung from coarse matter, the material (*hylic*) natures, who are at his left. But first he formed the ministering powers of heavenly angels and archangels, and the evil spirit of the earth, the *Cosmokrator* (the Ruler of this World). Then he built up the edifice of the world by separating and mixing the elements, and founding the earth beneath, and above it forming seven heavens, in the highest of which he established his own throne. However diversely the elements may have their origin in the different passions of *Achamoth*, they are one and all, earth, water, air, pervaded and inwardly consumed by the element of fire; that is, the flight and estrangement from God, as it bursts into flame. Yet it was not really *Demiurgos* who wrought all this, but *Achamoth* in him; for she in the depth of her mind conceived the plan which, having by stealth been instilled into him, he executed in matter. He built the earth, he spread out the heavens; and yet he understood neither heaven nor earth. He formed man, and put a soul into him; and yet he knew not

the Repentance of Faith, and this became the principle of the souls of spiritual men, which alone are Divine, and therefore eternal.

man: for even his own origin, the great mother of himself and of the universe, was hidden from him. For, as a limited psychic being, he was shut out from that which was spiritual; and so, doing and performing everything by his own independent will, as he imagined, without let or hindrance, according to his own pleasure, he considered himself to be Everything, and to be the true, one God; in which belief he spake through the mouth of the prophets: "I am Jehovah, and beside me there is none other." But in man there was planted the slumbering consciousness of the highest good; man partook of a hidden life, which sprang not from the narrow sphere of *Demiurgos*, but which, once begun, was to raise him up far above the God of this visible order of the world, his supposed Creator, and, not rightfully, his Master.

For when *Demiurgos* created man in the third of the seven heavens governed by those spiritual princes, he formed the body of ethereal substance, and breathed into him the breath of his own soul. But from above Achamoth, unseen, scattered into the Creator's breath sparks of light, coming from the world of gods, so that the princes and their chief saw with astonishment the beautiful form, as if that Anthropos (Man) himself, he, the Divine original Man himself, were issuing forth. Terrified at the work of their own hands, they were overcome by the foreboding of a higher power. That which they were unable to comprehend or to worship, they could only fear and strive to destroy. Demiurgos therefore oppressed Man and put him under the law of bondage, so that he might not taste of the fruit of knowledge, which was growing in the third heaven; and when Adam, incited by Achamoth, transgressed the law, the spirits of the stars hurled him from the heavens, down upon this earth, and for punishment clothed him in the skins of beasts, that is, in this coarse earthly body which man has in common with the beasts of the field. Thus, there were united in Adam the three elements, dark Matter (*Hyle*), light Spirit (*Pneuma*), and the mixture of the two, the Soul (*Psyche*); but in the three sons of Adam, the patriarchs of three races of men, these three elements were at once disjoined. The wild material man (the hylic) is subjected and related to the evil Prince of this

World, for the rebellious, dull, sulky soul of the world animates him; the sensual (psychic) man is minded after the image of Demiurgos; but the spiritual man (the pneumatic) bears within him the image of one higher, unobserved by the obtuse Creator of the world. Through the indestructible nature of his spirit he is raised far above all danger and destruction, by the same inborn necessity whereby the earthly (material) man is subject to it; while the psychic creature, placed indiscriminately midway between Matter and Spirit, may, according to pleasure, turn towards the one or the other, either towards destruction or towards salvation. From that inward spiritual seed, bursting asunder the outer covering of coarse matter and soul, there springs up to the spiritual man, of its own accord, eternal blessedness, which is the sure fruit of the spirit. Whatever he may engage in or do, however he may give himself up to error or lust, this cannot destroy in him the indestructible seed of the spirit; for it is as little exposed to the rust of perdition as gold, even in a filthy pool, ceases to be pure and unadulterated. Law and works, and external forms, are all put under his power: the world is his: everything is permitted to him: he is an ocean of liberty and power: he breaks through all snares, bursts the rocks asunder, pervades what is solid with his soft, secret, irresistible power: all bounds break down behind him, and whatsoever opposes him crumbles spiritless to pieces: all the powers of coercion are sent forth to seize him, but they are caught by him: death, who consumes everything, has rushed onward to his destruction; he receives death within himself, and so extinguishes death in himself: freely, lightly, painlessly he rises above the enticing allurements of this world, by his inborn, never-failing, victorious power, and in serene conquering brightness. Nor has he entered into the order of nether things with any other intent than to allow the slumbering germ of the Fulness to sprout unfettered within itself, and thus to raise with himself the psychic man, as much as possible, by the attractive power of his superior nature: he is the salt of the earth and the light of the world, in that he pervades the psychic creature, and lifts up the covering of darkness. What before the spiritual man vanishes into nothing has for the

psychic man real existence, and is a living power with Divine thoughts. Those nonentities, such as law, limitations, habits, offences, stumbling-blocks, outward wonders, and external forms, exist as realities for him: his soul, sprung from this earth, created by terror, is obliged to conform to the discipline and rules of this world, in order that, with fear and trembling, by the works of the law, she may earn a subordinate blessedness. Finally, these three races of men answer to the three religious communities, that is, Heathenism, Judaism, and Christianity; and to the three powers that are set over them, the Kosmokrator, the Creator of the world (Demiurgos), and Sophia: it is she who represents the place of order in the upper, ideal world.

Now even Demiurgos finds himself in some unaccountable manner influenced by that secret power of coercion which the spiritual men exercised over the characters of the middle order; so that, setting aside his own sons, he chooses his favourites from those men of the spirit, and makes them kings and priests on the earth. Even the prophets, through whose voice he speaks to his own and gives them laws, and promises them the earthly, theocratic Messiah, the Man Jesus, even these he chooses from this race. But when now they prophesy, their own spirit presses them to say more than in the narrow view of the God of the Jews they should say. Now their unseen mother suggests to them words of a higher meaning, prophecies concerning a heavenly Redeemer: Demiurgos hears these, wondering indeed whence they come; but, because he cannot comprehend them, he supposes them to have arisen from some misunderstanding on the part of dull and slow mankind. It is not till Messiah appears that the bandage drops from his eyes. For when the time was come for the redemption of the sensual (*psychic*) race of man, that is, when the germs of the Fulness had sprouted and the last covering was to burst asunder, Demiurgos prepared for the promised Messiah a sensual soul, clothed in a more refined, ethereal body of light, even hereby carrying out the intentions of Achamoth, as if they proceeded from his own will: for she (the Nether Sophia) was making the demiurgic life, which was just rising into being, to drink out of the fulness of the spirit. Thus did Jesus descend into the Virgin's

womb in order to be born without spot, yet without in any way having had communion with the maternal body. Then Achamoth turned to the higher spheres, and from the opening Fulness the heavenly Saviour (Soter) descended as a dove, and at the time of baptism in the river Jordan entered into the man Jesus. Then for the first time, when the most glorious of the Æons had been united to the form of a man, the Creator of the world understood that he was not the true God, and heard with astonishment of Bythos and of the Fulness, and of his own mother, who now appeared to him in visible form. But nevertheless he received this information with delight; for thus the weight of governing the world, which he no longer felt able to bear, was taken off his shoulders, and with entire consciousness he adapted himself to the higher order of things, and remained simply the superintendent of the earthly course of this world. He is that Simeon who held the babe Jesus in his arms, and now enters into peace: he is that Centurion who says to the Lord: "I also am a man under authority," who thought himself unworthy that the Lord "should enter under his roof," and whose servant was healed. For not only to the spiritual race of men, but also to the sensual (psychic) race, and more particularly to Demiurgos, their Father, Soter becomes a Saviour, just as he has put on and ennobled in himself not only the spiritual but also the sensual nature. But it is not by means of suffering and death, which cannot touch an Æon, it is not by works and deeds, which are beneath his Godhead—it is only by emancipating from its dark covering, through preaching and doctrine, the consciousness of that inner nature which, free in itself, feels at home in what is Divine, and by fanning into a bright flame, through his own immediate presence, the glowing though hidden spark, that Soter accomplishes the great work of salvation. Therefore, at the conclusion of his labours in teaching and instructing, and before the Crucifixion, he leaves the demiurgic Messiah, whom he had entered at his temple when he was in the beginning of his work. It is the sensual (psychic) Saviour only who dies on the Cross, and even he without suffering; only as a memorial and representation of the emancipation of the Upper Wisdom from her boundless

desire which took place before the world was, by means of the God of the true and eternal form of every existing thing. This god is also worshipped as Stauros (the Fixation, also the Cross), under the image of the Cross.

The appearance of Soter has opened the great conclusion of the drama of this world. When all the seeds which have fallen from the Fulness in small and weak grains, and have been scattered along the surface of this world, have sprouted and been fully matured, then the ripe fruit will be gathered and laid up in garners, but the unprofitable chaff and stubble will be burned with fire. All *spiritual* natures, and such of the *sensual* natures as have turned to what is good, will enter into eternal blessedness; the *material* natures sink back into the spiritless, unclean mass out of which they were formed. Then the inwardly burning fire of estrangement from God breaks out on all the ends of the world and consumes matter, till it dissolves into nothing and the flame is quenched by the extinguished mass. Then the souls of this universe who are saved, with Demiurgos at their head, fly from the burning of the world into the higher places above, and take possession of the middle kingdom, the place of their destination, from which Sophia Achamoth (the Nether Wisdom) departs: and above Demiurgos and his heavens the spiritual natures rise into the Fulness. The demiurgic powers would indeed arrest them in their upward flight, and keep them back within the narrow psychic (sensual) circle, but they utter the secret watchword, and, thus becoming invisible, escape from the demolished boundary, in order to be received into the pure world of gods, there to be united in eternal companionships with those angels of Soter who, as guardian spirits, watched over their temporal life on earth. And as for her, the great sufferer, the god-like, believing, though discarded, woman, she is at the goal and conclusion of her labours: her warfare is at an end (p. 264.); the full splendour of the Plerôma now begins. Surrounded by her immortal sons she is given in marriage to Soter, the most beautiful of all the god-like forms, her Lord and Redeemer, to be his eternal, blessed companion. Then the connubial pairs (Syzygies) of Æons and of ministering angels sur-

round the heavenly pair: the whole Plerôma is as a beautifully adorned bridechamber, wherein all are rejoicing. But above this blessed kingdom of gods, above the heaven of the righteous made perfect, above the perishing kingdom of the night, the silent Father, incomprehensible in his essence, sits as before, enthroned in everlasting satisfaction, which is for ever flowing to him with living power from endless depths.

This is the cosmogonic system or the Christian theogony of the Valentinians, and out of it we can easily restore the original thought of Valentinus himself, which certainly is simple, spiritual, and philosophical. Now this system might have been much less fanciful, the method much less mythological, but it would have been equally pernicious, if considered as Christian doctrine and a substitute for the Bible and faith. It might satisfy the minds of some who were perplexed by the speculations of the age, and might serve intellectually as a bridge towards Christ and the redemption through Him: and such, undoubtedly, was the intention of that great man, Valentinus, himself. But the system created, necessarily, a general agitation in the Christian world, because it attacked the Old Testament (which was the Scripture of the primitive Church) and interfered with the historical realities of Christianity. It mystified both the Prologue of St. John and St. Paul, making any sober interpretation of these sources of Christian knowledge impossible. The Petrine school detested it for its anti-Judaic tendency, while the disciples of Paul equally abhorred it on account of the wrong bias it gave to the doctrine of their master. Finally, its own adherents made it objectionable by the very fact of their attributing to it doctrinal authority. The historian, however, has to judge the man and his system according to their intrinsic merits, and, above all, therefore, to ascertain the facts.

What were the views of Valentinus, divested of their imagery and allegories, in regard to Jesus of Nazareth? This we proceed to inquire without noticing, at present, the philosophical method of that Gnostic Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress."

In respect to the procreation and bodily conformation of Jesus, we learn from Hippolytus that the disciples of Valentinus were divided into two schools, the Eastern and the Italic. His own interpretation of the words of the angel in St. Luke is as follows (c. 35.): "The Most High is the Demiurg, who formed Adam and all his children; but Jesus, the New Man, was formed by the Holy Ghost, that is to say, by the Holy Spirit, which is the Divine Wisdom (Sophia), and by the Demiurg. He, the Demiurg, organized the formation and constitution of His body, but the Holy Ghost provided the substance; thus the heavenly Logos was generated by the Ogdoas through Mary." By such phrases as these the plain question was left unanswered. For as the working of the Demiurg does not preclude human paternity in the ordinary man, so the conjoint working of the spirit of this world and of the Spirit of God does not logically exclude Joseph's paternity. The Italic school, indeed, taught that the body of Christ was a sensual (psychical) one, and that the Spirit descended upon Him only at His baptism: it was this spiritual principle, the Logos of the heavenly mother, the Sophia, which spiritualized the body during His life, and which afterwards raised it from the dead. This, they said, was the sense of the words of St. Paul (Rom. viii. 11.): "He that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortal bodies;" to which they annexed in explanation: "the psychical bodies." The Oriental school, however, maintained that Christ's body was spiritual from His birth, which, indeed, must have been the real meaning of their master. For he seems to have held, according to other accounts, as, indeed, many of the Fathers held, that Christ's body was from the first the same as it was after the Resurrection. It appears that Valentinus, as well as Basilides, was not satisfied with the Ebionite view as to the person of Christ, because it excluded the view of Christ as the Redeemer; but they did not on that account favour the opposite view, which they thought evidently materialistic and not borne out by Scripture. Their own hypothesis is, indeed, an approximation to the anti-Ebionite view, but it borders also upon Docetism, or the negation of the reality of the bodily appearance of Christ, although so absurd a supposition never crossed their minds.

Valentinus believed only the souls of spiritual men immortal, as redeemed by Christ. They would receive spiritual bodies, as would the psychical souls who had striven after righteousness by good works: all others would perish, like the matter with which they had identified themselves, and return to the demiurgic or demiatory world, "dust to dust."

It is obvious that, while thus endeavouring to steer clear of the literal Jewish interpretation of the words of Christ and of His Apostles respecting spiritual things, Valentinus fell into a system of fables which was neither good philosophy nor good theology, and led him farther away from the faith of Scripture than the one which he was combating. It is not, however, to be laid to his charge that his followers elevated his speculations into a revelation.

Neither is the "Gospel of Truth," which the Valentinians are said by Irenæus to have used, but of which we have no particulars, to be attributed to him. Valentinus himself, as we learn from the extracts in Hippolytus, quotes St. Luke and St. John precisely as the Catholic Fathers do. His text of the Palestinian or Syrian Gospel may have differed from our St. Matthew's more or less than those texts quoted in the works of all the Catholic Fathers, from Clemens of Rome down to Justin. No charge is laid against him of making false quotations of Scripture either by Hippolytus or elsewhere. Nobody attributes to him the "Gospel of Truth" of the Valentinians except the author of that wretched account of the heresies appended to the more recent manuscripts of Tertullian's work "De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum." I am, therefore, the more surprised to find in a book which in other respects displays much learning and ingenuity, and to which I have often referred (Reuss, "Geschichte der heiligen Schriften des N. T.," § 292 N.), the following passage:—"The 'Evangelium Veritatis' of Valentinus shows by its title and by the implied antagonism what authority he attributed to the other Gospels." Such a tone seems to me unworthy of the historical criticism adopted by that writer, and is in direct opposition to his own statements in another part of the same book (§ 245. n.). Valentinus evidently used our Gospels, especially the first and third. Many years after he had formed

his system he lived in communion with the Church of Rome, as we learn from Tertullian. Epiphanius relates, that it was only in the latter portion of his life, which he spent at Cyprus, that he separated himself entirely from the Church. It is true that his quotations from the Old Testament prove him not to have been always very accurate; he unwarrantably jumbles together various passages in order to suit his own system. Nobody, however, for this reason doubts that he had before him the same texts which we read: why should similar inaccuracies in his quotations from the New Testament lead to another conclusion? Among the Epistles of St. Paul he quotes the Epistle to the Ephesians (ch. 34.), which, according to the Tübingen novel, was written about the middle of the second century, in the Montanistic controversies, that is to say, a generation after Valentinus.*

His views of the Law were certainly tinged with very strong anti-Judaism: but as to the prophets and inspiration they are as true as they are sublime (Neander, i. 736.). In the writings of the prophets, among whom he places Moses, he distinguishes four elements: first, the purely human; secondly, the power of foreseeing events, even those which referred to the Messiah, though nevertheless enveloped in temporal Jewish ideas; thirdly, the true ideas of the higher nature of Messiah's kingdom which their own spiritual nature suggested to them; finally, such truths relative to the Divine economy of the universe as the celestial Sophia revealed to them.

The people of God Valentinus considered to be scattered over the whole world, and he believed there had been spiritual men also among the Gentiles. The fragment of a homily preserved by Clemens (Strom. vi. 641.) says: "Much of what is written in the books of the Gentiles is also found in the Church of God: what is common to both is the word from the heart, the law written in the heart. Such are the people of the Beloved,—beloved by Him, and loving Him."

Humanity was, in the eyes of Valentinus, the full manifestation of God, and Redemption the centre of human history.

* Schwegler, Nachapostol. Zeitalter, ii. 291. 331.

The death of the psychical Messiah on the Cross took place for the benefit of the lower creation, while the self-devotion of the Saviour (Soter) consisted in redeeming the Sophia (the soul of the spiritual man), by purifying her from the heterogeneous elements, and restoring her perishable, shapeless existence to Divine limitation (Neander, i. 743.). All that exists in the universe is to be elevated to the perfect, the spiritual. Spiritual men are to work out this final triumph of God. "You," so Valentinus addresses them (Clem. Strom. iv. 509.), "are immortal from the beginning, children of eternal life; you resolved to partake of death by self-sacrifice, in order to swallow up and annihilate it. For by preparing the dissolution of this world of matter, you yourselves not being dissolved, you become the masters of creation and of all that is corruptible."

This self-devoting life of spiritual men is accompanied by a worship founded upon the knowledge that what they believe is true in itself; and this, according to his doctrine (Neand. i. 746.), is their "reasonable service." The sanctifying influence of the Spirit purifies the heart, and imparts holiness. For until that sanctifying grace comes to man, his heart is the abode of evil demons, his passions and self-will; and this sanctifying power comes from Christ only by inward communion with the Redeemer. There is "the only Good One," Valentinus says (Clement. Strom. ii. 409.), "and He is present in the manifestation of His Son. Through Him alone the heart can be made pure, every evil spirit having been cast out of it. For there are many spirits dwelling in it who will not allow it to be purified: each of these does its own work, often insulting it with improper desires and lusts. It seems to me that the heart is somewhat in the condition of a public inn; for like that it is rushed into and trampled about, and often filled with filth by the disorderly persons who live in it, and who take no care of the place, which is strange to them. In the same way, the heart is unclean, being the dwelling-place of demons, as long as it is not touched by Him who careth for it (the eternal Providence of God). But when the Father, who alone is good, takes care of it, it is sanctified and becomes resplendent with light. And thus he is called

blessed who has such a heart, because he shall see God (Matt. v. 8). This passage proves that Valentinus used a text of the Palestinian Gospel essentially the same as St. Matthew's, for the saying of Christ here alluded to is found only in his Gospel.

Matrimony he regarded as a sacred symbol of the union of the Divine and human natures, the prototype of which was the progress of spiritual manifestation of God by pairs (Syzygiæ), representing the generative and receptive principle.

The Valentinians, as a sect, were doomed to perish, as the Basilidians were, because they placed their own wisdom on the same level with the Gospel, and their own speculations above Christian life, which is the social life of Christian congregations as they are. But Valentinus was one of the most elevated, and, as far as we can judge, the most noble and religious, minds in Christian antiquity; and, after all the pains that have been taken to pervert his doctrines and destroy his books, the philosophical historian of mankind will find in what remains of them the germs of a great portion of ancient and modern Christian philosophy and wisdom. In judging such a man, the historical muse must say what Schiller says of the dramatic:

> "Sie sieht den Menschen in des Lebens Drang,
> Und wälzt die grossre Hälfte seiner Schuld
> Den unglückseligen Gestirnen zu."

II.

MARCION.

If Basilides represents the Syrian mysticism, tinged with Greek and Egyptian learning, and Valentinus the Hellenic speculation orientalized at Alexandria, Marcion of Sinope, the wealthy shipwright, son of a bishop, is the man of antique energy of character. His mind appears in the darker hue of the men of Pontus and Phrygia, but also as purified by Christian education and life. His enemies have succeeded in involving his personal history in so much obscurity that we can only appeal to the silence of Tertullian, and the character of severe asceticism so generally attributed to him, to reject at once the ill-natured story circulated by Epiphanius, an uncritical, prejudiced, and late writer, who says he was excommunicated by his venerable father for having seduced a young woman. According to the general testimony of all the writers who mention him, he came to Rome under Hyginus; which statement probably refers to the last of the four years during which Hyginus was bishop (129—132), inasmuch as Valentinus and Cerdo are reported to have arrived at Rome before him, and they are also said to have gone there during that episcopate. What renders this supposition almost a certainty is an anecdote preserved by Epiphanius, which is very characteristic of Marcion, and not likely to have been invented by the party hostile to him at Rome. He states that he went to the "Old Men," that is to the "Elders," the Presbyters, and claimed the "Proedria," the Chair; which simply means that he was a candidate for the episcopal office, after the death of Hyginus in 132, the year in, or after, which he arrived at Rome. Supposing he was not a total stranger at Rome, but known as an eminently gifted man and zealous Christian, there is nothing improbable in the fact of the Pontic visitor having so presented himself. He had, as we learn from Tertullian, placed

his whole fortune, or, at all events, a very considerable sum, at the disposal of the Christian congregation at Rome, and he was undoubtedly acknowledged to be one of the eminent men of the day, and was himself conscious of being so. It is a supposition irreconcileable with the documents of history, that at that time a bishop must be necessarily a member of the governing board of parish priests in the city, or one of the country clergymen of a little neighbouring town, called Chorepiscopus. Even at the present day, the Pope may be a layman when elected, and a stranger to Rome. The members of the Presbytery, however, declined to elect him, and possibly even to accept him as a candidate. This decision was come to in consequence of an examination which the bold man of Sinope underwent as to his faith; perhaps also (although that is not at all proved), on account of the connexion with his father's Church, from which he is said not to have brought the ordinary commendatory letters. It is clear from Tertullian's statement, that he could not at that time be charged with any heresies, but his retort upon his questioners speaks volumes as to what occurred at the examination and was passing in Marcion's own mind. "Let me now ask you a question," he is stated to have said to the Roman Presbyters. "What is the meaning of the saying of our Lord's, 'No one puts new wine into old skins'?"

The answer is not given, nor is it required. This question contains the whole soul of Marcion and explains the tragedy of his life. It must have convinced the Roman Presbyters that he was not their man, and it ought to have convinced Marcion that he had henceforth nothing but enmity to expect from the governors of that Church. It had already flashed upon his mind, as we shall see clearly when we advance twenty or thirty years later, that the great question of the age and of the world was this: whether Christianity was a reformed Judaism, or something distinct from it? If distinct, what becomes of the Law? This is the knot which had been cut asunder by St. Paul, the question which St. Peter wished to keep open, and which St. John had endeavoured to solve for ever by summoning it before the tribunal of eternal Love. But St. John, like his fellow-apostles, had left this troubled world apparently

in the state he found it. I say *apparently*, for the destruction of Jerusalem had not produced any generally perceived consequences. Neither the Gentile religion nor the Roman empire had come to an end, together with this whole world, as had been devoutly hoped, by a general sudden judgment of God upon its wickedness and tyranny. The flocks of the despised Brethren had been, however, though working by instinct and in silence, successfully occupied during a whole generation in producing a new humanitarian commonwealth, with a worship of its own, not the Levitical one, although the completion of it, and with a constitution, not the Jewish nor that of the Gentile states. This constitutional order was to be respected; this worship was the sacred act of the congregation, as well as a blessing to each individual soul. But was this to be a new Law? Was the justifying righteousness in the eyes of God (and therefore in the conscience of man) to be acquired by observing the one and attending at the other? Were even good works, acts of charity among the brethren, to be looked upon as a pledge of this blessed peace of the conscience? No! says St. Paul, over and over again. Yes! answered the Judaizers, even at that time, whether circumcised or not: exactly as they do now. Most of the people in authority, the practical men, joined in the cry; some because they had no idea of Christianity except that it was a reformed Judaism, others because they did not see that there was anything at stake beyond a simple question of obedience. Was not order well maintained in the congregation? Did not Christian matrimony and domestic discipline already occupy a distinguished place in the world, were they not highly esteemed both by Jews and Gentiles? Was there no advantage in the fellowship of Christians all over the world? And as to their worship, could anything be more simple, more spiritual in its character, more intimately connected with the voice of conscience and self-examination before the Almighty and with all the aspirations of a believing Christian heart? What danger could there be in sanctifying this new "Politeia" or "State" of the Christians, and in asserting that the individual is saved by adhering to it? The good souls who cherished such thoughts did so from mere shallowness of intellect. They

meant well, but they did much mischief. It was men of a kindred spirit who, in the sixteenth century, joined the enemies of the Gospel, and worked, without being aware of it, for the reactionists and Jesuits of the seventeenth. They acted with the same blindness as their followers do in the nineteenth, who, while making an expiring effort for a lost cause, and speaking enthusiastically of an inner life long extinct in the hearts of the nations in which they attempt to rekindle it, do what they can to make a lie truth, and sell the liberty of their nation.

Marcion sided with the opposite party, and was, indeed, an adherent of the extreme Pauline school. St. Peter had, as it were, taken possession of the actual world much more than that excellent, but, as compared with St. Paul, intellectually narrow-minded, Apostle had ever intended. St. John preached to a world in the wilderness, as his great namesake had done to the Jews. He was destined to take up his abode for centuries to come with the meek and peaceful, who looking up to Christ and through His self-sacrificing redeeming love rising to the Father, followed their individual calling upon earth with the same simplicity, whether as cobblers in a hut, or as stewards in the palace of an emperor. To them alone the controversy between Faith and Law, Christian life and external works, was indifferent, and scarcely intelligible.

But in the world below, in the sphere of Roman citizenship, in the midst of the new municipal life, and the heat of scholastic controversy, it was very different. Marcion thought it right to fight the foe upon this field, before Judaism should succeed in crushing infant Christianity. It is generally admitted that his practical tendencies were not biassed by any speculative system. Speculation always sat very loosely upon him, even after he had adopted Cerdo's Valentinianism. He was averse to any allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament, and insisted so strictly upon the literal sense, that is to say, the unhistorical sense of the dead letter, that he could not see the unity of spirit in the Old and New Testaments. He was not, like the Valentinians, a schoolman. He addressed himself to the people, and endeavoured to found, not a school, but congregations. His lectures were sermons, homilies, sometimes beginning with the address,

"Fellow-hated and Fellow-sufferers!" Such a man could only go his own way: he could not follow that of any speculative school. That the Jewish law was the manifestation of the external principle, and therefore, as soon as it claimed supreme power, of the evil principle, was but a slight exaggeration of what St. Paul could not forbear from writing to the wretched Galatians. He afterwards stated, in order, as he thought, to make himself more intelligible, that it was the revelation of the Demiurge, the Prince of this world, whom Christ came to annihilate.

The truthful and thoughtful researches of Neander have made it perfectly clear that the current views of Marcion's doctrine, as gathered from Mosheim and Fleury, are erroneous throughout. There is a perfect agreement between the Life of Marcion written in the fifth century, in part from a work of his own, by the Armenian bishop Esnig, and the unfortunately very brief fragment of Marcion himself, preserved by Hippolytus. By combining these two with each other and with the well-known, but insufficient and distorted accounts in Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius, we may reduce to a few plain words the last results of a critical investigation, as far as we have at present materials for doing so.

The person and character of Christ are not to be explained by any historical preparation for his coming, or by any national prophecy or expectation of the Jews. He was, and is, and will remain God's own manifestation—the manifestation of eternal Divine love—and, therefore (so concluded Marcion), he appeared at once, without intermediate causes. Marcion accepted St. Luke's account of the words of the angel to Mary (obviously without thinking it excluded the paternity of Joseph), as he did the account of his holy youth and manhood. But, he said, this was Jesus of Nazareth: the Christ (Messiah) is nothing but the Jewish idiosyncrastic expression for the Spirit of God. This Spirit, the manifestation and very substance of the Logos, came upon Jesus when he took the pledge in Jordan and was immersed in water by the Baptist. Thus Marcion was led to say that, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, the Spirit of God descended upon this earth; not God Himself, as even Neander and Hahn

make Tertullian say, owing to a false reading, but the "Soter,' the "Saviour."

And how did He save mankind? By Divine, gratuitous, spontaneous love, expecting no reward, but knowing that thus alone He could destroy the cruel Demiurge, the god of the Jews, the Prince of this world, who knows no higher motive than reward, and who could only be humbled and crushed by Christ's self-sacrificing love. His love redeemed mankind; that is to say, it has the power of freeing them from selfishness, the root of all sin and estrangement from God.

It was on account of this all-pervading view of the high and matchless character of Christ, that Marcion said in his later school-phraseology, as is stated in the fragment preserved by Hippolytus, that Christ was "the middle between the Good and the Evil." He is apart from the Evil, which is the Demiurge, the tyrant of the souls of men, but also apart from the Good, "because there is only One good, that is God," as Jesus himself said. The sense of which is: the Saviour's redeeming work would have been impossible, if His life and death had not been the product of His own free-will. What makes Him the Redeemer, as contradistinguished from Socrates and any other man, is His free resolution to do good to ungrateful men bound by the power of the cruel Demiurge, and to seal His godly life of sacrifice by His death, with the consciousness of this divine object.

Marcion, probably induced by what St. Paul said in his Circular Letter which we call the Epistle to the Ephesians, accepted the tradition of the Church respecting Christ's having gone down to the spirits of the departed to deliver them; but whom? Not (teaches Marcion) those of the Jews, wrapped up in their own self-righteousness; but those of the Gentiles, who had lived in faith.

The souls thus saved by Christ are no longer subject to judgment, which is only prepared for the deluded slaves of the Prince of this World. Already in this life they are united to God, free from the bonds of matter, and in peace. A time will come when a kingdom of Heaven shall be established on earth.

Such was Marcion. Irenæus (III. 3.) relates (compare Euseb. iv. 14.), that Polycarp, when in Rome about the

year 153, having been accosted by Marcion with these words, "Know us!" replied in these hard words: "Yes, I know thee as the first-born of Satan." History, however, which has access to the remains of them both, will not use such language respecting him. Tertullian states that he died reconciled to the Church. We know nothing to the contrary, except that the tale is, in its literal sense, highly improbable. The Marcionites denied it. The Catholics persecuted his memory as that of their worst enemy.

Marcionism was doomed to perish by the two inherent errors and heresies of the system: the breaking with the history of the world, in placing itself in contradiction both with the past and with the present. In the past, it saw the principle of evil in that which was the preparation for the Gospel; in the present, it laid the hand of destruction both on the historical records of Christ and His Apostles, and on the life of practical Christianity in the congregations. The Marcionites preferred Marcion to the Apostle, and the school to the Christian commonwealth. We can even say: Marcion himself broke with Scripture and with the Church; only let us not be misunderstood. He might have attacked ever so strongly the Rabbinical interpretations of Scripture and the Judaic spirit of those who governed in many of the Churches; and he might still have become a true Reformer, if he had only respected Scripture, common sense, and plain practical Christianity. There is much in Marcion which might have made him the precursor of the Reformers, but he took a course widely different from theirs. He laid violent hands on the Bible and rebelled against God's own history of mankind. The strength of the Reformers consisted in this, that while pointing to the inward disposition and not to outward works, they gave paramount authority to the Bible, as the work of one Spirit. They had however the advantage that they spoke to Christian peoples in which was the germ of reformed social, and political life. They roused nations destined to break the despotism of popes, bishops, and priests, a system not allowing action to the people, whom it was invented to enslave, and whom it has succeeded in crippling or crushing.

III.

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

When Marcion was a young man, says Tertullian, he wrote a Letter which the Catholics approved, and the Marcionites recognized as containing the germ of his doctrine. This Letter is lost. But we possess a considerable part of another Letter, which must have been written in the year 134 or 135, because it alludes to a warfare between the Jews and Christians, which can only mean the cruelties of Barkochba against the Christian Jews of Palestine, in the rebellion under Hadrian. It was addressed to Diognetus, which was the name of that great and virtuous man who may even already, at that time, have been superintending the philosophical education of the young Marcus Aurelius. This noble youth was only adopted in the year 138, and named Cæsar by Marcus Antoninus in 139, when he was in his eighteenth year. At that time, Fronto was appointed his tutor, but it appears, from the language which the imperial philosopher uses in speaking of Diognetus, that he considered him as the man who, at an early period, had formed his mind. There exists, at all events, no chronological difficulty in placing the document we are considering in the year 135, which is certainly the latest year in which it can have been written by Marcion, as 134 would have been the earliest; for it was between 136 and 138, that Marcion separated from the Church of Rome, and set up a school and congregation of his own. These are the results of a special research into the chronology of that time, and the Life of Marcion, which will soon be published in German.

Certainly, place, time, and political conjunctures all concur to favour the supposition that Marcion wrote that Letter in the year 135. The question then arises, Are the style and contents equally favourable to this hypothesis?

Marcion was one of the most eminent men of his age, and the Letter to Diognetus is indisputably, after Scripture, the

finest monument we know of sound Christian feeling, noble courage, and manly eloquence. It is a defence of the Christian faith and life, or rather an answer to the three following important queries put to the author by the philosopher:

What is the real distinction in the "new doctrine," as compared with the Hellenic religions and with Judaism?

What is the motive which induces the Christians to love each other, and to die for their faith?

And how is it to be accounted for, that this religion, if it be the true one, came so late into the world?

Nobody will deny that these were the most profound questions which engaged the attention of inquiring minds at that time. Indeed, in a certain sense, they continue to be so still. But we have shown above, that the inquiring mind of the Greeks and Romans turned itself most particularly to these questions in the fourth Christian generation. Nor, indeed, will any one assert that (as far as our text goes) these queries were ever answered in a more interesting and awful period of Christianity than the one before us. The Roman emperors, from Nero to Hadrian, had condemned Christians to the stake and to the wild beasts. They were hated and persecuted both by Jews and Gentiles: by the former as apostates, by the latter as an intruding Jewish sect; by the one as idolaters, by the other as Atheists; by the Jews as destroyers of the only true religion, by the Hellenes as builders up of a new Jewish superstition.

All the observations which are made in this Letter about the pure life of the Christians, as contradistinguished both from Jews and Gentiles, and still appealing to the common conscience of mankind, are classical, striking, touching, and sublime, beyond anything we meet with in any of the other Fathers. How then is it to be explained that none of the Christian writers, apologists, or historians, not even the learned Eusebius, who is always so happy when he can cite a Christian writer competent to construct a Greek period, quotes no one single sentence out of it? Its authenticity has never been doubted, nor, consequently, its date. The fact of our possessing it (although in a fragmentary state) is sufficient proof of its not having perished unnoticed.

There must, therefore, have been some other reason for its not having been mentioned. It must have been wilfully ignored. But for what reason? Certainly not on account of the contents, as far as we can judge from the fragment. It must have been, then, on account of the author — "in odium auctoris," as the condemnatory phrase of the Inquisition runs, in cases of such indispensable and wickedly honest books as Stephen's "Thesaurus."

There is nothing in the Epistle to Diognetus which might not have been written by Marcion; but there is much in it which, as far as history goes, nobody could have written except young Marcion, or his unknown foster-brother in soul. No Father known to us ever spoke in such terms of the Jews, and of that Jewish life and worship which we find prescribed and sanctioned by the Mosaic Law, as the author of that Epistle. One step farther, and we jump from extreme Paulinism to Antinomianism, from young to old Marcion.

Christ, his person, his life, his death, are the main points in that fragment; and such was, and always remained, that of Marcion's life and doctrine.

I believe that Epistle, therefore, to be Marcion's. Let any one who does not choose to adopt this opinion show good reasons for a better. I will not lose my time by proving over and over again that it is not and cannot be Justin's.

Instead of that, I will gratify my readers with an intelligible and critical translation of the Epistle itself, which is undoubtedly an authentic document, written at Rome, by a warm and enlightened Christian, in the year 135. It is addressed to Diognetus, most probably to the same whom Marcus Aurelius in his golden "Memoirs" calls his second parent; — that Platonic Stoic, who, as it became a true Hellenic mind, infused into the soul of the imperial Roman nobleman a respect for mankind, and taught him to love thought and wisdom more than race-horses and a luxurious table, although he could not cure him of the superstitious element which his mother had, in his infancy, infused into his mind. Such a man is most likely to have asked these questions; and it may, for more than one reason, have been worth while to answer them as satisfactorily

and incontrovertibly as possible. Marcus Aurelius himself may have taken notice of it. One can easily understand that it should have no more converted him than the Gospel and Epistles might have done. The celebrated passage in his Memoirs, where he expresses very strongly his dislike of what he calls the theatrical manner in which the Christians showed a constancy which he rather thinks to be obstinacy and unreasonable enthusiasm, shows the irreconcileable antagonism of his views and those put forward in our Letter. So aggressive and cutting a composition could no more make him love the Christians and convert him to Christianity than his dry stoicism and effete pagan worship could revive the ancient world.

*The Epistle to Diognetus.**

I. I PERCEIVE, most excellent Diognetus, that thou art most desirous to know with regard to the religion of the Christians (concerning whom thou hast already made inquiries with much accuracy and diligence), what god it is, whom they can so trust in, and so worship as to be able to think little of the world and to despise death, and yet how they neither hold to those gods which are esteemed among the Greeks, nor observe the superstition of the Jews; also how it is that they have such great love one to another; and, lastly, why this new mind or fashion [of religion] has entered into our life now, and not before. I do therefore willingly comply with thy anxious desire, and I pray that God, who alone vouchsafes to us the power of speaking and of hearing, will grant to me so to speak that thou mayest be enabled to become a better man through hearing; and to thee, that thou mayest so hear as not to make me regret having spoken.

II. Well, then, purify thyself from all the thoughts which have before had dominion over thy understanding, and put away from thee those habits which are leading thee astray, and become, as if from the very beginning, a new man, since thou art to be, with thine own full concurrence, a hearer of new doctrine: and consider, not with thine eyes only, but with thy understanding, of what substance, or of what form, those consist whom ye say and believe to be gods. Is not one god of *stone*, like unto that which we tread upon? and another of *brass*, no better than those utensils which are made of brass for our use? and another of *wood*, already rotten? and

* Analysis of the Epistle:—

Introduction.	The questions of Diognetus	§ 1
I.	The *Heathen-world:* the variety of their idols	§ 2
II. The *Jews*	their superstitious sacrifices	§ 3
	their foolish rites, customs, and ceremonies	§ 4
III. The *Christians*	their habits and condition	§ 5
	they are the soul of the world	§ 6
	their religion not of man, but of God	§ 7
IV.	The wretched state of the world before the Son of God came	§ 8
	Reasons why He came so late	§ 9
Conclusion.	Exhortation to Diognetus to become a Christian	§ 10

another of *silver,* requiring a man to guard it, lest it be stolen? and another of *iron,* corroded by rust? and another of *burnt clay,* not at all more comely than the earthen vessel used for our lowest necessities? Are they not all made of matter which decays? Are they not formed by the aid of iron and fire? Was it not a stone-mason who made the one, a worker in brass the other, a silversmith the third, and a potter the last? Before they received their respective shapes from the skill of those artificers, was not each left to the mercies of the workman to transform it as he liked? Could not the same utensils which are now formed of the same material be made like unto these idols, if they came into the hands of those artificers? Again, could not these very idols, before which ye now bow down, be made by men into utensils like unto the rest? Are they not all deaf? and blind? and lifeless? without sensation? without motion? all alike liable to decay? all perishable? And these ye call gods; these ye serve; to these ye bow down; and, in short, you treat them like the Gods themselves! For this cause do ye hate the Christians, because they do not hold these to be gods. And yet do not ye yourselves, who think to praise them and worship them [as gods], despise them much more than they do? Do ye not mock and insult them far more, by leaving the gods of stone and burnt clay, whom ye worship, without any protection, and by shutting up those made of silver and gold during the night, and by day placing guards over them lest they be stolen? And as for the honours which ye heap upon them, they are rather punishments to them, if they have sense: and if they are without sensation, you put them to shame for being so, by worshipping them with bloody sacrifices and the steam of fat. Would any of you bear with this? would any one allow this to be done to himself? Why, no human being would willingly suffer such punishment; for he possesses the power of sensation and the faculty of reasoning: but stone can well bear it, for it is without feeling. Thus, then, ye clearly prove your gods to be without sensation.

As regards the point that Christians will not serve such gods, I might say a great deal more: but if any one does not consider what I have said to be sufficiently conclusive, I think it superfluous to say more, but I believe the next point which thou art most desirous to know, is why Christians do not worship God in the same manner as the Jews.

III. Now, so far as the Jews abstain from the kind of worship of which I have just spoken, and think it right to worship One God

as the Creator of all things, they do wisely: but so far as they offer Him worship in the same manner as those of whom I have just spoken, they fail in this worship. For to pretend to give to God, as if He stood in need of anything, those things which the Greeks, as a proof of their folly, offer to idols who can neither feel nor hear, the Jews ought by rights rather to look upon it as folly, not as a religious act. For He who made Heaven and Earth and all things that are therein, and who supplies all of us with everything that we need, cannot Himself require what He vouchsafes to give to them, who vainly conceive themselves to be the givers. But those who think to make sacrifices to God by means of blood and fat and burnt offerings, and with such sacrifices to reverence Him, do not seem to me to differ in any way from those who show the same respect to things which are deaf, these things not being able to enjoy the honour, and they themselves appearing as men who give to One who needeth nothing.

IV. But, indeed, I do not suppose that thou wishest to hear from me concerning their shyness about food, and their superstitious observance of the Sabbath, and of their boastful pride about circumcision, and of their pretences about fasting and the new moon: all this is most ridiculous, and not worth speaking of. For, is it not like the work of a drunken man to receive some of those things which God has created for the use of men, as being created good, and to reject others as being useless and superfluous? And to make God a liar, as if He forbade to do good on the Sabbath-day, is not that impious? And to swagger about the removing some part of the flesh, as if it were a witness of their election, and as if they thereby were above measure beloved of God, is not this worthy of derision? And to be anxiously watching for the stars and the moon in order to make observations of months and days, and so to accommodate the dispensations of God and the changes of the seasons to their own desires, and make some into occasions of feasting, and others of mourning, who would not consider this to be a sign of folly, rather than religion?

I think, then, that thou hast received sufficient proof why the Christians rightly abstain both from that system of absurdity and imposture which is common to Jews and Greeks, and from the meddling and arrogant spirit of the former. But as regards the mystery of their own religion, do not expect to learn that from man.

V. Christians are not distinguished from the rest of mankind

either by their country, or by their language, or by their habits. For they do not dwell in cities of their own; they do not speak any strange dialect; they do not live in any peculiar manner. Nor, indeed, hath this, their doctrine, been arrived at through the imagination and forethought of meddlesome men; nor do they put forward any mere human opinion, as some do. But living in Greek or Barbarian cities, as hath fallen to the lot of each, and following the habits of the country in dress and food, and the other modes of life, they present a marvellous and confessedly strange condition of their own polity. They dwell in their own fatherlands, but as strangers. They take part in everything as citizens, and they have to bear everything as if they were foreigners. Every foreign country is their fatherland, and every fatherland is a foreign country to them. Like all the rest they marry and they beget children, but they do not cast off their children. They make their table common to all, but not their bed. They are in the flesh, but they do not live after the flesh. They pass their time on Earth, but their citizenship is in Heaven. They obey the established laws, and by their own lives gain a victory over the laws. They love all, and yet are persecuted by all. They are taken no notice of, and they are condemned: they are put to death, and they come to life again: they are poor themselves, and yet make many rich *: they lack everything, and yet they abound in all things: they are put to shame, and yet they glory in their shame: they are evil spoken of, and yet they are justified: they are reviled, and they bless †: they are insulted, and they show honour: they do good, and yet they are punished as evil-doers: they rejoice in punishment, as being thereby quickened: the Jews make war upon them as upon foreigners, and the Greeks persecute them: and yet they that hate them can give no reason for their enmity.

VI. In short, what the soul is in the body, Christians are in the world. The soul is spread through all the members of the body, and so are Christians through all the cities of the world. Now the soul liveth in the body, yet is she not of the body: and so do Christians live in the world, yet are not of the world. The invisible soul is preserved in a visible body: and so Christians are known to be in the world, but their religion remaineth unseen. The flesh hateth the soul, and warreth against her, without receiving any injury; for the soul preventeth her from indulging in pleasures;

* See 2 Cor. vi. 10. † 1 Cor. iv. 12.

so the world hateth Christians, yet is no way injured; for they are opposed to pleasures. The soul loveth the flesh and its members that hate her: and so do Christians love those who hate them. The soul is shut in by the body, yet she upholdeth the body: and so are Christians kept, as it were, in prison by the world, yet they uphold the world. The undying soul dwelleth in a mortal tabernacle: and so do Christians dwell by the side of that which is perishable, while they wait for immortality in Heaven. The soul is made better the more she is maltreated by the withholding of food and drink: and Christians the more they suffer punishment, the more do they from day to day increase in number.

Such is the place which God hath assigned to them, and woe to them if they fly from it.

VII. For, as I said before, theirs is no earthly invention handed down to them, nor is that a mortal doctrine, which they hold worthy of being so diligently preserved; nor is it a dispensation of human mysteries, which is entrusted to them: but God, the Ruler and Creator of all things, the Invisible, hath Himself from Heaven planted in men the truth and the holy incomprehensible Word, and hath established Him in their hearts. He sent Him, not (as one might suppose) as a servant, or as an angel, or as a ruler, or as one engaged in earthly affairs, or as one entrusted with the care of things in Heaven; but God sent the very Artificer and Creator of the Universe—Him, by whom He made the Heavens, by whom He enclosed the sea within its due bounds—Him, whose mysterious laws are faithfully kept by all the starry signs—Him, from whom the sun hath received the measures of his daily course, duly to keep them —Him, at whose command the moon shineth in the night—Him, whom the stars obey, as they follow the moon in her course—Him, by whom all things have been set in order and defined and placed in subjection, the heavens and the things that are in the heavens, the earth and the things that are in the earth, the sea and everything that is in the sea, fire, air, deep, things above, things below, things between. This is He, whom God sent unto them. Was it, as some one among men might suppose, to tyrannise over and to terrify mankind? No, indeed; but in mercy and gentleness, as a King would send his son, so He sent Him as a King: He sent Him as God; He sent Him as man to men; He sent Him to save; to persuade, not to force them; for violence is no attribute of God: He sent Him as wishing to call, not to persecute: He sent Him in love, not for judgment; for He will send Him to judge, and who will then be able to stand in the day of His coming? * *

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[Dost thou not see] how Christians are cast before wild beasts that they may deny the Lord, and yet they are not overcome? Dost thou not observe, how that as more of them are afflicted with punishments, so their number is increased by others? These do not appear like the deeds of men: this is the power of God: these are the signs of His coming.

VIII. For what man, in short, did not disbelieve in God, until He came? Or wilt thou receive the empty and frivolous doctrines of those, so called, worthy men, the philosophers? For some of these say that God is fire; call that God, to which they are themselves hastening: others say that He is water; and others again make Him to be some one of those very elements which He Himself hath created. And yet if any one of these doctrines is to be received, one might prove everything else created equally to be God. But these doctrines are the prodigious lies and impostures of those who are no better than jugglers: for no man ever saw or knew God: He revealed Himself; and through faith He revealed Himself, by which alone it is possible to see God.

For God, the Lord and Ruler of the Universe, who made all things, and set them in order, showed Himself not only loving to man, but also long-suffering. For He was ever such, and is, and will be: kind, and good, and passionless, and true: and He alone is good: and He conceived in His mind a great and unspeakable thought, which He communicated to His Son. Now, as long as He kept back His wise counsel and preserved it as a mystery, He appeared not to care or think about us. But when He revealed it unto us through His beloved Son, and made manifest those things which had been prepared from the beginning, He put everything at the same time within our reach, both to partake of His benefits, and to see and understand that which no one among us ever could have looked for. Now, when He had by Himself, together with His Son, set everything in order (IX.), He left us during the time past to be carried about, as we willed, by our unruly impulses, led away, as we were, by pleasures and desires: not in any way as if He took delight in our sins, but as One who bore with them; nor as One who approved of that season of unrighteousness, but as One who was fashioning the time of righteousness: so that having by our own works in former times proved ourselves unworthy of life, we might now, through the goodness of God, be made worthy of it; and as

we had shown our inability to enter into the kingdom of God by our own strength, we might be enabled so to do by the power of God. But when the measure of our own unrighteousness was filled up, and it had been fully shown that punishment and death awaited it as its reward, and the time came which God had fore-ordained to show forth His own goodness and power (Oh! the exceeding love of God for man!), He did not hate us, or cast us off, or remember the evil against us, but He bore long with us and suffered us, and out of pity took our offences upon Him: He Himself gave up His own Son as a ransom for us, the Holy for transgressors—Him that was without evil for sinners—the Just for the unjust—the Imperishable for perishable men—the Immortal for mortals. For what else, but His righteousness, could have been a covering for our sins? In whom else could we, the sinners and the ungodly, have been justified but in the Son of God above? Oh! the sweet change! Oh! the unsearchable dispensation! Oh! the unlooked-for benefits! to cover the transgressions of many through one righteous Man, and by the righteousness of one to justify many sinners! Having then proved to us, in former times, how impossible it was for our nature to attain unto life, and having now, in the present time, shown forth the Saviour as able to save even that which seemed impossible, He desires us, from both these considerations, to trust in His goodness—to look upon Him as our Guardian, our Father, our Teacher, our Counsellor, our Physician, our Understanding, our Light, our Honour, our Glory, our Strength, our Life; and not to take thought for raiment and food.*

X. Mayest thou desire this faith, and first acquire the knowledge of the Father: for God loved men, and for their sake He created the world—to them He made all things subject that are therein—to them He gave reason and understanding—to them alone He gave permission to look up to Him—them He formed after His own image—to them He sent His only begotten Son—to them He hath promised the Kingdom in Heaven, which He will also give to those who love Him. And when thou hast acquired this knowledge, with what joy shalt thou be filled! or how wilt thou love Him, who hath first so greatly loved thee! But when thou lovest Him, thou wilt become a follower of His goodness. And marvel not at this, that a man may become a follower of God. He can if he will. For happiness consisteth not in lording it over our neighbours, or in desiring to

* Matt. vi. 25—28.

have more than the weaker brethren, or in being rich and oppressing the poor: nor can man, in so doing, be a follower of God; for they are entirely foreign to His majesty. But whosoever beareth the burden of his neighbour — whosoever is ready to do good with that wherein he aboundeth, to another who is in want — whosoever, by distributing to the needy the things which he hath received from God, becometh a God to those who receive them — this man is a follower of God. Then shalt thou behold, though thou be living on earth, that God reigneth in Heaven; then shalt thou begin to speak the mysteries of God; then shalt thou both love and admire those who are suffering punishment because they will not deny God; then shalt thou condemn the impostures and errors of the world, when thou hast known how to live truly in Heaven — when thou canst despise that which appeareth to be death here — when thou dreadest that which really is death, a death which is kept in store for those who will be condemned to that eternal fire, which will torment them, whom it receiveth, unto the end. Then shalt thou admire those who can bear patiently the [torments of] earthly fire, and bless them when thou thyself hast tasted that fire. * *

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III.

HERMAS' SHEPHERD,

OR

THE BOOK OF THE SHEPHERD.

"HERMAS' Shepherd," or "The Book of the Shepherd," or "The Shepherd;"—such is the title of a book which the churches of Greece continued to read during their public worship up to the time of Jerome; a work which Irenæus quotes as the "Scripture" (or "The Book"); out of which Clemens of Alexandria introduces a passage as "divinely expressed," and which Origen confesses that he believes to be "divinely inspired." As it can be proved that this book was written at Rome, as late as the earlier part of the age of which we are treating, by the brother of a Roman bishop, it must have struck the Gentile Christian mind as a product of inspiration from its first appearance. For we find already, forty years after that date, a protest against its being considered and used as a part of canonical Scripture, although it ought to be honoured as a pious and important work for private reading. "The Shepherd" is, indeed, one of those books which, like the "Divina Commedia," and Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," captivate the mind by the united power of thought and fiction, both drawn from the genuine depths of the human soul.

This book contains a Revelation, apparently made to a Roman Christian, Hermas, a name familiar to all Christians as being mentioned by St. Paul (Rom. xvi.). This Revelation dwells on the things of the invisible world; it introduces visions, in which the Holy Spirit appears as the Son of God, the Church as a divine matron the first of God's works, and a guardian angel as the teacher of the penitent. But what these are made to say, finds a response in the longings of the human soul,

and concerns the trials of a Christian heart in every age. All its lofty visions terminate in tangible, practical precepts for a truly Christian life. Such a life had its peculiar trials at that early stage of Christianity. We have seen what was the condition of the Christian churchman in this age and in that which preceded it, and how he must often have felt anxious and unhappy, if he had a reflective mind. Yet life, after all, was to be endured as it was; temptations and sin were to be encountered. Could outward discipline give the strength required for that struggle? Could the prescribed penance restore the fallen? Was forgiveness of sins after baptism certain? Was a re-admission to Church communion in some cases possible? "The Shepherd" contemplates all these difficulties, and answers all these doubts in a childlike and yet mysterious and authoritative manner. Such a book was exactly the composition suited to the great mass of the Gentile Christians in that dreamy age. All wanted a revelation respecting Christ's predictions. Again, Christian parents were anxiously looking out for a Christian literature. What Greek or Latin author should fathers and mothers put into the hands of their children, without bringing them into contact with Heathenism or Gentile impurity? "The Shepherd" satisfied the taste of the times for apocalyptic manifestations; it was calculated to excite feelings of awe and piety in every reader, and to form and strengthen principles of sanctity in young minds; and all this on evangelical and apostolical ground, on a truly scriptural basis. The book certainly does not possess, what a learned English divine considers as the criterion of a treatise destined to reveal to the initiated the mysteries of faith; namely, a great quantity of quotations from Scripture. Our book, called by the Fathers "The Scripture," does not quote Scripture, although many passages in it allude to the Gospel, and though it is, from beginning to end, based upon the great truths proclaimed in our canonical Scripture. I confess I cannot help believing that this method fully satisfied its contemporaries, and indeed the most enlightened Christians of the following centuries. Perhaps even they thought it to be the peculiar charm of the book, that it was not a sermon stuffed with quotations from the Scriptures, but

rather one that gave evidence of the influence and power of the same Spirit which had presided at their composition, and that it was inspired by the contemplation of the great individual centre of all Scripture. Such a composition "The Shepherd" really is; and it has further the merit of brevity, which is more than can be said of all sermons.

Now, as to its origin, a learned historian of the succeeding age (about 170), Hegesippus, says positively, in the "Fragmentum Muratorianum," "'The Book of the Shepherd' has been written quite recently, in our days, by Hermas, brother of Pius, when this bishop occupied the episcopal chair." Nobody has shown better than Hilgenfeld, the last critical examiner of this remarkable composition, that it bears on its very face the marks of the earlier part of the second century; and he thinks it ought to be attributed to the period under Hadrian,—therefore between 117 and 138. This result is embarrassing to him, because, according to the vulgar chronology of the Roman Bishops, the pontificate of Pius begins only in 142; but this difficulty happens to be only a proof of his acute criticism, for, as my Tables will show, the real time of that pontificate runs from 132 or 133 to 157. But I hope to show from the book itself, that it was written in 139 or 140, in the first years of Antoninus Pius.

With regard to its contents and bearings, instead of arguing from single passages, which every party quotes and interprets for its own purposes, I shall give the whole tenor of the work in a faithful outline. Such a reasoning analysis will give the best picture of the age, and will best explain how a book, written at that time, could obtain such high authority in the Church. I do not think that the fable itself, the tale of the imaginary Hermas, the author's namesake, has ever been well told. The book itself does not give a good exposition of circumstances which the readers of the time could much better guess at than we can. Besides, there is scarcely any book of Christian antiquity which has been so badly treated by time and by editors, as "The Shepherd." We possess it only in a rather barbarous Latin translation, and all our five manuscripts represent but one original. In the three Paris manuscripts, the Latin of the translation is corrected, which is also

the case, although in a far less degree, in one of the two English copies, that of the Bodleian Library. The MS. at Lambeth Palace is the only one which is free from a manifest interpolation common to all the others. Now, none of these manuscripts has a division into books and chapters; they only mark new paragraphs by great initials. Out of these, the first editor (Faber Stapulensis, a Parisian, in 1513) made an arbitrary division into chapters, which destroys the beautiful transparency of the composition, cutting asunder what is united, and making the book appear clumsy and full of contradictions. I have prepared a new edition upon the Lambeth codex, only correcting the numberless blunders in it from the other manuscripts. The best text hitherto given is that which is found in the first volume of Russell's Apostolical Fathers (London, 1746). It gives the Greek fragments textually, some of which only are found quoted by Hefele.

The First Book.

Introduction and Vision: Despair and Doubt.

There lived at Rome (such is the tale of our Shepherd) a Christian man of the name of Hermas, the friend of Paul. Indeed, it is highly probable that the brother of Bishop Pius thought of this his apostolical namesake; for not only is Rome his residence, and Clemens his bishop, but the whole age is supposed to be that of a recrudescence of persecution. Such an age happened to be that of Clemens, under Domitian; and such evidently was the writer's own age.

This Hermas was not one of the Elders of the Roman congregation. He kept a mercantile house in town, and possessed a villa not far distant from Rome, near the Campanian road. His wife must have been a Gentile, and is confessed to have had an evil-speaking tongue: his sons were wicked, and finally ruined their father. Our hero himself was evidently an active member of the congregation, for he is employed expressly to address it, as, in that period, any believer might do, during the public worship. But, at the same time, he seems to have

neglected his family, and not taken all the pains he ought to instruct and confirm them in Christian faith and good habits. He was an outwardly righteous man, of unblemished reputation; but, when brought to a consciousness of his sins, he confesses that in his dealings he had scarcely ever spoken a word of truth, but rather endeavoured to take his customers in, exactly as, according to Ovid, Gentile Roman shopkeepers used to do, after the fashion of their patron, shrewd Mercury.

His father had a handsome slave girl, a playfellow, it appears, of Hermas, who, however, was sold, when still a child, to another master at Rome. He renewed his acquaintance with her when he met her by chance, and liked her as a sister, which clearly indicates that she was a Christian, a circumstance which, besides, the continuation of the story places beyond all doubt. Once, when taking a solitary walk along the Tiber, probably thinking of his comfortless home, he saw her struggling in the water. She had been bathing in one of the bathing-houses on the banks of the river, and must have slipped into the water. There is here an evident chasm in the text, from which we only perceive that he "dragged her out of the river*," and saved her life. This event left an impression upon him which he could not overcome. Struck by her charms and the beauty of her soul, the thought entered his mind, how happy a man would be who possessed such an angel as a wife; but not a word or a gesture ever betrayed his feelings, which never went beyond that thought. But when taking a walk one day, thinking of "the beauty of God's creature," he went to sleep, and fell into a trance. The spirit carried him to a place very much like that where Dante awakened for the first time to a consciousness of his sins. "It was a place," he says, "where nobody could walk, a place with rocks, surrounded by abysses, and rendered besides

* The words are "Exacto autem tempore aliquo, lavari . . . . eam in flumine Tiberi vidi, et porrexi ei manum, et eduxi eam e flumine." Now, promiscuous bathing of men and women in the public baths was a horror even to the Gentiles: bathing of women in the Tiber likewise. But, to suppose that Christian women bathed there, is too absurd for a fiction, and that a respectable Christian man gave her the hand, when she stepped out of the bath, is absolutely impossible.

inaccessible by waters."* He then came into a plain, and here he fell upon his knees, and began to pray, confessing his sins to God. All at once that beautiful maiden, evidently having been removed by a sudden death, appeared to him as a spirit, and called out to him, "Hermas, all hail!" He having exclaimed, full of surprise, "Lady, what art thou doing here?" she replied, "I have been called home to bring thy sins before the Lord." "Lady," he said, "thou accusest me: have I ever offended thee, by word or gesture?" She then, softly smiling†, made him sensible of the sin of concupiscence, and of the nature of evil thoughts, as signs of a want of faith in God, and of hope in things eternal. Upon this, heaven closed, and he was left alone in great distress. And, lo! a chair, as of wool, white like snow, appeared to him; and an aged matron came, splendidly arrayed, and sat down on the chair, and said, "Hermas, all hail!" And he having returned the salutation, communicated to her, at her request, his extreme sorrow for having been thus accused by the maiden. And the aged matron said, "There may have been concupiscence, which ought to be far from a tried spirit, particularly from one who has shown himself full of continence and simplicity of mind. But the wrath of God is upon thee much more on account of the sins of thy house, and thy neglect in exhorting thy wife and sons. Now be of good cheer; they will be converted if admonished by thee, and she will become to thee a Christian wife (a sister)." Whereupon she read a book to him, containing an awful commination against the wicked; but concluding with words as full of comfort as of majesty. And with a cheerful voice she took leave of him, disappearing eastward, whither the chair also had been removed, and said, "Be of good courage, Hermas."

* Compare the beginning of the Inferno:

"Mi ritrovai in una selva oscura
Che la diritta via era smarrita.
Ahi quanto a dir qual era è cosa dura
Questa selva selvaggia ed aspra e forte
Che nel pensier rinuova la paura.
Tanto è amara che poco più è morte."

† "Surridens," exactly as Beatrice is said by Dante to speak "sorridendo." So, Paradiso, canto III. 24, 25.

A year after, when Hermas, finding himself in similar meditations at the same place, fell upon his knees, thanking God for having shown him his former sins, there appeared to him the aged matron again, now, however, looking cheerful. She addressed him standing, and gave him the book in which she was reading, that he might copy it. He did so, though without making out the sense. A fortnight after, the meaning was revealed to him, and he found it to contain an instruction how to reprove and admonish his house. "All believers," said the book, "who repent from their heart, and reform their ways, will be saved, and they will receive such support from God's presence that they would be unable to deny God in the persecutions and tribulations which are coming on, should they ever be tempted to do so." When she disappeared, an angelic youth explained to him, that "she was not, as he had supposed, the Sibyl, but the Church; that is to say, the Spirit of the Communion of God's Elect from the beginning of the world. She appeared in the shape of an aged matron, because she is the first of God's creatures, and on her account the world was created." We will anticipate here the explanation that this matron is not a hierarchical figure: it is God's Spirit of Humanity, as far as mankind lives in God and does God's work, which is personified in her.

After some time, she appeared to him in his house, and ordered him to make two copies of our book — one for Clemens, the bishop, who would send it to the foreign Churches; the other for Grapte (the presbytera or matron), who would teach and admonish accordingly the widows and orphans. As for the Elders of the Church, Hermas himself is to announce the revelation to them in person.

Here ends the first part of the Introduction to the Book of the Shepherd. The three apparitions of the Church are preparatory to the Vision of the heavenly organization of the Elect, and of the divine destiny of the Kingdom of God upon earth. This vision itself takes place after Hermas has been in a state of longing after further revelations, in the silence of the night, at a lonely place in the country. The matron this time sits down on a simple bench (subsellium), and he is requested to take his place at her left side. There he beholds a great tower,

which is being built upon the waters out of splendid square blocks. The six first-created angels of God are constructing it with the help of many thousand people. He learns that this is the Church of God, or the Communion of all believers; a sanctuary which is building up in this world during what remains of time. Some explanations are given him respecting the angels, and spirits, and men, and the corner-stones, and those which are rejected; and a prospect is held out of further enlightenment.

Twenty days after, when he was in a lonely place, thanking God for having deigned to reveal unto him His mysteries, he heard a voice saying, "Do not doubt, Hermas!" Soon after a great fierce monster moved towards him, intercepting his way; it was a hundred feet long, and out of its mouth came forth fiery locusts. Hermas, mindful of what he had heard, took courage and encountered the beast, which, as he approached, laid itself quietly down, and let him pass over it. Who is not reminded of the three fierce animals who assailed Dante when he for the first time awakened to a serious repentance? Here Sin is represented under the image of one monster — in the Divina Commedia of three; but the idea is the same. So is it with the delivery from this enemy.* No sooner had he effected this perilous passage, than the Spirit of the Church greeted him again, appearing no longer aged, but as a bridal virgin, in radiant beauty. "Thou hast conquered," she said, "because thou hast, with a pure heart, laid before the Lord thy loneliness

* Inferno I. 34 and following. The leopard (Lust) bars the way at first against him:

"E non mi sì partia dinanzi al volto:
Anz' impediva tanto il mi cammino
Che i' fui per ritornar più volte volto."

Next comes the second ruling sin of selfish man (Pride), the lion:

"Questi parea che contra me venisse
Con la test' alta e con rabbiosa fame,
Sì che parea che l' aer ne tremesse."

At last, the vice of the aged man appears (Avarice), the never satiated, the wolf:

"Questa mi porse tanto di gravezza
Con la paura ch' uscia di sua vista
Ch' i' perdei la speranza dell' altezza."

and care, firmly believing that thou canst not be saved but by His great and majestic name. Therefore the Lord has sent his angel, who rules over that wild beast." *

After some explanations of the vision, she disappears, and Hermas turns back, fearing a new attack of the monster, the fierce animal. Here closes the introductory part, or the first book, which is called that of the Visions. The whole is an apocalyptical, epicized expression of the first stage of the mind awakening from the torpor of moral indifference, and wavering between faith and fear. But it is essential to observe, that the man whose soul is in that unconverted torpid state is an outward churchman, living in external righteousness, fasting, and performing all the acts of outward discipline. All this, however, exists in him without a real conversion, and, therefore, instead of giving him peace, makes him sensible of an inward contradiction. Hermas is an outward churchman, bowed down by the outward church life. Not a word can be understood of what follows, unless we attend to this circumstance. It is the conversion of a believer. In the same state was Dante when the spiritual light began to dawn upon him about 1300. So was Tauler, when he, the great and far-famed preacher, was converted by the "Friend of God," Nicolaus of Basel, the obscure layman and secret Vaudois, in the year 1340.

The second Book comprises what is now called, by the fancy of the editors, the second and the third Books, or the Book of Mandates and that of Similitudes. But Mandates and Similitudes form one indivisible book, which that angelic youth, the Guardian Angel of Hermas, now dictates to him. This angel appears first in the garb of a shepherd; and then manifests himself as the Angel of Penitence. By this penitence is to be understood, not penance or the outward acknowledgment of sin committed, but the penitent and faithful renewal of the heart, and the acknowledgment of individual self-responsibility. The Angel communicates to Hermas that he is to

* "Propter hoc misit Dominus angelum suum qui est super bestiam (*vulgo* bestias) cui nomen est Hegria" (i. e. Agria, the fierce). The genuine Greek word is preserved in the passage immediately following: *ἐκφεύξεσθε τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ ἀγρίου, ἐὰν ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν γένηται καθαρὰ καὶ ἄμωμος.*

behold again what he has beheld before, and have it more clearly explained to him; and this revelation he will have to add to his book. We have, therefore, a tripartite composition, organized in beautiful simplicity. The first Book, which ends with the revelation of the Church of God on earth, represents the dark state of the soul, her first awakening, and the glimpse she catches of the glory of the divine life in God, living between fear and joy. The second Book (the Mandates and the first chapter of what is now called the Similitudes, in our editions, ch. ii–viii.) brings before us the state of penitence in which man is disposed to listen to the moral precepts of Christianity, which he never understood properly before, and regulate his life accordingly, with the feeling of moral responsibility. The third Book (from the ninth chapter of the Similitudes to the end) represents the perfect vision of the blessed life of the soul in communion with God and all good spirits, and of the eternal laws of that Kingdom of God upon earth, which is shortly to replace the present wicked world by a better. This, then, is the state of perfect Faith, the fruit of the regeneration of the soul.

This psychological ascent, this progress of the soul in her life's struggle, is the basis of the three "Cantiche" of the Divina Commedia, as well as of the Pilgrim's Progress, and of our Shepherd. Dante did not know Hermas, nor Bunyan Dante, but they all three knew Christ. We now proceed to the analysis of the second Book.

The Second Book.

Penitence.

Like the first, the second book of the Shepherd consists of two parts — the Mandates and the Similitudes. The Mandates are twelve, the Similitudes six. The Mandates represent the new law of the spirit, the moral precepts of Christianity, applied to the individual life of a Gentile Christian; and the Similitudes introduce us to the understanding of the spiritual order of the world, as foreshadowed in God's nature around us.

We shall give them both in a condensed form, but the principal parts as nearly as possible in the words of the book.

The Twelve Mandates given to Hermas by the Angel of Penitence.

I. *First of all, believe that there is One God,* who hath created and ordered all things, and hath brought into being all things from that which is not: One God who comprehendeth all, who alone is incomprehensible. Believe in Him, and fear Him, and in fearing Him show abstinence.

II. *Live in simplicity and innocence.* Be as infant children, not knowing wickedness. Speak ill of no one, and delight not in hearing any one speaking evil. In this simplicity and sanctity, in which all is smooth and cheerful, give to all who are in want; those who do not deserve it, will have to render account to God, not thou. Keep this commandment, and have a clean heart.

III. *Love truth,* that the Spirit of God may dwell in thee; those who lie, deny God, having become, by receiving the spirit of truth, dwelling places of the truthful spirit.

IV. *Preserve purity,* and let no thought enter into thy heart after the wife of another, or any uncleanness; if married, avoid divorce.

V. *Preserve equanimity and patience*; by them thou wilt gain the mastery over all evil actions, and do all righteousness; wrathfulness pollutes the Holy Spirit which dwelleth in thee.* The dwelling of the two spirits in the same man leadeth to his destruction.

VI. *Put thy trust in righteousness and justice.* Trust not at all unto what is unjust. Keep to the straight way of justice, and leave the tortuous path of unrighteousness. The good angel in man is mild, bashful and strong, and inspires just and pure thoughts; the evil angel is the contrary, and inspires evil thoughts and desires.

VII. *Fear the Lord, and not the Devil.* If thou keepest God's commandments, thou wilt be strong in all thy doings and actions, and thy doing will be irreproachable. As to the Devil, he hath no power, and fleeth away before believing man.

* τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον μὴ μιαινόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ὀξυχολίας, instead of μιούμενον. So, shortly afterwards: ἡ ὀξυχολία τὴν μακροθυμίαν μιαίνει.

VIII. *Abstain from all wickedness, and practise every virtue.* Abhor drunkenness, lawlessness, luxury in eating, a proud and overbearing spirit, slander and hypocrisy, vindictiveness, and every blasphemy, and avoid all works which flow from them. On the contrary, practise faith, fear of the Lord, concord, charity, words of righteousness, truth, patience, and consequently serve the widow, take care of needy orphans, redeem from want the servants of God, be hospitable, and the like, and thou wilt live unto God.

IX. *Banish all wavering, and throw thyself upon the Lord.* Do not admit the doubt, that thy prayers cannot be heard on account of thy many sins. Turn thyself to the Lord with all thy heart, and ask of Him unhesitatingly, trusting to His mercy, and thou wilt receive all thou askest, in His own time.

X. *Banish all sadness, and put on cheerfulness.* Sadness is the sister of doubtfulness and of wrathfulness, for the Spirit of God which is given unto the flesh, does not suffer sadness. Cheerfulness ever finds grace before the Lord, for the cheerful heart always turns towards the Father in heaven, and does good, but the doubting heart takes refuge with the erring Spirit, the false prophet.

XI. *Trust the Spirit which cometh from God and hath power.* Do not trust the empty Spirit of the earth, who is from the Devil, and in whom there is no faith nor any power to raise the soul, no more than stone or water thrown up from the earth can reach heaven.*

* The passage of the next chapter, which, if it was genuine, would necessarily come in here: "Spiritus omnium hominum terrestris est et levis . . . Non convenit hæc facere Dei prophetam" is, at all events, a gloss; if not, the whole Similitude is an interpolation, which, I think, is most probable. That the gloss, added loosely in the margin, crept only at a late period, into the text, is doubly proved. The Lambeth MS. has it not, and the others which exhibit it, have it in the wrong place. It evidently was put in here, after the Montanist delusions had arisen. But also the beginning of the Similitude about the Spirit of the Earth, looks to me more than suspicious. I believe it to have been inserted in that time: for a similitude is certainly out of place here among the Mandates. As to the precept itself, it may appear to interrupt here the order discernible in the rest, and its natural place might seem to be immediately after the eighth command-

XII. *Banish every evil desire, and put on the good and holy desire.* The good desire maketh thee hate the evil desire, which is fierce and consumeth, and giveth over to death the man who falleth into it. Evil desire is that of the flesh, as avarice, luxury, ambition. Work righteousness, and love truth, and live in the fear of the Lord, and in Faith and Charity.

The twelve precepts are concluded by a general address, of which the following is an abstract *:—

These are the twelve Commandments: do thou walk in them, and admonish thy hearers to walk in the same, that their penitence may become pure for all the remaining days of their life. He who hath the Lord in his heart, hath the power to keep all these Commandments, and the Devil will flee away from him. The Lord alone can save and destroy; for to God you must live already in this world, and, therefore, consider yourselves as being only pilgrims in this strange city which is far from that to which you are bound. Do not, therefore, desire the riches of this world, or the wife of thy neighbour, but only the work of thy salvation, and thou wilt be saved.

THE SIX SIMILITUDES.†

These six Similitudes are all taken from nature, and following the traces of Parables of Christ, introduce Hermas, by way of completing his moral education, into the system of nature as being the symbol of the life of the Spirit. The scene of all these

ment. If more closely considered, however, it will be found to grow naturally out of the conclusion of the tenth, where the false Prophet is mentioned.

* This address is now miserably cut in two, the first part forming the conclusion of the second book of our editions, and the rest beginning with "Et dixit mihi," having been called the first chapter of the Third Book. The ancient MSS. know nothing of this absurdity. The present second chapter of Book II. is the well marked commencement of the second part of the Second Book of Hermas, the Similitudes.

† Lib. III. Similitudines, ch. ii.—viii. As they begin now with the second chapter of the Third Book, the first Similitude is called "the second Similitude." We shall find a similar thoughtlessness in chapter vii., which is made the "eighth Similitude," containing no similitude whatever.

Parables is in the open air, in a cultivated country. In the first three, Hermas is represented as meditating upon one of the phenomena of nature, and, at his desire, the Angel explains to him the symbolical meaning of what he observes, or is told to observe. But the three last Similitudes are complete Parables: a deep spiritual truth of the invisible world is taught by a fiction, the elements of which, however, are all borrowed from nature.

First Similitude.

The Elm and the Vine, or the Rich and the Poor in this World.

The elm and the vine are a similitude of the mutual support which the rich and the poor are intended to give to each other. The vine brings forth fruit, the elm does not: but the vine would not bring forth much and good fruit, if it were not supported by the elm. Thus the rich man is poor before the Lord, distracted as he is by his wealth, and his prayer is little and powerless. The prayer of the poor man is powerful before the Lord, and thus the rich man is benefited by the prayers of the poor, whom he supports, and who feel thankful towards him.

Second Similitude.

The Leafless Trees, or the Righteous and Unrighteous in this World.

In the winter, the trees are alike leafless and lifeless: thus the righteous and the unrighteous are alike in this winter of earthly existence; their difference, therefore, cannot be judged from their appearance.

Third Similitude.

The Trees in Summer, or the Soul in the next World.

In the summer, some trees have leaves and bring forth fruit: others are withered. The world to come is the world's summer, when the just will show their fruit, and those who are immersed in a variety of worldly business will remain withered and lifeless.

What follows we will relate in the form of the original, retaining the whole of its substance, but abridging it: where we give quotations we shall mark them as such.

The First Parable. (Fourth Similitude.)

The Lord of the Vineyard, and the Son and Servant of God.

One day I was sitting on a mountain, rendering thanks to God for all that he had done to me, and keeping my prescribed weekly fast-day, and the guardian Angel appeared and said: — "This is not such fasting as pleases God: the true fast is abstinence from evil desires and doings, and serving God in a pure mind according to His Commandments. Doing this, thou mayest feed upon water and bread and herbs: but what thou hast thus saved, give to the widow and orphan, and to the poor. Then thy sacrifice will be acceptable to the Lord, and thou and thy house will be heard in your prayers." [Having said so much, the Angel lays before Hermas the following Parable]: — A man who had an estate and many servants, planted a vineyard, which, on going abroad, he left to the most faithful of his many servants, leaving him the order to bind the vines to the sticks, and promising him his liberty if he found it done. But the faithful servant did much more: he dug the vineyard afresh, and weeded it, in consequence of which the vines grew much finer. When the lord of the vineyard returned, he was so much pleased by what he saw, that he said to his son and heir, and to the friends of the same: "I will make him co-heir with my son;" of which resolution the son and his friends highly approved. After this, the lord made a great meal, and sent many dishes to that servant, who took out of them what was sufficient, giving the rest to his fellow servants. Upon which the lord declared his resolution to make that servant co-heir with his own son. Thus (said the Angel), if thou first keepest the precepts of the Lord, and then addest fasting to it, particularly if thou doest so in the sense in which I have explained it to thee, thou wilt be happy and rejoice. The lord's son (says the Angel in explanation) is the Holy Spirit; his companions are the six first created

Spirits: the faithful servant is Christ, the Son of God, in His servile appearance as Man, fulfilling not only all external righteousness, but becoming the Saviour of his brethren, rooting out their sins and imparting to them the Divine gifts which he had received. This human body in which the Holy Spirit has resided, is raised to coequal Divine dignity, for the Lord sees his own Son, the eternal image of Himself, in that body. Thus, also, every believing man and faithful servant of God receives that higher intellect, that Holy Spirit which will lead him into the understanding of the word of God.

We shall enter soon more deeply into the speculative intuition veiled in this Parable. We only wished here to represent the clear ethical sense in the very words of the book. The moral comment upon the Parable concludes thus: —

"Keep this thy body clean and pure, in order that the Spirit who will dwell in thee may give witness to Him, and be judged to have been with thee. Do not abuse this body for some lust, imagining that it is to perish. For, if thou contaminatest thy body, thou wilt at the same time contaminate the Holy Spirit; and if thou hast contaminated the Holy Spirit thou wilt not live. Body and Spirit are consorts, and the one is not contaminated without the other: keep both clean, and thou wilt live unto God."

The Second Parable. (Fifth Similitude.)

The Two Shepherds, the Merry and the Austere.

I sat at home, and in meditating on the precepts given me, I said to myself, "If I walk in these Commandments I shall be happy; and whoever walks in them will live unto God. Then the Angel appeared, and said, "Banish thy doubts: in these precepts thou wilt receive strength; and, if thou sinnest not in future, this will take away much of thy former sins. Let us go into the field, and I will show thee two shepherds." And he showed me first a merry youth, dressed in a costly saffron-coloured robe, who was running about among his sheep, which all were giving themselves up to mirth and pleasure; some of them

were even leaping about exultingly. "This angel," he said, "is the angel of every evil desire, such as sensuality, avarice, falsehood, violence: he deceives the souls: those who give up themselves to him, and separate themselves entirely from God, even denying and blaspheming him, are given over to death; their life is death. Those who do not exult in their lust have in them still a hope of repentance."

Advancing a little farther, I saw another shepherd, of an austere and fierce appearance, clothed in a white goat's skin, carrying a knotty stick, and striking terror with his look. This shepherd took away from the other shepherd's flock those sheep which did not exult, and threw them into a place full of thorns, among which he drove them about without leaving them any rest. "Who is that merciless shepherd?" asked I, full of terror. "This," he answered, "is the angel of punishment; one of the righteous angels. He plunges the men who have forsaken God, into many tribulations, giving them over to want, illness, inconsistency, injury, and insults from others. They prosper in nothing, although they try and undertake many things, without, however, patiently submitting to God with a pure heart. Their sufferings appear to them as a year for every hour of lust; for lust has no memory, but punishment has a long memory. Only when they do real penitence, they learn to understand the cause why they did not prosper *all the time*; and then they gave thanks to God for having been given over to me, the Angel of Penitence."

* When, after some days, I met the Shepherd in the field, I said to him: "Lord, let that angel of punishment go out of my house, for he afflicts me sorely: why should I suffer so much? I do not think I have deserved that." "But thy house has," answered the angel, "and thou must suffer for it, for thou hast neglected thy wife and children; they are now doing penitence, and thou and they must be tried, and have much patience. But remain only humble, and I shall mitigate the severity of that angel."

* This conclusion of the fifth Similitude (ch. vi.) is made into a new Similitude (vii.), although it contains no similitude whatever: all this simply because the MSS. have a great initial.

The Third Parable. (Sixth Similitude.)

The Willow and its ever-renewed Branches.

The Angel showed me a willow, covering fields and mountains, under the shadow of which gathered all who were called in the name of the Lord. By the side of this willow, stood a most majestic and radiant angel of God. He cut off branches from this willow and handed them to the congregated people. When he had done, and all had received a small green bough, the tree appeared as perfect as before. And lo! they all returned and presented their boughs. These exhibited a ninefold gradation, from those which were entirely withered and rotten to those which had still a little green at the top. But beyond the ninth class there were three higher: one who brought back their branches quite green, as the angel had delivered them, the next whose branches had, besides, young shoots; lastly, those who had green branches, with shoots and with fruits. These last were dressed in white garments, and crowned with palms: and thus they went into the Tower. The next received also the white garment, and a seal was put upon them, and thus they entered the Tower. Those who had green boughs, only received the white garment. The rest, divided into the nine classes, were delivered over to the angel of penitence, and the great Angel said: "Those who might have passed by thee, not deserving it, shall be tried by me upon the altar." The Shepherd hereupon planted the branches and watered them abundantly, and then said, "Now let us go: we shall return in a few days and visit them, for He who created this tree willeth that all should live who have received of its branches."

The Angel then gave me the explanation of the similitude. "The all-covering willow is the universal Law of God, and by it, the Son of God is preached in all corners of the earth. The people standing around and listening are those who have heard this preaching and believed. The majestic angel is Michael, who is set over them. The branches are the Law given to the individual souls. All who have not satisfied the Law are under my guidance, in order to do penitence. Those who are crowned, have overcome the devil, having endured death on account of

the Law: those without fruits, are those who have only suffered afflictions for the same, but never denied the Holy Law. Those with simply green boughs have lived in righteousness and a pure mind, keeping the Mandates of God.

After some days, he bade me gird myself with a clean sackcloth, and ordered all those of the nine classes to come and show their boughs. And it was found that, with the exception of those whose boughs had been quite withered and decayed, many of them had improved their branches, some very greatly: the best had even young shoots and fruits.

Why, then, asked I, have not all repented, and thus obtained salvation? Upon which the Angel answered, The Lord gives repentance to all, of whom he knew that they would be of pure mind and serve him with their inmost heart; but repentance is denied to those who return to the Lord with a false heart. Such are those who deny the Lord's holy name and betray the Church (first class): they are dead unto God, there is no life in them, for they lose life, together with the power of repentance. Next to them come those who seduce the servants of God by false doctrines, and do not let them return to do penitence (second class): these, however, may still repent, and they sit on the outer wall of the Tower, some climb even up to the Tower. The next (third) order are those who doubt; they are neither alive nor dead. Then follow the evil-speakers, detractors, even the quarrelsome, the envious: next to them are those (the fourth and fifth) who always have been faithful and good, but have a strife among themselves about pre-eminence and rank: foolish men who do not know that spiritual life consists in keeping the precepts of the Lord, not in holding pre-eminence and rank. Through patience and humility of soul men will gain life: by seditions and contempt of the Law they will gain death. Then come (the sixth and seventh) those who, being entangled in the affairs of this world, are half-alive, half-dead. Their worldly business leads them to deny the Lord, and lose their life. They are followed by those (the eighth) who have been faithful, but wishing to make themselves a name among the Gentiles, begin to strive after high things, and delight in conversing with the Gentiles, and so become proud and vain.

They do much mischief, and end in despair or plant schism. Next to them are (the ninth and last class) those who have allowed empty pleasure and petty thoughts to sully their otherwise good life, and expose themselves to doubts and dissensions.

I hope (said I) that those who have seen and heard all this, will together repent, and thus partake of the salvation through the Son of God. To which I received the following answer: "All who have repented with their whole heart and cleansed themselves from all unrighteousness, and not added to their former sins, will be delivered from them and live unto God, if they doubt not. But those who have added to their sins, and lived in the lusts of this world, will condemn themselves to death. Walk thou in these commandments and thou wilt live, and so will all who do likewise. What remains I shall show unto thee in a few days."

This is the conclusion of the second book.*

The third and last book consists of the same Vision of the Tower of the Church, now shown by the Spirit of God Himself, and fully explained by the guardian angel (Simil. IX.): then follows a short conclusion of the whole (Simil. X.).

The Third Book.

The Holy Communion of the Elect, or the Initiation into the greater Mysteries of Faith.

After I had written down the Mandates and Similitudes of the Angel, he came and took me to the top of a mountain of Arcadia, and said: "I will now show and explain unto thee fully what that Spirit showed thee who appeared to thee under the figure of the Church. That Spirit is the Son of God. Thou couldst not at that time bear His sight. Now I will announce to thee His own explanation. Thou hast been

* End of chapter (Similitude) viii. The next book is now called Similitude ix. and x.

well shown the building of the Tower, but as by a virgin. Now thou shalt see all." Upon which he showed me a vast plain, surrounded by twelve mountains, all differing in colour and aspect. In the midst of the plain, there rose a resplendent square rock, high above the mountains, and so immense that it might contain all. It appeared old, having a door, recently cut into it, and resplendent above all the rest. Twelve virgins stood around the door, four of whom stood at the four corners thereof. They wore linen garments, two and two corresponding to each other: they were girded, and held their right arms up, as ready for work; all were of a cheerful aspect. These twelve virgins then I saw standing on the ground. Looking up, I beheld the venerable figures of six men of high stature, all alike, who had called unto them a multitude of strong and tall men. These six ordered that on that rock a tower should be built, and the men made themselves ready for the work. They were ordered to bring out of the deep, ten square blocks without a flaw, and the virgins received these blocks and handed them through the door to the builders, taking care that the strongest of them were placed as corner-stones. Soon they were all placed around the entrance. Next, five-and-twenty stones were fetched out of the deep, and set in their places: then five-and-thirty, at last, forty. These hundred stones, together with the first ten, formed the foundations of the tower. After this there was a pause. Then the six men ordered the multitude to bring stones out of the twelve mountains around. They were of different colours, and as soon as they were placed in the tower by the virgins, they became brighter; and the same change took place now among the first stones. But some of the stones the men themselves laid without passing them through the hands of the virgins; and these stones did not change their natural colour. This gave the tower a motley appearance, and therefore the six men ordered those stones to be taken out, and none to be put in henceforth by the men themselves, who were to lay them down on the ground to be put into their places by the virgins, in order that useless work might be avoided. Thus the tower was constructed, but before it was finished, the six men ordered a pause

to be made, and the building to be suspended a little while to await the arrival of the Lord, who should soon come, to survey and prove the whole. The twelve virgins remained on the spot.

And, lo! there soon appeared a great multitude of men, and in the midst of them, surrounded by the six men, a high majestic figure, who reached above the tower itself; the former builders gathered round him, and many more men of splendid dignity. The virgins now approached the High One, to embrace Him, and followed Him. But He went about testing every one of the stones: some, as He touched them with His rod, became black; some showed defects and fissures; others burst into pieces; some looked neither black nor white; some became rough, and did not square with the others; the greater part showed splits. All these were removed and replaced by others, which however were no longer to be fetched out of the mountains, but dug out of a neighbouring field. Many fair stones were found there; and those which were square were put into the place of those which had been removed, the others were thrown into the interior of the structure to form a mass, surrounded and maintained by the square ones. As for the rejected stones, they were given to the shepherd to fashion them, throwing away those which proved good for nothing. The High One then departed from the tower with His host, leaving it in the custody of the virgins. After three days, the Shepherd began his work; the black stones had remained as they were, and had to be removed. The others formed eight classes, each having some defects, but only the black stones were rejected. The white stones, when found square and entire, were placed by the virgins outside. Out of those which were round, and required much cutting to be squared, some were selected for that purpose, the others were put aside to wait and see, whether they could be used in the finishing of the tower, for which not much was now wanting.

At this moment, twelve beautiful women were called, dressed in black garments, not girded, their shoulders uncovered, their hair loose. They were bidden to carry away the rejected stones and bring them back to their respective mountains, which they did with great alacrity. But the Shepherd went around the tower with Hermas, and delighted in seeing it now in perfect

beauty. The place around the tower was now levelled, and the virgins swept away every incumbrance and uncleanness. "Nothing is now required but the consummation of the building when the Lord comes," said the Shepherd, and left me alone with the virgins. I was first shy, but the virgins came up to me, saluted me tenderly as brother, and invited me to stay with them the night, as a brother with his sisters. We sat up the night singing hymns, and rejoicing in our hearts. The Shepherd returned the next morning, delighted to see me happy in that company, and now began to explain to me the whole.

"The rock and the door is the Son of God. The rock is old, because the Son of God is anterior to all creatures, and was in the counsel of the Father respecting their creation. But the door is new, because he appeared only in the last days for the salvation of the elect. Nobody enters into the kingdom of God except by the name of His Son, and therefore all stones were rejected which did not enter through this door. The Son of God Himself is that high majestic man whom thou hast seen; He is the first of the angels of God: next to Him are the six whom thou hast seen around Him.

"The Tower itself is the Church; the virgins are holy spirits, the powers of the Son of God. Whoever takes only the name of the Son of God, and not His powers, and their robes, which are their names (qualities), cannot enter the kingdom of God. Such are the rejected stones. Those who really have believed, are also endowed with this one spirit, and form one body. But having once entered, they must beware of those beautiful women, otherwise they will be thrown out, and can only re-enter, if they repent sincerely. And hearing this, I returned thanks to the Lord, that He had sent His angel of penitence for all on whom His name had been invoked, and that He has renewed our failing spirits, and restored us to the hope of salvation." "But why does not the Son of God sustain His believers?" "He does support them," answered the Shepherd, reproving me for my silly questions; "He is their moving power; if only they do not deny His name."

The names of the twelve virgins (six pairs) and of the twelve

women are these. First, the four (cardinal) virtues, which are the corner-stones:

Faith.	Faithlessness.
Abstinence.	Intemperance.
Strength.	Unbelief.
Patience.	Lust.

Then the remaining four pairs:

Simplicity.	Sadness.
Innocence.	Malice.
Chastity.	Voluptuousness.
Cheerfulness.	Wrathfulness.
Truth.	Lie.
Intelligence.	Folly.
Concord.	Conceit.
Charity.	Hatred.

As for the stones taken out of the deep, the ten placed as the foundation are the first age of the world (the antediluvian patriarchs); the following twenty-five are the just men (after the Deluge, before the Law); the thirty-five are God's prophets and ministers: the forty are the apostles and teachers who preached Christ. These forty came up with the others after that they had given to the latter the seal of Christ, without which they could not be saved.

The twelve mountains are the twelve nations of the earth, to which the Gospel has been preached.* It is unnecessary to enter here into the details of the allegory of the twelve mountains, which clearly are the representatives of the differences of circumstance and temperament which constitute the natural elements in the composition of the Church. These differences are, in the whole, the same as those which were enumerated above, respecting the twelve different holders of the branches.

* Sim. ix. 17.: "Hi duodecim montes, quos vides, duodecim sunt gentes quæ totum obtinent orbem. Prædicatus est ergo in eis Filius Dei per eos, quos ipse ad illos misit. . . . Duodecim nationes sunt et sicut eos montes vidisti varios, ita et hæ gentes."

Here already we must direct the reader's attention to the evidence, contained in this part of the work, that a persecution was just now beginning, for it speaks of the Christians being brought up and examined before the authorities, many denying out of weakness, with their lips, not with their hearts, while others become traitors, and give themselves over to the evil spirit. The first year of Antoninus Pius (139) is as clearly as possible written on these pages. Thus the Angel says (ch. 26.): "Those will receive repentance who have not denied out of their inmost hearts; but if one has denied the name of God out of his inmost heart, I do not know whether he can obtain life. And, therefore, I say, if *in these days* one has denied, let him turn and repent; for it is impossible that one who now denies his Lord, should hereafter be saved; those who did so in former ages (in times of old, *olim*) may have repentance kept in store for them." This refers, according to the fiction, to Domitian's persecution, which took place in Hermas' lifetime, as the earlier means literally that of Nero, in which Peter and Paul fell as victims. But in reality the first persecution of Antoninus is alluded to, those decrees of which Justin complains, whose apology was presented in that year. The next chapter (28) is still more explicit. "Whoever," says the Angel, "have, when questioned concerning their faith, confessed it without hesitation, and suffered death with a resolute heart, are more honoured before God than those who deliberated in their hearts whether they should confess or deny, and then suffered death at last; for such hesitation is as wicked as if a slave should deny his master. You, therefore, who have such thoughts, take care that you keep not this doubting mind: die for God's sake, and think yourselves blessed for doing so: to you is committed a great work, you obtain life and are delivered from the burden of your sins." He then most touchingly admonishes all Christians who have received the seal, to be simple and guileless as children (ch. 31.). "It is beautiful to put on simplicity and innocence, and to be like infants who do not know the wickedness which destroys the life of man. Forget all offences committed against man, and be as of one Spirit." After this general admonition, he turns to the bishops and governors, and warns them (ch. 31.),

as the shepherds of the congregations, not to forsake their flocks. "If the shepherds themselves desert their post, what will they answer to the Lord about the sheep? Will they perhaps say, the sheep had offended them? That will not be believed: for it is impossible that a shepherd should suffer injury from the sheep: his punishment will be only aggravated by such a lie. I, myself, the Angel of Penitence, am a shepherd, and am under strict obligation to render account of you."

This admonition forms part of the touching address of the Shepherd to all Christians, the conclusion of the book which Hermas is ordered to write down. "Mind, therefore, your salvation (he says, ch. *32.* 36.) in the time that the building of the tower is going on. The Lord dwells in men who love peace, for true peace is dear to him, and far removed from the quarrelsome and wicked. Render to Him the Spirit in the soundness in which you received it. Whoever now repents truly will receive pardon for his former sins."

The Conclusion of the Book.

After I had written this book, that great Angel (the Holy Spirit), who had given me over to the Shepherd, came to me into the house where I was (where the twelve Christian virtues were staying), and sat down: the Shepherd stood at his right hand. "I know thou hast not done, nor wilt thou, anything contrary to the order: that Angel, powerful and honoured before God, has reported well of thee. Announce, now, these words to the others who have repented, or may hereafter repent, that they may be minded as thou art, and that he may report to me concerning them, and I to the Lord." "I will do so," I answered; "and I hope that all who love the great things of God, and have sinned, will repent and regain life." "Let that be thy ministry," he said: "those who do the mandates of this Angel will have life and great honour, here and with the Lord. These virgins will help thee to execute the mandates; for, without them, no man can do so. Cleanse thy house; they dwell only in a clean house, being themselves clean, and chaste, and indus-

trious." And again he gave me over to the Angel and to the virgins, and they were delighted to hear that they were not to depart from my house.

And then the great Angel said, "Command all, that if they see a brother in need they help him; for a man in need is like one in bonds, and may fall into despair: he who does not help him becomes guilty of his blood. Remember that the consummation of the tower has been delayed on your account, that you may soon repent and not be shut out."

He then rose, and took with him the Shepherd and the virgins, saying to me that he would send them back to my house.

I think the simple and unadorned beauty of the conception of this allegorical tale requires no comment. On a closer inspection, even the parts which at first sight may appear capricious or obscure, become transparent. The poem ends with the picture of the blessedness of the soul living in God, and loving Him as the highest good: it is the life of him who keeps the words of Christ. "My Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him."—John xiv. 23. He is enlightened by God himself, and blessed in that light; but a wakeful conscience and discipline are always needful to him as long as he lives in this body. Then the vision closes — not that Hermas, in his state of impenitence, had not had curiosity to know more; on the contrary, he confesses himself, in the first book, that being still unconverted, he had asked the Spirit, then appearing to him as the figure of the Church, what would be the destiny of those who have been rejected, and who have not done penitence in their lifetime, and, therefore, are rejected from the number of the Elect who are joined as living members to the Church? They may repent, is the answer, in an inferior place, out of which they will only be delivered by a true repentance for their former sins.* But, when

* This seems to be the real meaning of the much disputed passage, Visio iii. c. 7.: "Ego vero quum adhuc essem improbus, interrogavi illam (the

admitted to the vision after his conversion*, he is told to dismiss useless curiosity, and to be satisfied to understand what he sees before him.

Instead of prying into what is hidden from man, he is brought to perceive the uninterrupted progress of the divine principle in history. All the epochs of the human mind form part of the new temple raised by the Spirit of Christ. The first epoch is that of the primitive world (the ten stones); the second is formed by the just men of the present world before the Law; then follow the Law and its Prophets; the forty heroes of the Gospel—Apostles and Teachers—complete the number of the hundred stones since the Flood.† In the same sense,—namely, as a prophetic view of the progress of the divine life in the world, we can easily explain the allegory of the twelve mountains, out of which, as quarries, the stones are first taken for the tower. The Gospel was first announced to the Jews and to the civilized and hellenized nations of Asia and Europe, which formed the Roman empire. They are the eminences all over the earth. But when the stones taken from them, are found to be defective, the Elect are taken out of the plain, from which those twelve mountains rose—the plain representing the barbarous nations, such as the Celts and Germans. The conversion of the latter could scarcely be said to have begun at

Church under the form of an aged woman): 'an iis *omnibus lapidibus, qui projecti sunt*, nec conveniebant in structuram turris, *an est pœnitentia et habebunt locum in turre hac?*' 'Habent,' inquit, 'pœnitentiam, sed in hac turre non possunt convenire; alio *autem loco ponentur multo inferiore*; et hoc, *quum cruciati* fuerint, et *impleverint dies peccatorum* suorum. Et propter hoc transferentur, quoniam perceperunt verbum justum. Et tunc illis continget transferri de pœnis, si ascenderint in corda ipsorum opera, quæ operati sunt scelesta. Quodsi non ascenderint in corda ipsorum, non erunt salvi, propter duritiam cordis sui.'"

* Lib. iii. Simil. ix. 2. (Beginning of the third book.)

† As to these forty, it is remarkable that the names of pious men mentioned in the New Testament, besides the twelve Apostles and Paul, amount to about that number. The number thirty-five is nearly that of the authors of the canonical books of the Old Testament, added to those of the pious men mentioned in them; as twenty-five is nearly that of the names of the just between Noah and Moses.

the end of Hadrian's reign; but the prophetic eye of Hermas discovers that many pious souls and splendid spirits are about to come forward from among them, and that, through these, the tower will be completed. This completion will take place soon, hoped Hermas; for he and the whole ancient Christian world never had any hope for the political recovery of the period in which they lived. They seem to have looked forward to a speedy end of that world as a justification of Christ's words, and as a comfort to themselves in their tribulations.

But Hermas was not only the prophet of the pangs and anxieties, and of the longings and hopes of his age; he was, and remained also for centuries, the most popular and generally acknowledged organ of its faith. The compositions of men, like Ignatius and Polycarp, Clemens and Justin Martyr, treated only occasionally of the mysteries of faith, that is to say, the communion of man with God through Christ, and their treatises were read only partially. The later Fathers were considered as learned expositors and apologists of doctrine, but the Shepherd was "the Book," Hermas the prophet of the Christian faith. Even at the Council of Nicæa, both parties appealed to him as to the right interpretation of the passages of Scripture respecting Christ and the Spirit. His Christology, therefore, deserves in this respect more attention than that of any other ancient writer since the days of the Apostles; and it may, at all events, safely be said, that whatever be his doctrine, it cannot be heterodox in the sense of ancient Christianity.

In our days, Bauer has endeavoured to represent the author of the Shepherd as an Ebionite. Dorner has proved that it is necessary to strike out or forget most unequivocal passages in order to justify this assertion. We have, however, followed another method to arrive at the real view of Hermas, and to enable our readers to judge for themselves from the general picture we have given of his tale. They will now easily be able to understand what we shall quote of his sayings respecting this important point.

The unity of God is the most fully developed point of his whole system. This article of the faith stands alone and un-

developed at the head of the Twelve Mandates, for the relation of God to the Spirit of God and to the Sonship in Jesus is only brought forward after Hermas is a sincerely repentant Christian, ready to do God's will. The manifestation of God's nature is intelligible and credible only to him who ceases to resist the will of God in him. The key to all Christology and Pneumatology is, according to the "Shepherd," a Christian life; the beginning of which is the man's vow to live according to God's will, believing in the power of the divine element in himself to overcome all selfishness. Or, in other words, the mystery of God's nature is contained in the atonement; and the mystery of the atonement is contained in the belief in moral responsibility,—in the power of the will, united with God, to overcome what is ungodly.

The Similitudes prepare the way to our understanding this mystery; but it is not until the third book that we find the solution of the mystery. There "the Son of God" is declared to be "anterior to any creature, and as having been with the Father when He took counsel with Himself about the creation of the world. The Son of God is from eternity the rock upon which faith is built, and will be, at the end of time, the door for all who, at the consummation of the world, shall enter the kingdom of God." (Simil. ix. 12.)

This "Son of God" is distinguished as "the Holy Ghost," "the First created," from the Man Jesus, who is "the Servant of God" (Simil. v. 6.). The Holy Spirit lived in him, and it was in consequence of his holy life and death that "the Servant of God" was made partaker of God's nature. So, to a certain degree, is every faithful believer. But that holy Servant of God, the Man Jesus, is most unequivocally and emphatically called, in that same passage, "the Son of God." The Son of God is the Holy Ghost; and that Servant is the Son of God.* This is neither a logical contradiction, nor heresy,

* This most remarkable and most difficult passage, the conjectural explanation of which has been attempted by almost every commentator upon the Shepherd (Grabe, Semler, and Hefele in particular), runs thus according to my interpretation. After having said in Ch. V., in explanation of the developed

if we look rather to St. John than to the formularies of the "Three Persons." The terminology is rather that of Paul than of John, but not in contradiction with the latter. The exposition contained in the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philippians allows more easily the representation of elect humanity as the imperfect (female) but substantially identical

parable of the lord of the vineyard, his son and heir, and the faithful servant, "Filius autem Spiritus Sanctus est. Servus vero ille Filius Dei est. Vinea autem populus est quem servat ipse," he comes to the question: "*Quare autem* Dominus in consilio adhibuerit Filium de hæreditate et bonos angelos? Quia *nuntium* audit illum, Spiritum Sanctum, qui creatus est omnium primus, *de* corpore in quo habitavit. Deus collocavit enim eum, *intellectum* scilicet, in corpore, ut ei videbatur. Hoc ergo corpus, in quod inductus est Spiritus Sanctus, servivit illi Spiritui, recte in modestia ambulans et caste, neque omnino maculavit Spiritum illum. Quum igitur corpus illud paruisset omni tempore Spiritui Sancto, recteque et caste laborasset cum eo, nec succubuisset in omni tempore; fatigatum corpus illud serviliter conversatum est, sed fortiter cum Spiritu Sancto comprobatum Deo receptum est. Placuit igitur Deo hujusmodi potens cursus qui maculatus non esset in terra, possidens in se Spiritum Sanctum. In consilium ergo vocavit Filium et bonos nuntios, ut et huic, scilicet corpori, quod servivit Spiritui Sancto sine querela, locus aliquis consistendi daretur, ne videretur mercedem servitutis suæ perdidisse. Accipiet enim mercedem omne corpus purum ac sine macula repertum, in quo constitutus fuerit Spiritus Sanctus." The vulgar reading of the first sentence is this: "Quia nuntius audit illum Spiritum Sanctum qui infusus est omnium primus (al. primo) in corpore in quo habitaret Deus. Collocavit enim eum intellectus in corpore, ut ei videbatur." I change less in the reconstruction of this sentence than any of my predecessors. The Dresden MS. (with others) gives me *creatus* instead of *infusus*, and *habitavit* instead of *habitaret*. The only words corrected by conjecture are *nuntium* instead of *nuntius*, and *de* corpore instead of *in* corpore. Besides, I think we must begin the next sentence with *Deus*, instead of putting the full stop after this word. The *intellectus* then, of course, becomes *intellectum:* the *scilicet* is found in two MSS., and in an abbreviated form (S., which can mean no other word) also in the Dresden MS. The sense which results from the thus reconstituted text is very clear, and is in perfect accordance with the other Christological passages of the book. The question is not: Who is the Holy Spirit? That point has been answered. But now the question arises: Why did the Lord take this Son into his counsel about the heirship? The answer is, because that Son (the Holy Spirit), which God places in such a body as He pleases, had constantly dwelt in the body of Jesus, that faithful steward or servant of God, and it is therefore natural that the Lord should hear him about this body.

form of the Spirit of God. On this representation Hermas lays great stress, and probably this is why their terminology was preferred by him. The difference established by him between the Eternal Spirit and the Man Jesus, is, that the one is the infinite consciousness of God of Himself and of the world; and the other, the identical image of that consciousness, under the limitations of the finite within the bonds of humanity. Reducing this view to the Johannean terminology, as we understand it, we may say, that the Logos, in the transcendental (infinite) sphere, and the Logos in the demiurgic (finite) sphere, are united in this identification of the Holy Spirit (the Wisdom of the Proverbs) with the ideal Son of God. But it must not be overlooked that the first, exclusively metaphysical, view is kept in the background, which the demiurgic sphere is more developed. The Holy Spirit is the "first created:" He is superior to the "six first created," the Protoktistoi of the earliest schools of Antioch and Alexandria, the six divine ideas which are to form the passage from the eternal thought to its finite realization; the Spirit of God is an angel or a manifestation of God, but of his very substance. All this is sheer heresy and nonsense, if reduced either to the Athanasian or the Arian system.

God sees and hears the Holy Spirit in the Man Jesus. God hears that same Spirit respecting every one who with a pure heart believes in the eternal redemption of mankind, so as to feel in himself the duty and the strength to live according to the dictates of his conscience, and not for selfish purposes. Christian faith consists in this effectual belief in moral responsibility, and in the eternal decree of redemption from lust and selfishness which was realized by Christ's life, and consummated by His death. Christ alone is the Redeemer, that is to say, He realized that eternal decree of love in time: God, in Him and through Him, liberated mankind from the bonds of selfishness, which the Jews could not break through on account of the insufficiency of any act of the Law, nor the Gentiles on account of their deification of created nature, and, therefore, of natural lust and impulse. Redemption or atonement is subjectively the liberation from these bonds, by the

internal change which substitutes the will to do what is good for the impulse of doing what appears pleasurable or useful to self.

Thus Hermas unites indissolubly the Sonship of the Believer with the Sonship of Christ, as indeed Scripture appears to do, and considers Jesus of Nazareth, Christ, as united with God by that Spirit which is from all eternity with God, and which, as the prologue says, is God.

Christology and Anthropology are thus inseparably united. Thus far Scripture, Reason, Conscience all go along with Hermas.

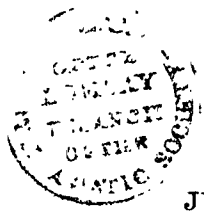
His vulnerable point is in the details of his ethical system, where the principle of self-righteousness by works appears so prominently as to obscure the very principles before laid down.

The great leading ethical idea of The Shepherd may be said to be this: Life is a reality, so is the body: we are responsible for what we do with it, for it is to be the temple of the Holy Spirit which is indwelling in every real servant of God. It is impossible to have a pure mind and live in impurity. The Divine principle of life alone gives the strength to lead a holy life fearlessly. It is God who gives the victory. The Devil alone has fear: but his fear is powerless: "Do not fear him then, and he will flee from thee." (Mand. xii.)

All which, applied to the ruling view of life among Greeks and Romans, means: Do not abandon yourself, like the Epicureans, to sensuality, which is the idolatry of the flesh; nor, like the Stoics, to insensibility, which is its negation: you can conquer lust and all selfishness by looking up to God, and you are bound to do so, for the body and the whole material world is to be the instrument and means of Divine life.

As to social and public life, Hermas, like all the Fathers, acknowledges only one sphere, as worthy of active membership, namely, the Church, the Congregation. In that Church there are Bishops (Episcopi, including the Elders) appointed for government and order, and Teachers (Doctores), and Deacons (Ministri), but the people of God are the real body of the Holy Ghost, in so far as they are living members; just as penance is right,

but does not supply the place of repentance; so likewise, outward Churchmanship is right, but does not supply the place of the communion of the Holy Spirit. The Church, when she appears as an aged woman with all the signs of senility, as the type of a state of doubt and unbelief, sits upon the Episcopal Cathedra, because every "infirm man sits upon a chair on account of and as a support of his infirmity." The second state, that of the acknowledgment of sinfulness, is represented by her appearing already younger, and looking cheerful (in the second vision): but when she appears in her full beauty, she represents the soul which has been inwardly renovated by the Holy Spirit, and then she sits not upon the Cathedra, but upon a bench (subsellium), which (not being raised upon steps) is (she says) the stronger position. "The Spirit of the Earth" sits upon the chair; the people of God on Benches. Those who strife after preferment and high dignity in the congregation, ought to repent. (Simil. viii. 7.) As for worship, it consists in prayer, and the inspired address of the true prophet is the sign of the Spirit. It is the "Spirit of the Earth' which speaks in the congregation when and what it likes; the true servant of God speaks to the congregation when he must, when and what God in him wills him to speak. Baptism is "the seal," instead of circumcision, but only by the renewal of the Spirit: the Apostles go down into the water with the catechumen, the old man, who is spiritually dead; he rises with them as having in him the germ of new life. All this is said in evident allusion to John iii. (Simil. ix. 16.). It is not to be understood literally as a *descensus ad inferos*, either of Christ, or of the Apostles.



V.

JUSTIN MARTYR.

With Hermas, the author is entirely eclipsed by his work; we know nothing about him except his name and his relation to Bishop Pius. The Shepherd is like an immortal popular poem in which an unknown genius is merged and immortalised. The person of Hermas is marked in history by that apocalyptic tale and its popular influence alone. The case is widely different with the two other apostolic Churchmen who lived in this age: Justin Martyr and Polycarp of Smyrna. They stand out as the striking characters of their age, who came forward in the struggle of Christianity with the world, and risked their lives for their faith and for the liberties of mankind. Justin is besides one of the most eminent Christian philosophers, a decidedly speculative thinker, and a good hellenistic writer.

It was in the year 110 of our era, that Trajan replied to the humane questions addressed to him by the younger Pliny, then Proconsul of Pontus and Bithynia, by an intolerant edict which declared Christianity to be an "illicit" religion. Any person who upon being summoned before the highest criminal court, and having undergone a strict examination, pertinaciously and deliberately refused to sacrifice to the gods, and avowed himself to be a Christian, was to be put to death. Hadrian, however, in 124 or 125, threw a shield around the Christians by an edict which threatened the "delatores" with the severest penalties, and put a stop to the atrocious system carried on by those wretches who extorted money from them under threats of denunciation.

Such was the legal position of the Christians, when, in the earlier part of the second year of Antoninus Pius (139), before Marcus Aurelius received the title of Cæsar, an intrepid Christian layman, once a Platonic philosopher,—Justinus, from the colony of Flavia Neapolis (near old Sichem) in Samaria,

presented his longer Apology to the Emperor and the Senate. Shortly afterwards he presented the shorter Apology in which he refers to the former. From ancient and modern researches into these two Apologies the following chronology seems to result. No reasonable doubt can be entertained as to the genuineness of the Dialogue with the Jew Tryphon, which is supposed by Justin to have been held in the year after the close of the Jewish war (136). For these reasons, we shall consider his doctrine immediately after the Epistle to Diognetus and the works of Hermas. In the beginning of his Dialogue with Tryphon, the philosopher of Nablous, or New Sichem, gives us probably the most important part of the history of his life. The majestic figure of the old believer, who gently exhorts the young aspiring philosopher to inquire into the saving truths of Christianity, is most likely his own master; as Semisch has given good grounds for believing. Justin, moreover, had evidently many dealings and discussions with the Ebionites and with unconverted Jews. On the other hand, he had to combat Gnosticism, and especially Marcion, of whom he complains so bitterly at the end of his longer Apology. As to his position in the Christian Church, he neither accepted any municipal honour (such as Eldership), nor did he occupy the Chair (Proedria) as Bishop, but made himself useful by speaking and writing in defence of Christianity, whenever occasion offered, travelling about and holding disputations. He is said to have died a martyr under Marcus Aurelius.

Such is the framework of the life of this remarkable man, whom even the Byzantines called "the Great," and "the Wonderful."* His best epitaph may be said to be the noble

* The authority of Ruinart is not sufficiently high to justify Otto and Semisch in accepting as "of undoubted genuineness" the legend entitled "The Martyrdom of Justin." We are now sufficiently acquainted with the forms of Roman trial and with Roman topography, to see that it is the wretched lucubration of some monk. As to the editions of Justin, that of the Benedictines (by Maranus) exhibits, like most of their Greek Fathers, a complete and well-arranged, but critically imperfect text, compiled by well-informed persons, who were neither first-rate Greek scholars, nor always willing or competent to be critics. Otto's edition (1847-1849) is in its whole arrange-

words about Truth which are quoted from one of his lost writings.

"There is Truth, and nothing is stronger than Truth."*

"To do well, ye men, I think, means nothing but to live conformably to truth: but to live well, or to live according to truth, is impossible without understanding the nature of things."† This is the spirit of the man, who, addressing the Emperor Antoninus and his Senate, says: "I do not intend to flatter you; you may kill, but you cannot hurt me."

I do not exactly know how such principles can be reconciled with the views of certain modern Divines, who think that the Fathers, when solemnly speaking the truth on the most sacred subjects, never disclosed their true faith to idolaters.

Justin, at all events, expressly disclaims this questionable mode of proceeding, for he adds, that it is his purpose to explain to the Emperor and the Senate what they probably would consider as an absurdity; and that his statement cannot be made clear or intelligible except by a mystery which he is about to explain to them (ch. 13.).

He says this with reference to a point, which was the centre of his own theology as well as that of the other ancient Fathers, namely, his Christology. The doctrine respecting Christ forms, with them all, a part of the belief in Father, Son, and Spirit. Justin must be classed among the monarchists and subordinatarians; that is to say, he puts above all other doctrines that of the Unity of God, which, as we have seen, all the ancient Fathers do. He is also a strong maintainer of the universality of the eternal Word of God. This Word spoke, according to him (Apol. c. 5.), through Socrates, who refuted idol worship; men like him and Heraclitus, were Christians, as well as Abraham and Elijah. But it was among the Barbarians, the Jews,

ment much superior; but the text does not do full justice to the admirable labours of such men as Stephen and Sylburg, Grabe and Thirlby, Markland, Pearson and Davis. We must never forget that we have only one manuscript, twice copied, and a very indifferent one, as will appear from a comparison of the passages which have been preserved by Eusebius.

* Fragm. x. ap. Otto. Preserved by Joannes Damasc.

† Fragm. xix. Quoted by Joannes Damascenus, as from his "Apology."

that this Word became Man, in Jesus Christ. "We, the Christians," he adds, "who believe in Him, are atheists, as regards those demons, but not as regards the only true God, the Father of justice, and temperance, and of the other virtues. Him, with the Son, who came from Him and taught us, and that prophetic Spirit, who is the chief over the other good angels who follow Him and are made like unto Him, we venerate and worship, honouring Him rationally and in truth."* That such is the meaning of this passage, which has been miserably disfigured into a doctrine of angel-worship, results from two entirely parallel declarations of Justin respecting this foundation-stone of the Christian faith. The first is that sublime passage in the 13th chapter, in which the Father, Son, and Spirit are marked as the first, second and third objects of veneration and worship. The Father, the eternal, ever unchangeable, Creator of the universe, is the object of the solemn thanksgiving (Eucharistia) at the sacred meal in the Christian worship, and this passage gives us the most ancient account of the contents of that thanksgiving, of which indeed we find the development in all the liturgies of the ancient Church.†

* The only MS. on which our text rests, reads this passage (Apol. Maj., c. 6.), Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνόν τε καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἑπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατόν, πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες. I read: καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων .... ἀγγέλων στρατηγόν, πνεῦμά γε τὸ προφ. The Holy Spirit is here, as in Hermas, the leader of the spirits, of which six constitute the πρωτόκτιστοι, or first created.

† Cap. 13. Ἄθεοι μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἐσμεν τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς σεβόμενοι ἀνενδεῆ αἱμάτων καὶ σπονδῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν λέγοντες, λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστιάς ἐφ' οἷς προσφερόμεθα πᾶσιν ὅση δύναμις αἰνοῦντες, μόνην ἀξίαν αὐτοῦ τιμὴν ταύτην παραλαβόντες τὸ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἰς διατροφὴν γενόμενα οὐ πυρὶ δαπανᾶν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις προσφέρειν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ εὐχαριστοῦς ὄντας διὰ λόγου πομπὰς καὶ ὕμνους πέμπειν ὑπέρ τε τοῦ γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν εἰς εὐρωστίαν πόρων, πάντων ποιητῶν καὶ γενητῶν (v. πόρων πάντων, ποιοητήτων μὲν γενῶν, which gives no sense whatever) καὶ μεταβολῶν ὡρῶν, καὶ τοῦ πάλιν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ γενέσθαι διὰ πίστιν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτήσεις πέμποντες—τίς σωφρονῶν οὐχ ὁμολογήσει; Τὸν διδάσκαλόν τε τούτων γενόμενον ἡμῖν καὶ εἰς τοῦτο γεννηθέντα, Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐπὶ χρόνοις Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐπιτρόπου, τὸν (with Otto, v. αὐτοῦ) τοῦ ὄντως θεοῦ μαθόντες καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει ἔχοντες, πνεῦμά τε

"What man in his senses will refuse to admit that we are no atheists, seeing that we worship the Creator of this universe; declaring indeed, as we have been taught, that He does not require sacrifices and libations and incense, but praising Him, as well as we are able, by the word of prayer and thanksgiving at every one of our meals; considering it to be the only worthy mode of honouring Him, not to consume by fire what has been given to us by Him for our nourishment, but to set it before ourselves and those who are in want? But we do send up to Him, by words, solemn prayers and hymns, to express our thanks for our creation and for what He has prepared for the preservation of our health; for all that He has made and created, and for the changes of the seasons; and to Him we send prayers, through the faith in Him, that we may rise again unto an incorruptible life. We shall prove to you that we act rationally in honouring, in the second place, Him, whom we have learned to be the Son of the true God, Him, who has become our teacher of these things, and who has been procreated for this purpose,—Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, Governor of Judæa under the Emperor Tiberius; and in honouring, in the third rank, the prophetic Spirit. For they accuse us of madness in that we give the second place after the unchangeable and eternal God, the Creator of the universe, to a crucified man, as they say in deep ignorance of the mystery connected therewith, a mystery of which we exhort you to hear our explanation." This explanation is that the Word of God has become man in Jesus of Nazareth, as is said in the passage above. Jesus has not this or that gift of the Spirit, but the Spirit of God itself. Concerning the nature of this God in Christ, Justin says (ch. 63.): "The Logos of God is His Son; it was this Logos who appeared as an angel, and manifested Himself in fire to Moses, and spoke to him; not God himself, the Creator of the universe. The Son of God is Himself God,

προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει ὅτι μετὰ λόγου τιμῶμεν ἀποδείξομεν. Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ μανίαν ἡμῶν καταφαίνονται, δευτέραν χώραν μετὰ τὸν ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀεὶ ὄντα Θεὸν καὶ γεννήτορα τῶν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπῳ σταυρωθέντι διδόναι ἡμᾶς λέγοντες, ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ ἐν τούτῳ μυστήριον, ᾧ προσέχειν ὑμᾶς ἐξηγουμένων ἡμῶν προτρεπόμεθα.

as being the Logos and Firstborn of God." "This Logos (ch. 12.) is the most royal and just Lord, after God who has created Him." In all this it is apparent that Justin mixes together the self-consciousness of God of Himself, and the consciousness of God as Creator. He has not sufficient speculative power to develope in his system the highest metaphysical elements contained in the Prologue,—those relating to the Absolute; but what he says of the Logos not only does not exclude this element, but, in fact, presupposes it, by implying the pre-existence of the Logos and through him of Christ. This pre-existing Logos, God's first thought of the creation, who was procreated by God before the world, is the Son of God in the proper sense of the word. He is God's Name, for God in himself cannot be named.* Christ is, through the indwelling Logos which is the eternal Divine Reason, himself that Reason, and the proof of this is that Christ's Spirit has the power of making men godlike. Dorner very appropriately proves that this is Justin's doctrine by that bold expression in the Dialogue with Tryphon †: [As all Jews are Israelites from their common Father Jacob,] "thus we are

* Dorner has collected all the passages, p. 423. See Apol. I. 23. 32.; II. 6. c. Tryph. 138. It will be well however to compare Semisch: Justin der Märtyrer, II. p. 278. The principal and most difficult passage is that in the Minor Apology, ch. 6: *Ὄνομα δὲ τῷ πάντων πατρὶ θεῖον, ἀγεννήτῳ ὄντι, οὐκ ἔστιν· . . . . . Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνου, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱός, ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ συνὼν καὶ γεννώμενος ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἔκτισε καὶ ἐκόσμησε,* Χριστὸς *μὲν κατὰ τὸ καὶ χρίσαι* (with Scaliger, instead of *τὸ κέχρισθαι*, which is passive only) *καὶ κοσμῆσαι τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν λέγεται . . . . Ἰησοῦς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου καὶ σωτῆρος ὄνομα καὶ σημασίαν ἔχει.* The Logos was with God (*συνών*), as God's own consciousness of Himself; but by the thought of creation, He received a separate existence before the universe was created. So far it is true to say, that Justin agrees with Tertullian, saying "Fuit autem tempus, cum . . . filius non fuit." *Ὅτε* must not be changed into *ὅτι*. The difference between the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* (immanent in God) and *λόγος προφορικὸς* (manifested in Time) is implied by this passage. So far, therefore, as the Logos has been generated by an act of the will of God, the Son is subordinated to the Father. But this is as little Arianism as positive Athanasianism. The equality of substance is always implied by the old Fathers.

† C. Tryph. c. 87. Compare c. 113. 115. Apol. I. 23. Dorner I. p. 417.

called and indeed are, the true children of him by whom we have been generated into the Divine substance; by Christ the God we are deigned to be called Gods."

To Justin the idea of Redemption is the key to this whole question. Through sin, mankind is subject to the curse, separated from God: Jesus, that is to say, the Logos in him, came to reunite man to God, to make man *at one* with God, according to God's eternal decree of redemption; and He effected this atonement through His life and through His death, by which He gave spiritual immortality to mortal man. This is the mystery of God's decrees, the mystery of the cross. The Logos could do this only by assuming human nature, which has in itself the principle of death.* Thus Justin interprets the doctrine of Paul, as developed in the Epistle to the Galatians, in such a manner as to exclude the materialistic view of modern Predestinarianism. The existence of sin, which man finds in himself, is the basis of his system †. By that great act of His life and death Christ manifested the Logos and God Himself.

With regard to the procreation of Christ, it suffices to refer to his saying, that a virgin conceived by the word of the angel, as the virginal Eve by the word of the serpent ‡, to prove that he took the words of Scripture rather in a spiritual sense, and had no definite theory on this point, in the sense of the later Church. His great object is always to show that there was a unity of person in Jesus the Christ, and that the very Logos who dwelt in him, suffered the pangs of death, as a real man.

* Fragm. de Resurr., c. 1., compared with that given in Grabe's Spicileg. II. 172. Dorner, p. 118, 119.

† We recommend to our readers on this subject the profound and beautifully written work of Julius Müller, "Die Christliche Lehre von der Sünde," now faithfully translated into English by William Pulsford. (Edinb. 1852, 2 vols. 8vo.)

‡ Cap. Tryph. 138.

VI.

POLYCARP OF SMYRNA.

We conclude the series of Apostolical Fathers, in the stricter sense of the word, with a man who was personally connected with St. John, the Evangelist, and who, having been already a Bishop when Ignatius suffered martyrdom, appeared at the centre of ecclesiastical life, in the metropolis of the world, towards the very end of the age we are considering. There is nothing in history more fully authenticated than the leading facts of his life. The account of his martyrdom is contained in a Letter of the Church of Smyrna to that of Philomelium in Phrygia, "and to all congregations of the holy and universal Church." Irenæus caused a copy to be made for him of this document, and Eusebius quotes the greater part of it textually. It bears also in itself all the marks of authenticity, and whoever has a heart for what is great and noble, and does really understand this story, will feel with Scaliger, when he says, that one can never weary of reading it, and that he had never read it without being touched to tears and transported as it were out of himself. It is not only the most ancient, but also the finest of all the genuine acts of the martyrs.* Equally authentic (with the exception of

* An absurd corruption of the text (ch. 16.): ἐξῆλθε περιστερὰ καὶ πλῆθος αἵματος, instead of ἐξῆλθε περὶ στερνὰ, as Ruinart has most happily conjectured, has given to the Romanists a miracle, and to Milton offence. When the flames surrounded him in a wide circle without touching him, the executioner was ordered to stab him with the sword, which he did. "Then came out round the chest even a great body of blood, so that the fire (near him) was put out, and that the people wondered at such a great difference between the unbelievers and the elect." The Gentile mob was astonished that so very aged a man, who had just confessed himself to be almost ninety years old, could still have so much blood in him. Wordsworth proposes περὶ στύρακα, "upon the haft," which is ingenious, but I prefer Ruinart's easier and more natural conjecture.

the concluding chapter) is Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, which is the only address of this kind preserved to us, of all that he is said to have written. And yet this man, whose history was held to be authentic by critics like Scaliger and Basnage, and I may add by Niebuhr, has been dragged by the Tübingen School into the whirlpool of mythicism, by a process which, I confess here, as I have done in my Ignatian Letters, appears to me utterly contrary to all principles of historical criticism, though it has been carried out with great ingenuity and learning.

Polycarp is, in fact, to be made out a mythical personage, because the Tübingen School, whose weakest side is chronology, do not think it possible that one and the same man should have heard St. John, and should have suffered martyrdom about 160. Yet with regard to the former fact, Irenæus learnt it from Polycarp himself, and reminds Florinus of that time in his famous Letter; and as to the date of the martyrdom, I must even, on chronological grounds, side with Basnage, and place it at its latest term, 169. And still, not only is there no contradiction nor even improbability in this, but, on the contrary, we have Polycarp's own words as to the age at which he died, and therefore can make out the year of his birth. Being commanded to deny Christ, he said: "how should I deny Him, whom I have now served eighty-six years?" I believe we ought to take this in the sense: "having served him in a life of eighty-six years." This gives us the year eighty-three of our era for Polycarp's birth.

I lay before my readers the chronological table of Polycarp's life, referring them for all details, in part to my Ignatian Letters, published in 1847*, in part to the Chronological Tables, which will soon be published. With regard to the date of the martyrdom of Ignatius, which I formerly placed in 107, I refer to what has been said in the chapter on the Patriarch of Antioch, proving that it should be more probably referred to the 18th year of Trajan.

* VII. Sendschreiben, p. 195 ff. and p. 228 ff. Compare II. Sendschreiben, p. 23 ff.

83.	1.	Polycarp, born - - -	Domitian I., Clemens V.
115.	32.	Bishop when Ignatius wrote his Epistle to him on his way to Rome - -	Trajan XVIII., Xustus VIII.
152.	69.	Visits Rome to confer with Anicetus about the celebration of Easter - -	Antonin. Pius XV. Anicetus II.
169.	86.	Dies as martyr in Smyrna	M. Aurel. IX., Soter VII.

As to the time when he addressed his Epistle to the Philippians, we only learn from chapter 7. that he exhorts them to show Christian firmness, "as not only those blessed men, Ignatius and Zosimus and Rufus had done, but also others of their own Church, who had suffered death with their Lord." *

In my Letters on Ignatius, I have treated fully of the purport and spirit of this Epistle of Polycarp.† My readers will scarcely want me to prove, that the beautiful words recommending to the Philippians—"Faith, who is the mother of us all, Hope following, with Love to God and Christ and our neighbour taking the lead," are not the sly formula of a calculating impostor who took the name of Polycarp in order to establish a "via media" between the disciples of Paul and Peter; or that the writer need not have been an Ebionite, because he used the word *æon* in the phrase, "the present world," and because he warns his readers (as evidently only an enraged Ebionite could do) seven times against avarice, which, according to the Apostle and to Polycarp, is the root of all sin and idolatry. Nor shall I lose a word on Schwegler's grand argument against the authenticity of the Epistle, that its author speaks of "the Word which has been delivered from the beginning": an evident allusion to the Gospel of John, which was written about 150 (says the Tübin-

* I must repeat here what I have said in my postscript to Ignatius, that it is a miserable subterfuge of Hefele and others to say, that the expression in the last chapter, edited by the Ignatian impostor — "Et de ipso Ignatio, et de his qui cum eo sunt, quod certius agnoveritis significate" — does not refer to Ignatius as still alive, on his way to Rome, because it is only the translation of the Greek οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ. — Let them show that this phrase is used of men who are dead.

† VII. Sendschreiben, p. 201 ff.

gen school), whereas (says Schwegler without assigning any reason whatever), our Epistle is of the year in which Ignatius suffered martyrdom. But I mention these arguments simply because there are manifest signs, that the Tübingen myth, exploded in Germany, appears imposing to some people in England, or at least to those who have not read them.

Schwegler is not more fortunate than his master Baur, in treating of the early history of the Christian ecclesiastical constitution. He does not see that the Philippians whom Polycarp is addressing, are Presbyterians, and that the Bishop of Smyrna does not in any of his manifold exhortations admonish them to become Episcopalians. But he perceives in the whole Epistle "a hierarchical tendency." Is this perhaps thought to be borne out by his exhorting the young men of the congregation "to be subject to the Elders and Deacons, as to God and Christ" (ch. 5.)? What a pity he does not mention the Bishop, for then Schwegler would call the charge fully proved. Or is it borne out by Polycarp's saying that whoever denies Christ to have been a real man (not an apparition, as some Gnostics did), is Antichrist, and that he who denies the Resurrection and the Judgment, is "the Firstborn of Satan" (ch. 6.), which last words he is reported to have used towards Marcion, and therefore could not use them in his Epistle, which, says Schwegler, was written so long before as the year that Ignatius died.

On the contrary, this Epistle is important, just because it shows us how devoid the great influence of the Bishops of the time was of all hierarchical spirit. There is no assumption of power, but there is great moral earnestness, warmed by unbounded charity, based upon faith. There is the weight of one of the last, if not the last, who had seen one of the Apostles, and had heard the Gospel from his lips, and who had devoted his life to the flock over which he had been placed.

All that he says of the collateral ideas of Sacrifice and Church is of the same character. "Ye are the altar of God" (ch. iv.), he exclaims to the Christians of Philippi: "therefore the sacrifice of the Christians is that of a thankful heart through Christ, and not a symbolical or superstitious external act. Do not treat," he says, "your erring brother Presbyter Valens and

his wife, who have failed," probably embezzled money entrusted to them, "as if they were enemies: call them back to you as suffering and erring members in order that you may save your entire body (the whole congregation); for so doing you build up yourselves." (ch. xi.)*

Those who think the illustrious disciple of St. John ought to have more "esprit," or more speculative wisdom, betray a strange misconception of the true nature of human greatness, and especially of what made the apostolical men and congregations the immortal heroes of mankind. Let us honour him, as his congregation did. Their account concludes by saying that when they gathered the ashes of the martyr, the Jews thought they did so in order to make them an object of worship; but "the Jews did not know that we can never either forsake Christ, who died for the salvation of the whole world of the redeemed, nor yet worship another. Him we do worship, as being the Son of God; but the martyrs we love worthily, as being Christ's disciples and followers."

What we know of the formularies of his faith respecting the Father, Son, and Spirit, is derived from the concluding words of his Epistle (ch. xii.) and his last prayer, when he was bound to the stake.

The first runs thus:

"May God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and He Himself, our eternal High Priest, the Son of God, Jesus Christ, build you up in faith, and truth, and in every meekness, and without wrathfulness, and in patience and forbearance, and patience and chastity; and give you a lot and portion among His saints, and to us also with you, and to all under heaven who shall believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in His Father who raised Him from the dead."

* What follows (ch. xii.) is avowedly unintelligible — "Confido enim vos bene exercitatos esse in sacris literis, et nihil vos latet; *mihi autem non concessum est modo.* Ut his Scripturis dictum est: 'Irascimini et nolite peccare' (Ps. iv. 4.); et 'Sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram.'" (Eph. iv. 26.) Codex Laurent. reads, "Mihi autem non est concessum modo uti his Scripturis," equally unintelligible. I read, "*Irasci autem nobis concessum est, modo ut in Scripturis,*" &c.

The second is reported thus (ch. xiv.):

And he lifted up his eyes and said: "O Lord, God Almighty, Father of Thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have received the knowledge of Thee, O God of the angels, and of all the heavenly powers, and of the whole creation, and of the whole generation of the just who live before Thee: I bless Thee, that Thou hast thought me worthy of this day and of this hour, that I might take my portion in the number of Thy witnesses, in the cup of Thy Christ, in order to rise into life everlasting of soul and body, in the incorruptibility of the Holy Spirit. May I be numbered among them before Thee this day, as a full and acceptable sacrifice, as Thou hast ordained and manifested before, and fulfilled, O Thou unerring and true God. For all this, therefore, I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I magnify Thee, with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son: with whom be honour, to Thee and to the Holy Ghost, now and to all future ages, Amen."

THE

FIFTH GENERATION,

OR

THE AGE OF PANTÆNUS AND CLEMENS, OF IRENÆUS, AND OF VICTOR AND TERTULLIAN.

FROM THE YEAR 163 TO THE YEAR 198.

(IIIrd year of M. AURELIUS to VIth of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.)

M. Aurelius.— Commodus.— Ælius Pertinax.— Septimius Severus.

SOTER. ELEUTHERUS. VICTOR.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS.

163.	M. Aurelius. III.	1. *Soter* succeeds Anicetus (9 years).
167.	VII.	5. About this time the Montanist movement in Phrygia began. (Euseb. v. 3.)
168.	VIII.	6. Martyrs at Lyons.
169.	IX.	7. Polycarp's martyrdom at Smyrna.
170.	(Luc. Ver. †) X.	8. Earliest time for Pantænus as catechetical teacher at Alexandria.
171.	XI.	9. ✠ Melito writes on the Paschal question.
172.	XII.	1. *Eleutherus*, who had been deacon under Anicetus, succeeds Soter (15 years). Dionysius, bishop of Corinth.
173.	XIII.	2. About this time Eleutherus is reported to have sent missionaries to Britain, in consequence of a letter of King Lucius (Tertullian adv. Jud. 7., writing under Zephyrinus, says that the recesses of Britain are now opened by Christianity).
177.	XVI.	6. The martyrs of Lyons and Vienne. Irenæus, as Presbyter, sent to Eleutherus. Becomes Bishop (177—202).
180.	M. Aur. Com. I.	9. Hegesippus writes, about this time, his five books of ecclesiastical history.
185.	VI.	14. Origenes born at Alexandria.
187.	VIII.	1. *Victor* succeeds Eleutherus (12 years).
190.	XI.	Demetrius becomes Bishop of Alexandria. Clemens succeeds Pantænus, who goes to India.
192.	Commodus † XIII.	6. Victor and the Paschal controversy with the Christians in Asia Minor, in this or one of the next years. After Commodus's death, troubles moved in Alexandria against the Christians—martyrs.
193.	Æl. Pertinax. I. (Sept. Sever.)	7. Theodotus, the Byzantian, teaching at Rome, expelled from the Roman Church by Victor.
194—198.	P. VI.	7—12. Irenæus at Rome. Noetus teaches in Smyrna. Tertullian writes his first works. (His earlier period till 202).

INTRODUCTION.

THE second generation ended with John the Evangelist: the fourth terminates with the last of the disciples of the Apostles,—Polycarp, the pupil of St. John. His death falls, as we have shown, in the sixth year of the fifth generation, 169 of our era. His last public act, his visit to Rome, took place towards the close of the preceding age.

The close of the fourth generation, like that of the second, marks a great epoch. With the second, ceases the production of books which were declared canonical and serve as a norm for the Christian Faith, namely, those containing the life of Christ and the writings of the Apostles and their companions. With the fourth, ends the epoch of the ecclesiastical works, which were also read in the churches during worship. These two classes were in the fourth age, to some extent, still mixed up together, on account of the latter being read thus solemnly during the public service, by the side of our Scripture, as pious works, and being even sometimes called Scriptures of the New Covenant. The essential ground of that definitive division of the two classes, upon which our Canon (Rule) of the New Testament reposes, is, first of all, the difference of the subject they treat. Only Apostles and Apostolic Evangelists could treat with authority of the Life of Christ, the public course of which they had witnessed themselves, or learned from witnesses. They alone, called and trained by Him, could have a mission to apply the doctrine they had received from Christ, to the wants of the nascent congregations. They did this, more or less, with that universal spirit of Christ, which considers every age and want and contingency in its human, and therefore catholic, character. In the same measure as they did this, they manifested the spirit

of Christ, and proved themselves, therefore, to be inspired. The evidence of this inspiration lies in their spiritual (not literal) harmony, and in the response they find through all ages in every soul anxious for its salvation. Thus there is a canon within the canon, as Luther, in his day, distinctly saw. The canonical books form a whole by the unity of their sublime subject, and of the spirit in which that subject is treated; but their relative importance and authority as a rule of faith, must necessarily depend upon the more or less direct and complete manner in which they handle the highest questions of fact or doctrine. Thus, the Epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians did not become canonical, because its peculiar importance is only special; where it touches on general topics of the first order, it has only a subordinate character, standing upon the Apostolic basis without any striking originality. The ecclesiastical writings took, or preserved, or lost their place, in proportion as they kept within the rule or type of the Apostolic writings. This was the ground of the reverence in which, above all, Hermas and the Book of the Church or the Constitutions of the Apostles were held.

Apostolical tradition and teaching being thus at an end, the spirit which was in Christianity moved the eminent men of this generation and of the two following, to sift the subject matter before them.

This work was attempted by Hegesippus with respect to the outward history of the Church, of which a most important part was the separation of the canonical books from the ecclesiastical, and of the genuine and orthodox from those which were forged, and more or less tainted with Ebionitism or Gnosticism. I give, in the first volume of the Analecta, a fragment of this very section of his work, known as the Fragmentum Muratorianum. The history of the single Churches, Hegesippus attached, as far as he could, to the series or succession of the Bishops, as representatives of the faith and doctrine of the Churches over which they presided, adding what he knew of their individual belief and teaching. The History of the Church of Rome he carried as far as Anicetus (151—162), which probably means to the end of that bishop's

pontificate. He mentions, however, as his contemporaries, the two succeeding bishops, Soter and Eleutherus, and he evidently wrote his great historical work in five books, during the pontificate of the latter (173—186).* We may therefore suppose that he brought the history down to about the year 160, and incidentally mentioned the dates of the time during which, in his travels, he had compiled the materials of his invaluable work. Thus what Papias had begun in the third century, with regard to the tradition respecting Christ, was completed on a larger scale by Hegesippus, as a continuation of the Acts of the Apostles.

A more difficult, and not less important task for Hegesippus, was the exegetical and philosophical research. The first point was the weaker of the two in that age. Scarcely any one of the eminent men who might have become good scholars, understood Hebrew; none had a clear idea of the laws of interpretation, and the limits between exegesis and speculation, fact and idea. Thus all, more or less, fell into the abyss of allegorical mysticism, which is a declaration of exegetical bankruptcy, with a certain amount of intellectual capital to be spent in making it good. In philosophy, the ethical element remained predominant; but the speculative element acquired a solid logical basis through the labours of Pantænus, and gained much from the Gnostics. But that spirit of practical, and therefore true Christianity, which pervaded the congregations of Christendom, prompted the leading men among the Catholics to reject uncompromisingly the Gnostic Dualism, and preserved them from losing sight of the limits set to all speculation on Father, Son,

* This seems to me to be the sense of the celebrated passage of Hegesippus, which was already misunderstood by Eusebius (iv. 2.), and has given rise to so many conjectures and interpretations. Euseb. iv. 22.: Γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, διαδοχὴν ἐποιησάμην μέχρις Ἀνικήτου, οὗ διάκονος ἦν Ἐλεύθερος· καὶ παρὰ Ἀνικήτου διαδέχεται Σωτὴρ, μεθ' ὃν Ἐλεύθερος. Ἐν ἑκάστῃ δὲ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει οὕτως ἔχει ὡς ὁ Νόμος κηρύττει καὶ οἱ Προφῆται καὶ ὁ Κύριος. All this neither requires nor admits of any emendation. Prof. Dietrich has also ascertained for me the not unimportant fact that the old Syrian translation found in one of the Libyan MSS. of the British Museum confirms our Greek text.

and Spirit, by the two great divinely given facts of the history of Christ, as manifesting the Son, and the life and organization of the congregations, as realising the Spirit. These two facts can also be expressed thus: the true humanity as exhibited in Christ individually, and as mirrored in the congregations collectively, by individuals pledging themselves to act upon the principle of individual responsibility.

These were the problems of the fifth, sixth, and seventh generations. All three rested equally upon that basis and substruction of the first four. We should therefore, were it only for this reason, have to treat these three last generations differently from those which preceded them. But, besides, the history and the ideas of the leading men, in the period on which we are now entering, are much better and more generally known.

Finally, we have to consider all that remains with a strict reference to Hippolytus. Having reconstructed the basis upon which he stands together with his elder and younger contemporaries, we have now to place upon that pedestal his individual figure, surrounded, as in bas-relief, by the outlines of the thoughts and doings of the coeval writers and governors of the Church. Hippolytus is connected with all these three remaining ages, and may almost be said to stand in the centre of this period. He was the disciple and hearer of Irenæus, and the elder contemporary of Origen: he was personally acquainted with the latter great luminary, and very likely also with Clemens of Alexandria. Of the last great teacher, we might equally well treat in the next age, during the first half of which he certainly continued to flourish. But we prefer taking him with Irenæus into the present age, because his teaching is intimately connected with that of Pantænus, who belongs exclusively to this generation, and because we can thus group all our figures round our hero in a more effectual manner. For the same reason we shall begin with the Alexandrian divines, and end with the leading men of the western Church, in Rome and Africa.

I.

PANTÆNUS AND CLEMENS, OR THE TEACHING OF ALEXANDRIA.

I. PANTÆNUS.

NEANDER assumes rightly, that Pantænus was that man among the teachers of Clemens enumerated in the first book of his Stromateis, whom he designates as "the deepest Gnostic," that is, in his language, the deepest philosophical Christian, the man who best understood and practised Scripture. But Neander thinks that this assumption rests upon the evidence of Eusebius, who only relates that Clemens himself called him so in his Hypotyposes. All that he says besides of him, is that Pantænus filled at Alexandria the office of Catechetes, that is to say, of an expounder of Scripture to studious Catechumens and students of divinity. But Valesius has already observed, that we still possess in the Excerpts of Theodotus, which form part of the Hypotyposes, the name of Pantænus, who is there mentioned as "our Pantænus," and whose exegetical opinions are quoted. Moreover, Pantænus is mentioned by Origen and by Bishop Alexander, as their teacher at Alexandria. (Euseb. vi. 14. 19. cf. v. 10, 11.)

Pantænus was, according to our accounts, a Stoic of a platonic turn of mind, trained in Aristotelian logic. He was a native of Sicily. Before he settled in Alexandria as teacher of Scriptural Divinity (Euseb. v. 10.), he went out as a missionary to preach the Gospel in India, which means, or includes, South Arabia. There he found already Christian Jews, who, according to the tradition, had received their faith from the teaching of the Apostle Bartholomew. That these converts were Jews, is proved by their possessing the first Gospel in Hebrew, that is to say, Chaldee. His teaching was by word of mouth, but it appears that he wrote down notes for his hearers, of which some at least must have been published. At all events we

may safely attribute to him, what Clemens quotes in his Hypotyposes as the opinion of "the Presbyter," which, under these circumstances, can be no other than Pantænus, and which certainly bears the character of an earnest Christian, who had come to the faith through the training of Greek philosophy.

II. CLEMENS OF ALEXANDRIA.

CLEMENS, called Clemens of Alexandria, was a native of Athens, who, after many travels in search of learning, finally settled at Alexandria, where he found the best and wisest man he had ever met with. He seems to have succeeded his master, as catechetical teacher of Divinity, about the beginning of the episcopate of Demetrius (190). He occupied that place till about the year 202, when, in consequence of the persecutions in the tenth year of Severus, he left Alexandria. In this town there had been already Christian martyrs, during the troubles which had occurred after the death of Commodus, and the enmity of the Jews was only surpassed by the hatred of the Greek population. The catechetical lectures naturally ceased. Reinkens has proved satisfactorily that Clemens never returned thither. The greater part of his activity as a teacher falls in the last decennium of the second century; and as his books are avowedly written after the death of Commodus (192), so they seem to have been all connected with his teaching, and therefore, according to all probability, belong to the last years of our period. We find him still alive in 213, when Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem gave him letters of recommendation to the Bishop and Congregation of Antioch.

Clemens is to be considered the continuation of Pantænus, apparently with a higher flight of Christian speculation, greater imagination, and more historical research, than were possessed by the converted Stoic philosopher. He is the first specimen of a truly Hellenic mind, early imbued with all that was noble and great in the productions of the Greek genius, but devoting

all to the glorification of the eternal Word of God. This he believed to have become incarnate in the person of Christ, after having manifested itself in the teachings and life of all wise and holy men, Pythagoras and Heraclitus, as well as Moses and Jeremiah. In his sublime view of revelation, Clemens may be said never to have been excelled. Origen was more learned and acute, but also more fanciful. Herder's is perhaps the mind which comes nearest to that of Clemens: but the atmosphere of the eighteenth century made that wonderful German genius more peripheric than the Athenian settled at Alexandria in the second century. The mind of Clemens was bent upon the union of Science and Faith, of Thought and of Life, of speculation and of historical revelation. He was anxious to convince the Gentiles that the God of the Jews was not the Demiurge, the God of this world, and that their history was a true manifestation of the God of all mankind, not of the Jews only; and the Jews that the wisdom of the Gentiles was not the inspiration of devils, but the work of the same all-pervading Spirit of God. He saw that it was this blasphemy of the narrow-minded Pharisees among the Jews and judaizing Christians which drove the Gnostics into the opposite extreme; and hence true Christian charity and love of mankind as God's undivided family, moved Clemens to concentrate all his powers upon this idea, and devote his whole life to its realisation.

This great object of his life led to his becoming the first Christian philosopher of the history of mankind. He believed in a universal plan of a Divine education of the human race, and tried to demonstrate it both speculatively and historically. The very nature of such a problem raised him above the views of Plato and Aristotle with regard to the human race. We have already seen how this same idea of Christ which inspired the Apostle Paul, had, half a century before Clemens, developed itself in a poetical form in the profound and imaginative mind of Hermas.

This is the grand position occupied by Clemens the Alexandrian in the history of the Church and of mankind, and the key to his doctrine about God and His Word, Christ and His Spirit, God and Man.

He developed his ideas systematically, in a course of spirited and profound works, addressed successively to the inquiring but unbelieving Gentile (in the Protreptikos), to the aspiring catechumen (in the Pædagogos), to the tried and advancing Christian (in the Stromateis, or Coloured Carpets), and, finally, to the well prepared theological student (in the Hypotyposes, or Sketches). The last two are of course his most important productions; the one ethical and the other speculative.

I have, in the Analecta, endeavoured to reconstruct the Hypotyposes from the not inconsiderable remains of it which we possess, and from what Clemens himself says in the Stromateis of the plan he had formed of the great work of his life. Whoever enters into the idea of this bold conception of the Alexandrian, and reads those precious monuments, both of thought and research, as far as they have escaped the destruction that befel the work as a whole (a destruction caused even more by the ill-will of the partisans of Council-religion than by the neglect of simple ignorance), will agree with me if I say that this work, as it was the first Corpus theologicum, so it has never been surpassed in the ancient Church.

The general introduction to this astonishing work was cut off at an early date, being pronounced to be not only dangerous but blasphemous by the great Byzantine hierarchist. We probably owe it only to the respect inspired by Clemens' useful Aristotelian treatise on the principles of logic, as the formal principles of knowledge in the highest sense, that a grand thought has been preserved which occurs in the beginning of that treatise, showing the noble mind of the author and the high scope of the work. "It is not true," he says*, "that philosophy necessarily leads men to unbelief and doubt: it is only the personal ambition and empty love of dispute among the modern philosophers which has ended in these." And soon afterwards: "The most ancient philosophers were not led to doubt and despair: how should we, who keep to that really true philosophy (Christianity), and whom the Bible expressly bids to seek in

* See Analecta Ante-Nicæna, vol. i. p. 169.

order that we may find; . . . . saying, 'Seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you, ask and it shall be given you?' That reasoning, therefore, which institutes an inquiry by means of queries and answers, knocks at the door of truth, in conformity with the phænomena, and when that which obstructs the search is cleared away, a scientific insight is acquired by the mind. To those, I think, who knock thus, that which is sought for is opened, and to those who thus put questions to the Scriptures, is granted by God that to which they aspire, namely, the gift of that knowledge which comes from God, and which in reality beams forth, in a rational manner, through the logical inquiry. It is impossible to find without having sought, or to seek without investigating thoroughly, or to investigate thoroughly without opening and unfolding, bringing clearly to light that which is sought for; nor again, having gone through the whole investigation, to fail of gaining finally the prize, which is the scientific knowledge of what in reality is. No: he who has sought may find, and whoever is not fancying that he knows already, may seek. Then, carried on by the mind's longing to find what is good, he seeks meekly, without love of strife and without ambition, asking and answering, and besides considering that itself which is treated. For it is fit that we conduct our inquiries, strictly adhering not only to the Divine writings, but also to the common mode of reasoning, so that our discussions should be conducted within the limits of usefulness. It is a different place and a different crowd which awaits the tumultuous people and the vain disputations of the agora. He who loves and knows truth must be peaceful, and in his inquiries proceed through the medium of conclusive scientific proofs to rational knowledge (Gnosis) without self-love, but loving truth."

These noble remains of the Introduction to the Principles of Logical Reasoning, are a fair specimen of the style of the Hypotyposes, and would suffice to prove the error into which Reinkens in his learned monography has fallen, respecting the real meaning of the Gnosis of Clemens. It is clear, as Neander has proved by the most decisive passages, that Clemens believed

in the possibility of obtaining a convincing knowledge of Christianity (Gnosis) by a scientific divinity, based equally upon the laws of the human mind and upon the Bible; or upon the inward and outward evidences. Such a knowledge, Clemens maintains, gives to simple faith (Pistis) the support of an internal understanding of the revealed truth; not by a mystical process, or by a mere assent of the moral consciousness to practical Christianity, but by an inquiry conducted upon the general principles of reasoning and criticism.

Summing up all his expressions on this subject, it will perhaps be the most concise and adequate formula to say, that the test of Christianity is the union of a Christian life, founded upon faith, with a knowledge the objects of which are capable of philosophical (speculative as well as philological) demonstration. This is exactly what we found the author of the Epistle to Diognetus saying: "There is no perfect Christian life without knowledge, no knowledge without a truly Christian life: the heart is the seat of the true science of Christianity."

The first part of the noble work devoted to realise so grand an undertaking, was an introduction into the principles of evidence and reasoning. The introduction which we have translated is followed in that great doctrinal work by a dialectical essay, undoubtedly after the manner of Pantænus;—an abstract from Aristotle and the Peripatetic school, with some admixture of Stoic opinions.

Then followed (still in the first book of the Hypotyposes) the metaphysical demonstration of the first principles and causes. Here he developed that doctrine concerning the Logos, which, to the council-ridden formalist Patriarch Photius, in the tenth century, appeared mad and blasphemous. Those who can read St. John's Prologue and St. Paul's Epistles without being fettered by Athanasian (and pseudo-Athanasian) formularies, and who recollect what "the inspired" Shepherd and Justin taught, will, far from being shocked, acknowledge and venerate in that maligned passage, isolated as it stands and unsupported by the context, the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, expressed by a man who was at all events much nearer the true method of divinity than were the men of the councils.

Here is the accusation of Photius and the proof he produces *: —

"Clemens proves in his fantastic manner, that there are two Logoi of the Father, the lesser of whom had appeared to the Father, or rather not even He, for he says: '*The Son, also, is called Logos, with the same name which the Logos of the Father bears. But it is not this Logos which became incarnate. Nor, indeed, is it the Father's Logos, but a power of God, as it were an emanation of the Logos Himself, which, having become mind (Nûs), pervades the hearts of men.*'" Now I maintain that this is a true quotation from Clemens. It is fully explained, as it appears to me, not only by cognate, although less dogmatic passages in the Stromateis, but also by what Clemens gives as his own, in the remains of the Hypotyposes, namely, in the metaphysical criticism of Theodotus, which formed a part of them. The text itself, as I have printed it in my restoration of the Hypotyposes, is proof that we can safely distinguish in these extracts between the rejected and the adopted opinions of Theodotus, which Dorner (I. 445. iv.) says we cannot. This acute theologian thinks that Photius refers to the extracts from Theodotus, as being (what indeed they are) parts of the Hypotyposes, and that what he quotes are the views of Theodotus and not of Clemens. Now to this I must demur. First, the words here quoted are avowedly not found in our Excerpta. As to the meaning, the words may express the mind of Theodotus, but at all events they express that of Clemens, which Dorner will not allow.

In order to prove my case, I shall first restore that passage (which undoubtedly is meant to be, and is, a verbal extract) to the sense which it must have borne in the context, according to the strict terms of Clemens' Christology, and according to Photius' own preceding explanation. I believe we may express its meaning thus: The Logos, properly speaking, is identical with God: it is God's own consciousness of His eternal Being. If, therefore, the Son is called the Logos, it must be

* Analecta, vol i. p. 165.

understood that the image or resplendence of that properly so-called Logos, became incarnate in Him. For the Logos itself, or God as immanent Divine Mind, can no more become connected with what is finite, than God as Substance can. God, in his immanent substance, is unapproachable, incomprehensible, not connected with matter. But, as the Logos is the cause of God's manifestation in the creation, this Logos of the finiteness, or the Divine principle in the world, became incarnate in Jesus Christ, the Saviour: it appeared in and through the Man Jesus to mankind. In like manner it is not the Logos of the Father (the immanent Godhead, as Mind) but a Power of God, as it were an emanation of that Logos itself, which pervades the hearts of men, and manifested itself in the wise and pious men of God in the Old Testament, and even among the Gentiles. It follows, then, that the Divine Spirit in Christ is the same as that in holy men; only in Him it is in its totality, substantially, personally: that is to say, Jesus the Man, the human person, is entirely united and one with that Spirit, whereas, even in the most enlightened prophets, it only manifested itself partially, by qualities and not as substance.

It is possible that Clemens called the consciousness of God Himself "the Father's own Word" (*πατρικός*), and the consciousness of God in the world, "the Fatherly Word" (*πατρῶος*), and thus constituted the following difference as to the three spheres:

The Father's own Word is and remains immanent, for it is infinite.

The Fatherly Word, or the divine element in the world, became indentified, personally, with Jesus.

The Word, as the Spirit of God working in man, manifests itself in holy men, who being true believers in Christ, receive through the agency of that Spirit, the rational understanding of what they previously believed to be true, although they did not understand it.

Clemens, therefore, might very well say in the Stromateis (v. 1.), that in Jesus had appeared the Logos, not a part of the Logos, but the whole, that Word of God which is not bound

to space and time; a passage with which Dorner compares the parallel ones, i. 13. vii. 2.

Well also might he say, as we read (Strom. v. 3.) in one of the passages quoted by Dorner, that the Logos, or Christ, generated Himself into the flesh, that He might become visible. It is nothing but a bold carrying out of the same simile, when Clemens says in the celebrated passage of the Protreptikos*: "The Logos took the mask of man, and having shaped to Himself the flesh, acted the redeeming drama of humanity;" or, as we should say, He clothed Himself in human nature, to fight victoriously through that struggle of life, which was to redeem mankind.

There is no Doketism in this: Christ was a real Man, and the incarnation remained in Humanity, as the continued work of the divinization of mankind. The flesh is of God, the evil is not in the flesh, but in man's self-will; the flesh is not to be destroyed, but to be elevated into immortal life, as the willing servant (organ) of the soul. In Christ, this took place in perfection: it was his ethic perfectness which made all the affections of the body subservient to the Spirit. Still the bonds of the flesh veiled, more than they revealed, the divine Logos. (Strom. vii. 2.)

The Athenian Athenagoras had very likely been the connecting link between Justin, his master, and Clemens, who may have been his disciple: he certainly was the countryman and elder contemporary of Clemens. Both took their stand upon the Philonic or Platonic speculation, which makes the mind (Nûs) arise in divine self-contemplation out of the unapproachable, absolute Substance (the On).

Clemens saw, that if speculation suffers itself to confound the metaphysical sphere with the physical, it is impossible for it to preserve both its own sacredness and the purity of the historical sphere. The incarnation of the Word supposes the

* Cap. x. (end.) Ὁ Λόγος . . . *τὸ ἀνθρώπου προσωπεῖον ἀναλαβὼν καὶ σάρκα* (so I read with Dorner, instead of *σαρκί*) *ἀναπλασάμενος, τὸ σωτήριον δρᾶμα τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ὑπεκρίνετο.* To understand this bold figure we must, with Dorner, compare Strom. vii. 11.: *ἀμέμφως τοίνυν ὑποκρινόμενος τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦ βίου (ὁ γνωστικὸς) ὅπερ ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἀγωνίσασθαι παράσχῃ.*

thought to have descended from the transcendental into the creative region of divine self-consciousness. Not that he fancied it to be a different principle, but his interpretation of the Prologue is simply this: The Word became incarnate, became Man in Jesus: this, however, is not an action of the Divinity considered in itself, but in its creative thought, an action identical with that of redemption, or with the return of all that is created to the divine source from whence it sprang. That same creative power, which became One with the Man Jesus, is the divine principle which pervades all human hearts, which man may stifle, but can no more destroy than produce.

Reducing all these passages to the terminology of modern speculation and to Scriptural language, we have the following scale of Divine manifestations:

Sphere of the Divine Mind.

GOD the All-being, FATHER.	GOD the All-Reason, LOGOS.	The Consciousness of this Divine unity, GOD as SPIRIT.

Sphere of God in Nature (the unconscious Universe).

GOD, the Cause of all Being, FATHER.	The LOGOS, as the Soul or Reason of the world, the SON.	The SPIRIT, as the Consciousness of the unity of Being and Reason.

Sphere of God in the Mind (the conscious Universe, Man).

The FATHER.	The SON, JESUS, the CHRIST, as the incarnate demiurgic Word.	The SPIRIT, as the unity of (infinite) Divine and (finite) human mind.

Sphere of God and Man in History.

GOD.	MAN (the SON).	MANKIND (the finite SPIRIT).

The weak side of Clemens, and of the Alexandrian school in general—as, it is, to a certain degree, that of the whole ancient Church — is the want of respect shown for the reality of God's own world and history in their systems of Christology, as well as of Psychology. Clemens' philosophy was not doketic (he did not doubt the reality of Christ's body), but it was fantastic,

almost as much so as that of Valentinus. He scorns the idea of Christ having eaten because He wanted food: "he did so," says he (Strom. vi. 9.), "only that His disciples might not doubt the reality of His body." A pious and reverent writer, who says this of Him who cried on the cross: "I thirst," must have very little regard for reality.

This appears most glaringly in his interpretation. Invaluable as are even the poor remains of the exegetical portion of the Hypotyposes, for the sake of the historical information they furnish, and the means they afford of seeing through the shallowness of many assertions of the later Fathers, respecting the authorship of the books of the New Testament and the formation of the Canon, they are, for the most part, utterly worthless in their exegesis. Clemens did not give a continuous commentary on the books of Scripture, but only illustrated such passages as seemed to him to offer materials for that allegorical and mystical mode of interpretation, by which one learns anything but what the words really mean, and the sentiment which the author himself intended to convey to his readers.

As before observed, this phenomenon must in some degree, particularly in the case of the Old Testament, be attributed to the want of a correct, or more often of any, knowledge of Hebrew. But Origen was well acquainted with Hebrew, and his commentaries are fuller of allegorical misinterpretations than those of any other ecclesiastical writer. The ultimate cause of the fact is to be found in the despair into which the human mind had sunk with regard to the world of reality.

A profound respect for the piety and holiness of Clemens is as universal in the ancient Church as for his learning and eloquence. I rejoice to find that Reinkens, a Roman Catholic, expresses his regret, not to say indignation, that this holy man and writer, the object of the unmixed admiration of the ancient Church, should have been struck out of the catalogue of Saints, by Benedict XIV. It is uncertain whether this was done simply because Baronius had omitted him in his Martyrologium, or because Pope Gelasius called some of his writings (probably from sheer ignorance) apocryphal, or upon grounds similar to those of the Byzantine Pope Photius.

II.

IRENÆUS.

THE immortal Apostle of the Gauls, who in his earliest youth had sat at the feet of Polycarp, at Smyrna, started from the school of Asia Minor, which counted amongst its bishops the courageous, eloquent, and spirited Melito of Sardes, and Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis. But the true model and prototype of Irenæus, was Polycarp. Irenæus possessed the apostolical patience as well as the fiery zeal of the man who, like St. John himself, would on no account hold communion with such as doubted Christ's having come in the flesh. But above all, he had, in common with them both, the love of God in his heart, and the conviction that God is love, and that love is the cause of this world.

It was during a great crisis that Providence brought this gem of Asia into the West. After Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons and Vienne, had, in 177, earned the crown of martyrdom at the head of his flock, Irenæus, who had shortly before been sent as bearer of a conciliatory letter from the Church of Smyrna to Bishop Eleutherus of Rome, was appointed to the vacant bishopric. He learned Celtic in order to preach the Gospel to the barbarians in their own language, and rejoiced in beholding the progress of the same good work in which he was engaged, in the parts of Germany bordering on Gaul. In his Greek writings, he portrays (for that age, in good Greek) the heresies of the day, in particular those of the Valentinian Gnostics; and he inspired the young men who gathered round him to hear his instructive lectures, with a thirst for Christian knowledge, and a zeal which led them to devote their lives to the people. Hippolytus was one of these young men, and his greatest work was an improved reproduction and spirited continuation of the History of Heresy, given in those lectures, and preserved to us in the chief book of Irenæus — The Refuta-

tion of the Gnostic Systems, in five Books. Not only so, but the traces of Irenæus's influence are every where visible in Hippolytus, as the Hellenic stamp impressed upon the Latinized and Romanized Greek.

Irenæus always endeavours to place himself upon the ground of Scripture, the centre and norm of apostolic tradition, and adopts a Johannean theology, directed by sound practical sense. Although very forbearing towards the Montanists, whom he always wished to consider as Catholics, he abhors the Dualism of the Gnostics, which erected an impassable barrier between them and the universal Church, as it did between faith and knowledge, historical and practical Christianity.

His interpretation of Scriptural thought is certainly not as profound as that of the Alexandrians in the field of speculation, but ethically it is equally deep, and infinitely more sober as to the treatment of the letter. Irenæus, as Neander has well observed (i. 1172.), was so far from taking the Muhammedan view of inspired letters and points, that he directed his particular attention to the peculiar style of St. Paul. But with regard to the Old Testament, he did not choose to follow the Hebrew Christians, by him first called Ebionites, in their efforts to discover the primitive sense of passages referring to the Messiah (as Is. vii.).

In treating of the highest object of Christian speculation, — the nature of the Deity, Irenæus appealed (like Heinrich Jacobi) to the religious feeling in the heart of man. "We can say nothing of God," are his words, "except in similitudes, into which the worshipping soul puts what is beyond words." * Dorner, in his admirable article on Irenæus, has endeavoured (i. 465. 496.) to connect the speculations of our author with the scaffolding of the later Trinitarian system, but in this he appears to me to have signally failed. Irenæus takes his stand on the same basis as Hermas and Clemens, although he proposes his own solution of the difficulties created by the Gnostics. Among these attempts of his, not the most successful is the one where he tries to iden-

* i. 26. "Quæ autem sunt prophetica curiosius exponere nituntur." *Curiosius* is, as Neander (i. 601.) observes, the Greek περιεργοτέρως.

tify the Son with the Logos. The Divine Word is certainly, in his view, above all, the reflex of the Divine Mind in itself, and this reflex is the first creative cause: it is Word and Mind at the same time (ii. 46.). The Son is a hypostatic word, not a phrase nor a creature, but identical with God. The Spirit is God's eternal wisdom (the Sophia of the Old Testament) in the world. Son and Spirit are not qualities (virtutes) of God. But it cannot be said that Irenæus proves the identity of Christ with the Logos, beyond that of man with God, except in the point of ethical perfection. Nor does his speculative method prevent him from confounding the highest metaphysical with the demiurgic sphere. Both the Son and Spirit are the "hands of the Father" (v. 1. 5, 6.), with this difference, that the Son expresses the eternal Love resting in itself, as does the Spirit in so far as it imprints itself upon the world.* It is therefore impossible to interpret otherwise the expression of an old Presbyter about the degrees of enlightenment of the children of God, "they ascend from the Spirit to the Son, and from the Son to the Father," which Irenæus adopts (v. 36. compare iv. 37.). The gradation is, God in the World, God in Christ, God in Himself. The Son is manifested substantially in Christ, for God can only be known by God. In man also there is this Divine principle, and Irenæus has no hesitation in saying, "The glory of man is God, but the receptacle of God's working and of all His wisdom and virtue, is man."†

The eternal decree of redemption is, to Irenæus, throughout, an act of God's love. The atonement is, according to him, a satisfaction paid, not to God, but to the devil, under whose power the human mind and body were lying.‡ But the devil himself only serves God's purpose, for nothing can resist to the last the Almighty power of divine love, which works not by constraint (the devil's way) but by persuasion. Christ gave His soul and body to save ours, which had fallen under the power of the

* iii. 40., compared with iv. 17. 37. 50. Dorner, p. 467. N.

† iii. 22. I agree with Grabe in changing "*operationes*" which cannot be construed, into "*operationis*" which is the translation of *ἐνέργεια*.

‡ v. 1, i. Neand. i. 1094. 1106. ff.

devil: He raised the soul to God, and enabled her to make the body an instrument of divine life.

Through the holiness of his own life, Christ is the manifestation of God's holiness. By His holy example he made men like to the invisible God.* He abrogated the law given to servants, which claimed external obedience to the commandments, and by his freeing Word taught a free purification of the soul, and through it, of the body. The free obedience of the mind is the greater for its being free. To follow the Saviour is to partake of salvation, to follow the light is to partake of the light.†

As to any magical power existing in the rites of baptism and communion, even the greatest formalists have not endeavoured to prove any such thing from Clemens. I have shown elsewhere how unfortunate the attempts have been to prove transubstantiation or any like superstition from Irenæus.‡ On baptism, it may here suffice to quote his beautiful remark (iii. 17.): "Our bodies have received through baptism, our souls through the Spirit, that communion with the imperishable Being."

As regards his views of the history of mankind, Irenæus believed in the millennium, as a progressive preparation for the pious. His leading idea, therefore, is that fundamental principle of Christianity, that even on this earth the good is to triumph at last.

In speaking of the government of the Church, he nowhere lays stress on Episcopacy, as a divine institution, but he makes the liberty and independence of every Church (including a city, with its surrounding villages), the fundamental principle of the constitution. Nothing is more striking than his Letter to the Roman Bishop Victor on the Paschal controversy, which has

* iii. 20. (22.) 18. (20.). Neand. i. 1107.

† iv. 13, 14. Neand. i. 1113.

‡ Dorner (p. 496. iv.) well observes, that not only the Pfaffian Fragment but also iii. 19., iv. 37. 74., exclude the Mediæval doctrine completed by the Council of Trent, and that Calvin's theory finds no support either in Irenæus. But I regret that Dorner should have saddled something like the Lutheran *communicatio idiomatum*, as applied to the communion, upon the apostle of the Gauls.

been preserved to us by Eusebius.* He agreed with Victor in thinking it more expedient to celebrate Easter on the first Sunday after the vernal full-moon, but he censures severely Victor's despotic conduct in breaking off communion with the Churches of Asia Minor, because they adhered to the 15th day of Nisan, whether it was Sunday or not; for the tradition of one Church he held to be as good as that of another. "Christ's Apostles," he says in this or in a similar letter, "have ordained that nobody shall disturb men's consciences with regard to such things. It is not right to tear asunder the bonds of Christian communion on account of festivals and seasons, knowing already from the prophets that festivals and fasts celebrated in hatred and discord do not please God."

Irenæus defended these principles in person, although unsuccessfully. He went to Rome between the years 195 and 197, and was kindly received by Victor. This is the last intelligence we have of his life.

* H. E. v. 24.

III.

VICTOR OF ROME AND TERTULLIAN OF CARTHAGE.

THERE cannot be a greater contrast than that presented by the two fathers of the profoundest school of divinity, Pantænus and Clemens of the Alexandrian Church, and the two most eminent of their contemporaries in the Latin Church, Victor of Rome and Tertullian of Carthage. Victor was the first bishop who used the influence of the Church of Rome over the West in an authoritative manner, and Tertullian, the Carthaginian presbyter, was the first great ecclesiastical writer of the Latin Church. The leading men of Alexandria were, the one a converted Sicilian philosopher, illustrious as a teacher of catechumens, and in his earlier years a zealous missionary in India; the other an Athenian, a presbyter like his master Pantænus, whom he succeeded at the school of Alexandria. The first two, representing the Western Church, exhibit a leading bishop and a converted lawyer, both having the character of men of business, the latter, even in his speculations, always adhering to the historical and ethical element.

I. VICTOR, BISHOP OF ROME

UNDER COMMODUS AND SEVERUS. (187—198.)

VICTOR, as already stated, is the first Roman Bishop who exerted, to the utmost of his power, an authority over other Churches, which had naturally, since the day of Clemens, grown out of the position of Rome, as the metropolis of the world. Moreover the generous charity of the Roman Christians is praised by Ignatius as being of world-wide notoriety; and not only had the two great Apostles, Peter and Paul, suffered martyrdom there, according to a perfectly well founded tradition, but the

practical good sense and the instinct and art of government, which have always distinguished the Romans, were not wanting in the bishops and leaders of the congregation of that metropolis. Although neither eminent in learning or intellect, without even one great name in this department since Clemens, the Roman bishops were certainly second to none as courageous and faithful defenders of their trust.

The idea of the Catholic or universal Church, was, to a certain degree, coeval with the origin of Christianity. But the growing concentration of the executive power in the hands of bishops, and the political unity of the Roman empire, gave it a hierarchical form, and the Church of Rome very naturally profited by it above all others. The Churches of Antioch and Alexandria, in all probability, contained a larger number of members than that of Rome, where the nobility kept aloof, even in the time of Theodosius. But every part of the world had, somehow or other, business at Rome; to Rome lay the appeal from all other tribunals; redress against the cruelty, or injustice, or extortion of governors and prefects, could only be had at Rome; if a defence of Christianity was to be made, it was to be made before the Emperor and the Senate. Under Hadrian and the two Antonines, this had frequently been done.

The discovery of the lost book of Hippolytus has led us into some details as to the Christian influence which might be exercised at court, and of which Victor availed himself.

Commodus had a mistress, Marcia, the wife of the captain of the Imperial Guards, who was a god-fearing woman; that is to say, a catechumen, not yet received as a member of the Church, but in connection with it. We have mentioned elsewhere * how Victor obtained, through her influence, a free pardon for the Christians who had been sent to the mines of Sardinia. The account of Hippolytus represents Victor in the light of a wise and good man. His hierarchical and Roman character displays itself in the imperious manner in which he resolved to cut the knot respecting the time of celebrating Easter. It appeared to

* Third Letter to Archdeacon Hare.

Irenæus, as well as to Polycrates the bishop of Ephesus, an unwarrantable stretch of power, and a proceeding dangerous to the liberty of the Christian Churches, that Victor should break off Christian intercommunion with the Churches of Asia Minor for not assenting to his proposal, that Easter should always be celebrated on a Sunday. They were right in this respect, and had a just presentiment of the evils of the centralizing despotism which awaited the Church Universal; but it must be confessed that Victor had common sense on his side in the view he took of the matter, and that he carried it out with a decided majority in his favour. Still all this was merely an act of moral, not of legal authority. There existed no patriarchal right of the Bishop of Rome over the suburbicarian Churches, not even in the sense of the smallest extension (to a circle of a hundred miles, "intra centesimum lapidem"). The Roman Church was the Church of Rome, and neither the Latin, nor even the Italic Church. Rome was the metropolis of the Campagna of Rome, the bishops of the surrounding cities of Tibur, Præneste, Tusculum, Ostia, and some others, having borne that relation to the Bishop of Rome which we call in the present day that of suffragan bishops to their metropolitan.

Victor used his authority also with regard to doctrinal points. He deprived Theodotus, the Byzantine, who taught at Rome, of his membership, and he opposed Montanism. The Gnostic system without dualism, as propounded by Theodotus, undoubtedly appeared to him as dangerous as Valentinianism, — more dangerous indeed, because more insinuating. Nor could the visionary and enthusiastic element in the school of the Phrygian magnetiser appear sound to such a man.

In all these points Victor put his impress upon his own age and all succeeding ages.

II. QUINTUS SEPTIMIUS FLORENS TERTULLIANUS.

TERTULLIAN, the eloquent and high-minded rhetor, and famous Roman lawyer, a native of Carthage, and son of a Roman officer,

must certainly be considered as a contemporary both of Irenæus (whom he mentions) and of Clemens of Alexandria. The chronology of his life and writings has hitherto been enveloped in great uncertainty. Neander's researches, admirably condensed in the second edition of his "Antignosticus, or Spirit of Tertullian" (1849), have laid the foundation for such a chronology, by establishing more firmly the principle according to which such of Tertullian's books as were written after he became a Montanist may be distinguished from those of his earlier period. The new insight into the history of the Church of Rome, which is furnished by the work of Hippolytus, enables us, if I am not mistaken, to fix the age of the great Carthaginian with still more precision than has been done by Neander, and to show the connexion between his writings and the parties and controversies in the Western Church, and particularly with the history of the Church of Rome, the only one which possesses a chronology of this period.*

We know, from Jerome and Eusebius, and his own writings, that Tertullian, born a Gentile, and having risen to celebrity as a rhetor and lawyer†, became a Presbyter (evidently of Carthage), and as such sided with the Montanists against their opponents. This decisive step coincides with the great and systematic persecution of Severus, which did not begin till the eleventh year of the reign of that emperor, or the year 202 of our era. Our reason for taking this period as that of the turning-point in the life and tendencies of Tertullian is the following. All the works which can be directly proved to be

* I learn from Döllinger (p. 44.) that Uhlhorn has published, in 1852, a dissertation, under the title: "Fundamenta Chronologiæ Tertullianeæ," which I have no means of procuring at this moment. From the specimens Döllinger gives from it, I am, however, inclined to agree with him that, after Neander's last work of 1849, it does not answer its rather presumptuous title. The books De Monogamia, De Jejuniis, and De Pudicitia, are, according to this work, to belong to the earlier period (for the first he proposes 205), because in his riper years Tertullian would not have written so sharply and vehemently. I must certainly call this, with Döllinger, "entirely subjective criticism."

† I firmly believe that the Fragments in the Pandects bearing his name are from the juristic writings of our Tertullian.

Montanistic point towards that period, and all that can be proved to belong to the latter part of the reign of Severus and to that of Caracalla, bear the Montanistic stamp. Those again which are evidently written by Tertullian the Catholic, either contain allusions to the period anterior to the decree of Severus, which prohibited a delapse from the national religion to Christianity as well as to Judaism, or they at all events suit that period perfectly.

By arranging his writings according to these principles, we can also trace a line of development running through them all, and show a connexion between them and the course of his life. When, in his riper years, Tertullian went over to the friends of Montanus, he chose, whenever he was called upon to defend his party, such subjects as insured his being read by all Latin Christians — polemical works against the Gnostics.

Amongst the works of his former period, the exhortation to the martyrs in his native land ("Ad Martyres") holds the first place. The bloody strife of Severus with Pescennius Niger and Albinus (193—196) was still fresh in the minds of all, with all its horrors, and all its crimes and baseness. The spirited books "De Spectaculis," "De Idololatria," and the "Apologeticus" (c. iv. 39.), bear more or less positive marks of the same period. The last, a magnificent work, was at a later period re-cast into the work, "Ad Nationes libri duo." The profound Essay "De Testimonio animæ" refers to the Apologeticus, but exhibts the same character. Of the polemical works, only that "De Præscriptione adversus Hæreticos" belongs to this period. If we add to these books the admirable ethical treatises, "De Oratione," "De Patientia," "De Baptismo," "De Pœnitentia," "Ad Uxorem," "De Cultu Feminarum," we may say that the period before 202 or thereabouts, in short his younger and Catholic period, is the finer part of his life and writings.

The books of the Montanist period are however not merely very powerful, but full also of fine and sublime Christian spirit and piety. Of these the work "De Pallio," the defence of the philosopher's costume, as one to be worn instead of a toga, by Christian men of his own class, belongs to the year 207 or 208, because there is an allusion (c. 2.) to the "three Emperors,'

Severus, Geta, Caracalla; and the book to the cruel Governor of Carthage, "Ad Scapulam," alludes to Caracalla. This period, and precisely 207, the fifteenth year of Severus, is expressly mentioned as that in which he wrote the great work "Adversus Marcionem" (i. 15.) We enumerate the others only as belonging generally to this second, or Montanistic, period of Tertullian's life:

De Corona Militis.
De Fuga in Persecutione.
Contra Gnosticos Scorpiace.
Adversus Praxeam (under Zephyrinus, c. 1.).
De Exhortatione Castitatis.
De Monogamia.
De Pudicitia (under Zephyrinus, c. 1. 13.).
De Jejuniis.
De Virginibus velandis.
Adversus Hermogenem.
De Anima.
De Carne Christi.
De Resurrectione Carnis.
Adversus Valentinianos.
Adversus Judæos (c. I. viii., the rest not genuine).

We are therefore justified in placing him in the fifth generation, although he continued to live and to write in the next age, that of Hippolytus.

The writings of the later period of course possess at the present time a double interest for us, as throwing light upon the historical facts revealed by Hippolytus, and receiving light from his writings. There can scarcely be any longer any doubt, as it seems to me, that the Roman bishop alluded to in the two books, "De Pudicitia," and "Adversus Praxeam," is the same Zephyrinus spoken of by Hippolytus. The celebrated passage in the first of these works (c. 1.) against the Roman bishop, who had rather imperiously declared himself against the rigorous system of the Montanists in refusing absolution to the fallen, agrees most curiously with the account of Hippolytus. "I hear," says the fiery Carthaginian presbyter, "that an edict has been published, and that a peremptory one. The Pontifex Maximus, the bishop of bishops, declares:

"'I forgive the sins of adultery and fornication to those who have done penitence.'"

This was exactly what, according to Hippolytus, began under Zephyrinus, and was carried still farther by Callistus, his favourite and adviser, and afterwards his successor.

The second passage, which occurs in the book against Praxeas, a Confessor of Asia Minor, who had violently opposed Montanism, points to the same pontificate. According to Tertullian, the Bishop of Rome, before whom Praxeas accused the Montanists, had at first been favourably inclined to them, but Praxeas had brought him round to the opposite view by pointing to the course which had been adopted "by his predecessors." According to our assumption, these would be Eleutherus and Victor, and might even include Soter, the predecessor of Eleutherus: for it is certain that Montanism, having first shown itself in Phrygia under Soter, excited a great ferment under his two successors.

We can understand how Zephyrinus, with his theological tendency towards a moderate Patripassianism, in the Noëtian sense, should not have been disinclined to keep on friendly terms with the Montanists. But no course of conduct could be more adverse to the character of Victor, even if we overlook the difficulty of finding more than one predecessor of his, to whose proceedings Praxeas would have appealed as a precedent.

We have entered into some detail on this point, not only because it helps to confirm our general chronology of the writings of Tertullian, but also because the subject is intimately connected with Hippolytus and the researches and controversies to which his great work has given rise.

We will now attempt to sketch the outline of the views held by one of the most original and powerful writers of the Western Church.

The authority of Scripture he regards as paramount. Tradition, however, that is to say, the ecclesiastical customs and liturgical usages of the universal Church, is to him a subsidiary, and, with respect to the meaning of Scripture, supplementary

authority; in fact, what reason and precedent are in jurisprudence by the side of, and subordinate to, positive law.*

Reason is to him the substance and essence of the soul, as it is of God. He calls the inward evidence for the truth of Christianity, "the witness of the naturally Christian soul."† "The soul *divines* what is *divine*," he says somewhere else.‡ "What is divine and not rational?"§ he says in another passage. And again, "There is no precept of God which is not rational."‖ Reason (which we should call Rationalism) is therefore a necessary ingredient of Christian faith, but it must be used within the "Regula fidei," the rule of faith, which he regards as the revelation made to us in Scripture respecting the Father, Son, and Spirit.†

In the doctrine which he builds up on these foundations, Tertullian certainly offers a decided contrast to Clemens of Alexandria; his prototype is Irenæus, with whom he often agrees literally in his Christology.¶ But it is the more remarkable that with this antagonistic realism Tertullian also moves within the sphere of the Apostolic speculation, which we have hitherto found to be common to the four successive generations already considered.

We begin with a beautiful passage from what is in this respect his most important work, his book against Praxeas, the Patripassian opponent of Montanism at Rome under Zephyrinus. "Before all" (he says, c. 5.) "was God, alone, to Himself World and Space and All. Alone, because nothing existed out of Him (in external actuality): however, not alone even then, because He had with Him that Reason which He had in Himself. For God is a rational Being (rationalis); Reason is in Him primordially, and, therefore, All is of Him. This Reason

* See the remarkable development in the book De Corona Milit. cap iii. 4.

† Apol. c. 7.: "Testimonium Animæ naturaliter Christianæ."

‡ De Testimonio Animæ, c. 1.

§ "Quid enim divinum non rationale?"—*Fuga in Persecut.* c. 4.

‖ "Nil Deus non ratione præcipit."—*Contra Gn. Scorp.*

† De Præscript. adv. Hæreticos, c. 12.

¶ Dorner, i. 477. 490.

is His intelligence (sensus), the Greeks call it Logos, which is generally, but not quite appropriately, translated 'Speech.'" He then proceeds to argue thus: "To speak accurately, one cannot say that the Word was with God in the beginning, Reason being necessarily older in God than the Word, for the Word consists through Reason; it has Reason in it as its substance, and is itself the manifestation of Reason."

It cannot be denied, as Dorner justly observes upon this line of argument (p. 579.), that Reason is in Tertullian's eyes a substantial thing (although spiritual, still a Body, as God Himself).

"However" (Tertullian continues), "the Word, although not yet issued forth, was in God, with Reason and in Reason. Consider thyself an image of God. The same process goes on within thee: whenever thou conversest in thyself by reason, does not every thought or perception turn in thee into the word? and this word is Reason itself. Thou canst not help speaking within thyself; and thus thy word becomes to thee one speaking with thee, one in whom that same reason is which enables thee to speak when thou speakest. Thus there is in thee, as it were, a second, another one, the word by which thou speakest thinking, and thinkest speaking. Thus God, quietly thinking and organizing by his Reason, made Reason word, putting it into motion by speaking."

Every one not entirely unacquainted with modern German speculation will be surprised to find how near Tertullian came to the formulas we have considered above and elsewhere. But he never dwells sufficiently long in this highest sphere, being always in haste to proceed to the idea of the Universe, or the demiurgic sphere.

He was far from entertaining the heathenish idea, that the world is the Son of God: God's Son is that Thought by which He makes Himself objective to Himself. But there is no hypostatic Sonship in this immanent eternal Divine Being. The eternal Son has only an ideal existence in God. He is an idea of God, as well as the idea of the Universe; but it follows from those principles, as understood by Tertullian, that this idea of the world, when it becomes real, will have the Word as its

head—the Logos as the chief of mankind; in view of Him the first man was created. The realisation of the Word, as Man, is the culminating point of a course of development which forms the Universal History. What he calls the generation of the Son takes place in that eternal self-contemplation of God, not in the historical incarnation in Jesus. One may say, that the Sonship is, to Tertullian, God in His relation to the world — God in His mundane activity — that element in God which is turned to finiteness.

Of course, he could not overlook the fact, that in the act by which God makes Himself objective, or by the Sonship, the union between the absolutely Infinite and the Idea of Finiteness is implied, and so the unity of Father, Son, and Spirit. There are, indeed, many passages which prove that he was perfectly aware of this truth; but it may easily be understood that, in applying this idea to the historical Christ Jesus, and to the reality of the world in which he lived, he found more stumbling-blocks than he could master. Like the other Fathers, he wanted method, a respect for the divine laws of history, and a hope for the regeneration of the world. This is the pathological part of his Christology; and we, therefore, abstain from entering into its details. The simplest expression of his Christology is, that man, consisting of body and of soul (the rational soul being the animating principle of the body), Christ's rational human soul was the mediating element between his body and the Logos.

As to the relation of the Father to the Son, I will only quote a striking remark of his: — "I call the ray, sun; but not the sun, ray: and so I call the Son, God; but not God, the Son." This passage occurs in his work against Praxeas (c. 13.), whose Patripassianism was as uncongenial to him as the man himself. In the eyes of the later Western Church, Tertullian was, therefore, either unintelligible or not strictly orthodox. For, while the speculation of the Eastern Church, as long as it had any, centred round the Triad, so, in the Western, the predominance of the unity, or the absolute monotheistic feeling, threw the so-called Subordinatianism, or the notion of the Son holding an inferior position to the Father, into the back-

ground; and all speculations which did not square with this principle were set aside.

Tertullian's strength lies in his ethical warmth, and in the sublimity of his moral view of Christianity. According to him Divine life manifests itself in man, not alone as Reason, but also as Holiness. The divine ethical element is imperishable in man, although more or less obscured in every individual. The understanding of divine truth proceeds from the will, the disposition to believe it; and little faith shows itself in little understanding.*

While on this subject, I will offer a few words upon a point already adverted to; namely, Tertullian's philosophy of the history of mankind and of religious liberty.

In his general view of the history of mankind, we find him very much behind his Alexandrian contemporaries. He seems to have had no feeling of admiration for sublime characters in the Gentile world, such as Socrates. His expressions about his so-called Dæmon† are distressing. But he always keeps a firm hold of the fundamental idea that man possesses free will. "This alone," he says, "is his own; the good is not his, but God's." "Every man," he says, "partakes of Adam's fall, which is merely his having chosen his own rather than the divine decision; for as his soul comes from Adam's, so does his sin.‡ But in this also he must be like Adam, that he acts with free will, otherwise there would be no responsibility." Hence his objections to the baptism of young children, from their inability to feel the immense responsibility they incur by taking the baptismal pledge.

His detestation of the iniquity and corruption in the whole social system of the Roman world was so intense, that, being himself a married man, he confesses that he does not see how Christian parents can wish to leave children behind them. "The joy of having children is the bitterest of joys," he says. "What can we wish better for them than we wish for ourselves

* "Non intelligentis quia non credentis. Nos porro quantula fide sumus, tantulo et intellectu possumus æstimare."—*De Baptismo*, c. 10.

† In his book De Anima (ch. 39.). See Neander's text, p. 362.

‡ "Tradux animæ, tradux peccati." Thence Traducianism.

— to be taken to the Lord, out of this wicked, persecuting world!"*

In the midst, however, of this deadly struggle, he exhorts the brethren to vindicate the liberty of conscience, the natural right of every man. "Man is nobody's but God's," says he, in his book against the Gnostics.† And, when writing to Scapula, the persecuting governor, he pronounces these noble words: — "It is the right of man, and in the natural power of every one, to worship what he thinks ought to be worshipped. . . . There is nothing of religion in religious constraint: religion must be adopted freely, not by force."‡

"We have a liberty for which we know how to die," he exclaims to the persecuting Gentile world§, in allusion to the religious liberty which they claimed, as being men created in the image of God. To serve that world in a political capacity, by entering into public life, is not the Christian's part, according to Tertullian: — "Nothing is more strange to us than the commonwealth: we acknowledge one commonwealth, the world."‖

This was the meet reward for the persecution of the Roman world, which died of Christianity, because it did not think it could exist without persecuting Christianity.

Such is, in all critical ages, the last result of civil and religious oppression. "That which killeth, maketh alive;" but it never gives new life to that government, that state, that society, or that age of the world, which persecutes conscience and stifles free thought.

* Ad Uxor. i. 9.: "Adjiciunt quidem sibi homines caussas nuptiarum de sollicitudine posteritatis et liberorum amarissima voluptate. Sed id quoque penes nos odiosum est. Num quid gestiamus liberos gerere, quos cum habemus, præmittere optamus, respectu scilicet imminentium angustiarum, cupidi et ipsi iniquissimo isto seculo eximi, et recipi ad Dominum, quod etiam apostolo votum fuit?"

† "Solius Dei homo."—*Adv. Gnostic. Scorp.* c. 14.

‡ "Humani juris et naturalis potestatis est unicuique quod putaverit colere, nec alii obest aut prodest alterius religio. Sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debeat, non vi."—*Ad Scapulam*, c. 2.

§ Ad Nation. i. 4.: "Ipsam libertatem pro qua mori novimus."

‖ "Nobis nulla magis res aliena quam publica: unam omnium rempublicam agnoscimus mundum."

THE

SIXTH GENERATION,

OR

THE AGE OF HIPPOLYTUS.

FROM THE YEAR 199 TO THE YEAR 230.

(VIIth year of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS to the end of ALEXANDER SEVERUS.)

Septim. Severus — Caracalla — Elagabalus — Alex. Sev.

ZEPHYRINUS. CALLISTUS. URBANUS.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS.

199. SEVERUS. VII. 1. Zephyrinus succeeds Victor (19 years).
The end of the second century after Christ (203 or 204 of our era) approaches, a certain Judas predicts the coming of Antichrist.
Epigonus, the disciple of Noetus, teaches at Rome.

202. X. 4. Severus suppresses the Jewish movements in Judea. He prohibits the Gentiles from becoming Christians or Jews. Great persecutions in Alexandria and elsewhere.
Irenæus. ✠ Clemens expelled from Alexandria. Tertullian turns Montanist.

207. XV. 9. He writes his books against Marcion.

211. CARACALLA. I. 13. Origen at Rome, 25 or 26 years of age.

213. III. 15. Clemens at Jerusalem.

217. ELAGABALUS. I. 19. Origen, 30 years old, leaves Alexandria.

218. II. 19. Zephyrinus. ✠
Under his pontificate the direct oblation of the people ceases at Rome: the Deacons or Sub-deacons alone bring the gifts to the altar, and give the piece of consecrated bread (corona) to the people (Lib. Pont.).
Under him Praxeas comes to Rome, and Cleomenes, the disciple of Epigonus, teaches the Noetian doctrine there. Under him, Hippolytus takes an active part in the management of the Church of Rome, probably as Bishop of Portus, and as such, a member of the Presbytery.

219. III. 1. Callistus succeeds Zephyrinus (4 years).

222. ALEX. SEV. I. 1. Callistus. ✠
Under him, three epochs of fasting appointed in the Church of Rome, in the 4th, 7th, and 10th month (Lib. Pont.) Great theological struggle at Rome. Callistus heading a Noetian party. Hippolytus opposing him.
Hippolytus's Chronicon ends with the first year of Alexander Severus: his Paschal Cycle begins with the same.

223. II. 1. Urbanus succeeds Callistus (8 years).

228. VII. 6. Origen is ordained priest at Cæsarea: expelled by Demetrius: writes the fifth book of his Commentary upon St. John: stays with Firmilianus: writes the Hexapla.

230. IX. 8. Urbanus. ✠

HIPPOLYTUS.

SINCE the time when, under Domitian, Clemens wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians, there had been no Roman bishop who is named in ecclesiastical literature down to the generation on which we are now entering. The Shepherd of Hermas, written by the brother of Bishop Pius, who lived under Antoninus, and possibly at Rome itself, is the only specimen of literature connected with Rome down to the end of the second century. The Christian congregation at Rome, to use the words of Dean Milman, in his recent classical work, "The Latin Church," was during that period, at least in point of literature, rather a Greek colony at Rome than a representative of the Latin metropolis of the world. Even the two literary productions we have named possessed no great influence or authority there. The Epistle of Clemens was read at Corinth in the religious meetings of the congregation, even in the time of Constantine, and the Shepherd of Hermas was regarded as Scripture throughout the Grecian world; but we never find it mentioned at Rome. The air of that city was not congenial to speculative Christianity under any form: the thinkers it produced were apt to merge the ideal in the historical factor, and thus, in their consciousness, the Logos was merged in the Son. The past was to the Roman Christians a piece of antiquity, and the future only an object of useless speculation or wild imagination; but they turned their attention, above all others, to the present state and government of the Christian commonwealth, of which the metropolis was the natural centre. To give practical advice to the brethren in the provinces when they were in difficulties, to supply them with ample pecuniary assistance, and help them by their influence at the palace, was their peculiar office, and it constituted their peculiar strength and privilege. We have seen how Victor used this influence, with some incipient tendencies

to autocracy, indeed—but still upon the whole, in a reasonable and right direction; and we have also seen how two persons, who differed greatly from each other (Irenæus and Tertullian), combated this novel authority as threatening the independence of Christendom. We know that, towards the end of the next generation, the African Churches, a Latin colony of Rome, although maintaining their internal independence, clung more and more to their metropolis; and that Cyprian went farther than Irenæus in acknowledging the qualified supremacy of Rome.

As to the internal history of the Church of Rome itself, from Victor to Cornelius, we have hitherto known scarcely anything positive, except mere names. The genius of Neander and Dorner divined, that during this interval there must have been a theological struggle, if not a change of system; but the facts were wanting to give to their divinations a substantiated form.

The great work of Hippolytus, and the person itself of this remarkable man, by whom Caius, the Roman Presbyter, his contemporary, is entirely thrown into the shade, have opened up such a wide field of facts and information on these two subjects, that it is not to be wondered at if those who are pledged by their vows or their tendencies to a system irreconcilable with those facts and repugnant to that information, are doing all they can to shut up altogether the prospect offered to our eyes. They will, however, not succeed in their efforts, as long as there is a spirit of research and a love of historical truth left in Europe and America.

Referring my readers for all particulars to the Letters reprinted, with notes, at the end of this volume, and to the Preface of this month (April, 1854) prefixed to it, I shall here only draw the general outlines of a picture—first, of the state of doctrine and government in the Church at Rome in the time of Hippolytus; secondly, of the general position which he occupied in that Church; and, finally, of his distinguishing characteristics as a man and an author.

Rome and Alexandria, as shown in my "Letters on Ignatius" (v. p. 112. ff.), had in common with each other a peculiar organization, which produced a peculiar development

of that primitive metropolitan system. This is alluded to in the 35th of the Apostolical Canons (Analecta, ii. p. 16.). According to this Canon the bishops of a tribe or district were to consider him who was the first among them as their head, and to do nothing important without him, as he again was to act under their advice. The presbytery of Alexandria and Rome had, however, a sort of parochial organization of their own, with extensive privileges. Curiously enough, we know, in some respects, more of the constitution of the Alexandrian than of the Roman Church. At Alexandria not only was the right of electing the bishop exclusively vested in the presbytery of the town, but even that of ordaining the bishop elect of this parochially organized body. With regard to Rome, in the eighth century (the date of the earliest records referring to this subject), we find the bishops of the cities of Tibur, Prænestе, Tusculum, and Ostia, and of Portus, the borough which constituted the harbour of Rome, in exclusive possession of the right of ordaining the bishop of the metropolis. We know moreover that they had a share in his election, and even in great emergencies in the administration and legislation of his see. It is difficult for the historian to imagine that places, which, in the eighth century, were sunk into insignificance, should have recently acquired a right, not then in accordance with the spirit of the constitution, but, on the contrary, opposed to it. We may, on the contrary, easily imagine that at a time when every city, and even several boroughs, formed a bishopric, with or without villages around them, and had their presbytery or council of elders, and when even every small village which could not afford such a council, was governed by a single clergyman, called a country bishop (Chorepiscopus), the suburban bishops should have certain rights, on the ground of their vicinity to, and intimate connection with, the metropolis of the empire. Once in possession of such rights, we can understand that they should have kept them when the metropolitan system had developed itself throughout the whole Christian world, and when the Bishop of Rome, already called Pope, was the acknowledged metropolitan of Italy, Africa, Sicily, and all the provinces belonging to that administrative and political portion of

the empire. Nor are there any but imaginary difficulties in the practical working of such a system in the second and third century. Rome was within reach of all those places in half a day's journey, from fourteen to twenty-four miles. The election of a bishop took place under ordinary circumstances, upon an average once in eight or ten years. Internal dissensions or great local troubles necessarily called forth the active Christian and episcopal sympathy of those bishops, and if, as the canon indicates, and the facts suggest, their presence even was required, such visits to Rome could no more encroach upon their administration at home, than the duty imposed upon them according to the clear words of the canon, of not acting, in important matters, without the concurrence of their chief bishop.

But we are not even left to conjecture on this subject. Within sixteen years after the death of Hippolytus we have the first official record of the mode in which the legislation and administration of the Church of Rome was managed in extraordinary circumstances.

In the letter of Bishop Cornelius, generally called the sixth *, he says: "When the whole proceeding had been related to me, I resolved to convene the presbytery (placuit contrahi presbyterium). There were also present in the council the same *five bishops* who were present to-day. My object was, that, after mature deliberation, the conduct to be observed towards those persons might be determined by unanimous consent. In order to enable thee to understand the feeling and advice of every single one, it was resolved to make minutes for thy use; they are subjoined to this letter. When this had been transacted, Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, and many brethren who had joined them, came *into the presbytery*, supplicating that the past might be entirely forgotten."

Not only the place where the episcopal council is held, is called *presbyterium*, but also (and that is the original signification, 1 Tim. iv. 14.) the men composing this ruling council. There were present, at the two sittings alluded to, besides the

* Cypriani, Epp. xlvi.; Cornelii, vi. See Coustance Pontif. Epp., ed. Schoenemann, p. 99. seq. Compare Ep. lv. and Euseb. vi. 43.

faithful presbyters of Rome, five bishops, who were consequently members of the presbytery.

Let us see who these five bishops were. Most probably the bishops of Ostia, Tibur, Præneste or of one of the neighbouring places, and why not the successor of Hippolytus, as Bishop of Portus, which, though not an old corporate and fortified town (civitas), was nevertheless, as the adjoining harbour of Rome, a place of great importance. It would indeed be absurd to suppose that foreign bishops who happened to be at Rome were admitted to the council on great occasions, and that the suburban bishops had no regular place in the same council, as members with certain rights.

This being the most natural solution of the circumstance of Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, being also designated presbyter, I think it unnecessary to recur to the explanation of Presbyter in the sense in which Hippolytus calls his own teacher, Irenæus, the well-known Bishop of Lyons, by that title (Refut. vi. 42. 55. See Analecta, i.). However it may be explained, what Hippolytus said of his master might be said by later writers of Hippolytus himself, whom one of the Byzantines elevates into a man who had known the Apostles. But I think that the constitution of the Church of Rome explains the expression of Presbyter very satisfactorily. The constitution under Cornelius must have prevailed not only in the time of Hippolytus, but long before.

The presbyters of the different parishes of Rome who formed the council of the Bishop of Rome in ordinary circumstances, were called, as a corporate body, the Presbytery, as is proved by the very words of the letter of Cornelius. The suburban bishops were therefore members of the presbytery, and, as such, might be called, less accurately, presbyters (of the Church of Rome). The members of the presbyteries of Carthage and of Rome are called by Cyprian, in more than one passage of his Letters, fellow-presbyters ("compresbyteri") of himself or of Cornelius. This designation though not accurate, is still unmistakeable.

No difficulty therefore is created by Hippolytus calling himself (in the emphatic Procœmium to the Refutation, given textually in the Analecta) a bishop, in which capacity he is

represented in his statue, being seated on the cathedra, and by his being also called in a chronicle of the Church of Rome of the fourth century, by the side of "Pontianus the Bishop," "Hippolytus the Presbyter."

The earlier writings of this remarkable man evidently belong to the reign of Severus. In one of them there seems to be an allusion to the anxiety which the Christians felt from rumours of the immediate coming of Antichrist, when, during that reign, the close of the second century after the traditional (and true) date of the nativity of Christ was approaching.

But the Refutation certainly is the depository, not only of the historical learning and theological and philosophical acuteness of the author, but also of the most important and difficult period of his life.

After Victor's death, Zephyrinus deviated from the ordinary practice of Roman rules in abstaining from speculative discussions. Gnosticism, as Dualism, had been entirely defeated by the Catholics; even in its expurgated form, as Theodotianism, it had been rejected by Victor. But the Greek Christians continued nevertheless to make the Logos-doctrine, and the speculations necessarily connected with it, the object of their teaching. Irenæus had done so: the Montanist movement also drew the Christian mind powerfully towards the higher regions of speculation, and forced even the practical Tertullian into metaphysical abstractions. The great point was, whether the preeminently monotheistic view which had always distinguished the Roman Church, although certainly not in an Ebionitic sense, might not be harmlessly connected with some speculations respecting Christ's divine nature.

Instead, however, of discussing the doctrinal differences between Hippolytus and Callistus in theological terms, I beg to refer my readers to the discussion upon it contained in my Letters to Archdeacon Hare, and to the Essays, and shall simply consider the question here in its bearing upon the philosophy of history.

The whole dispute, both as regards doctrine and discipline, is a fragment out of a great tragical complication. In the great controversy respecting the nature of God, the Father, the Son,

the Spirit, the Logos, the Christ, Jesus, the problem of giving to the historical and philosophical factors their due position was too mighty to be solved by that age. It was its glory to have attempted such a solution, but it was its tragedy that it made its own premature, imperfect conclusions the pivot and badge of Churchmanship. Whichever way the great minds of the third century turned, they necessarily involved themselves in logical or philological difficulties and contradictions. The Roman Church was the very type of practical, historical Occidentalism, as opposed to the intellectual, metaphysical East. Zephyrinus and Callistus were the first who tried to theorize, which obliged them fall back again upon Greek writers. Hippolytus represented the Greek element in the west, and he placed the Johannean doctrine of the Logos at the head of a system which so far necessarily subordinated the Logos to the Father, as being the offspring of an act of divine will. Callistus insisted so strongly upon the unity of nature in the Father and Son, that he incurred the blame of having said that the Father was crucified as Son.

The same tragical complication must be acknowledged in the dispute respecting discipline. The system of Zephyrinus was certainly the more practical, and, as Döllinger has conclusively demonstrated, consisted essentially in the admission to the Church by re-baptism of those who had been heretics and as such had committed carnal mortal sins, a mitigation of the rigour of penitence afterwards extended by Callistus to the similar admission of those who had committed other mortal sins. The one system might here and there lead to the sanction of immorality, the other to pharisaical rigorism.

The assumption of spiritual power, which belongs only to God and the conscience, and the exercise of social and civil power by a hierarchy, which absorbed the rights of the congregation, were the two fundamental errors which led to the whole tragical complication both as regards doctrine and discipline.

As a writer Hippolytus possesses neither the elegance of Origen nor the brilliant originality of Tertullian. His best style comes nearer to that of Clemens of Alexandria, but, unfortunately, he generally writes either in a very high-flown rhetorical

style or in none at all. This is particularly the case with the Refutation. His Greek, therefore, is not only tainted with Latinisms, but often (unless some of the worse passages are mere loose extracts) without any style in the construction and connection of the sentences.

These defects of style are very naturally the reflex of the defects of his intellect and character. His reasoning powers cannot be measured with the three men of genius among his contemporaries whom we have mentioned above.

But it would be decidedly unjust to judge him either by his philological and metaphysical writings, or by his disputes with Callistus.

To appreciate Hippolytus, to understand the epithets of "most sweet" and "most benevolent," applied to him by a contemporary of Chrysostom, and of "most eloquent," which is Jerome's expression; in short, to understand the unbounded admiration, and almost apostolic nimbus which surrounds his name in later ages, we must leave this sad scene of controversy, and contemplate him as the serene, platonic thinker, with his wide heart for the universality of God's love to mankind in Christ, and with his glowing love of liberty, and of the free agency of man, as being the specific organ of the divine Spirit, and the only one congenial to the very nature of God.

These are the really distinguishing features in his character.

We find them particularly developed in the Confession of Faith, which forms the elaborate peroration to the great work of his life. I have given the Greek text in the Analecta, the literal English translation in the Letters to Archdeacon Hare, appended to this Volume.

The next passage which illustrates those characteristic features in the mind of Hippolytus, is contained in the conclusion of the fragment of his "Address to the Gentiles" (entitled also "On the Substance of the Universe") which is preserved to us, and of which I have given the text in my Analecta, for the first time corrected and completed from the Oxford Manuscript. The following passage is taken from this fragment.

After describing the state of things which awaits the righteous in a future world (negatively of course, by showing what draw-

backs and inconveniences they will not be exposed to), he concludes with the following words: "The full number of the righteous remains undiminished with the righteous Angels and Spirits of God, and with his Logos. Thus the band of the righteous, both men and women, remains, ever young and incorruptible, praising God who hath brought them to this by laws and ordinances, given to them for their life-time. With them also the whole creation will sing unceasingly, being glorified by its change from corruption to incorruption, and by the cleansing of the Spirit; nor will it be held in bondage by the chains of necessity; but, being made free, it will sing a willing hymn to its Maker, together with all the Angels, and Spirits, and men, who have been freed from all bondage. If then, O ye Greeks, ye will hearken to these words, and leave off the vanity of your earthly wisdom, begetting words only, and will not let your minds go astray, by spending your time in mere disputes about words, but will lend your ears to the God-inspired prophets, who are the interpreters of God and the Logos, and so believe in God, ye also will become partakers of these things, and ye will receive the good things to come, and behold the path leading up to the boundless heaven and the kingdom above. For God will then make manifest, what here He hath concealed — 'those things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, which God hath prepared for them that love Him.' To Him be glory and power for ever and ever. Amen."

His conviction that God works alone by the agency of the free Spirit, and that therefore all exercise of authority is subordinate, in His eyes, to the fulfilment of the duties connected with it, made Hippolytus speak with a noble frankness of the regal as well as episcopal authority. In the fragment of his work on the gifts of the Spirit in the Church (Charismata), which is preserved substantially in the introduction to the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, a passage occurs to which I have already referred in my Letters to Hare. According to the text as now printed in the second volume of the Analecta, it stands thus: —

"Let, therefore, no man among you be puffed up against his

brother, even though he be a Prophet or a worker of miracles; for if it were granted to us that there should be no more unbelief, the whole power of working miracles would become unnecessary. For to be a godly man proceeds from the good disposition of any one, but to perform miracles from the power of Him who worketh mightily in us: of these two points, the one regards our ownselves, the other God, who worketh in us, on account of the reasons we have mentioned before. Therefore, let neither the king despise the commanders under him, nor rulers their subjects. For if there be none to be ruled over, there is no need of rulers: and if there be no commanders, the kingdom cannot stand. But neither let a bishop set himself up above the deacons and presbyters, nor indeed the presbyters above the people: for the existence of the whole community rests on reciprocity. For the bishop and presbyters are priests to some, and the laity are laity to some.* Now to be a Christian is in our own power; but to be an apostle, or a bishop, or anything else, is not so; but it appertains to God, who giveth us His gifts.

"So much then about those who are thought worthy of gifts and offices. But this we add to what we have said: not every one who prophesies is sanctified, nor every one who casts out evil spirits holy. For even Balaam, the son of Beor, the soothsayer, prophesied, though he was a godless man; and so did Caiaphas, the High priest falsely so called. For many things the devil himself foretells, and the evil spirits who surround him. Yet do they not possess, for all that, a spark of godliness; for they are oppressed by ignorance, through their own wilful wickedness. It is clear, therefore, that the ungodly, even though they prophesy, do not by their prophesying hide their own ungodliness, nor will they † who cast out evil spirits be made holy by the removal of them: for they deceive one another, even as those who, for the sake of laughter, make

* This is the way in which I still continue to read the passage, substituting τινων for τίνων—ὅ τε γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροί τινων εἰσὶν ἱερεῖς, καὶ οἱ λαϊκοί τινων εἰσὶ λαϊκοί.

† It is quite evident that δαίμονες is an interpolation. I read οὐδὲ οἳ δαίμονας ἐλαύνοντες κ τ. λ.

childish play, and so destroy those who hold fast to them. But neither is an ungodly king any longer a king, but a tyrant; nor is a bishop oppressed by ignorance or by evil inclinations any longer a bishop, but he is one, falsely so called, chosen by men and not by God, even as Ananjah and Samajah in Israel. . . . . It follows, therefore, that the bishops and presbyters, falsely so called, will not escape the judgment of God. For it is said to them, 'Ye are the priests who speak evil of My name: I will give you up to slaughter, even as Zedekiah and Achiab (Ahab), whom the King of Babylon roasted in the fire*,' as saith the prophet Jeremiah. But we say this, not as in any way despising the true prophecies; for we know that these are being wrought mightily by them that are holy, through the inspiration of God; but in opposition to the daring of proud, boastful men; and we may add† that God deprives such of His grace: for 'God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.'"‡

This noble character and warm heart, combined with a rare knowledge and able use of speculative as well as moral Grecian philosophy, an enlightened and effectual zeal for infusing the hellenic element of thought and intellectual liberty into the Western Church, and that conscientious struggle for truth, against falsehood and violence, which was crowned by martyrdom; these are the eminent qualities which made Hippolytus dear to his congregation and to the Churches of the East and West, and which ensure to the author of the Refutation an honourable place among the good men and the leading minds of ancient Christendom.

* See Jerem. xxix. 22.

† The Greek text has *καὶ προστιθέντες*. Either *καὶ* must be left out, or else we must read, with the MSS., *προστίθεμεν*.

‡ 1 Pet. v. 5.

THE

SEVENTH GENERATION,

OR

THE AGE OF ORIGEN.

FROM THE YEAR 231 TO THE YEAR 254.

(Xth year of ALEXANDER SEVERUS to IInd of VALERIANUS.)

Alex. Severus — Maximinus — Gordianus — Philippus Arabs — Decius — Gallus — Valerianus.

PONTIANUS. ANTERUS. FABIANUS. CORNELIUS. LUCIUS.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS.

231.	Alex. Sev.	x.	1. Pontianus succeeds Urbanus (five years). Demetrius succeeded by Heraclas.
235.		xiv.	End of Latin translation of the "Chronicon" of Hippolytus.
	Maximinus.	i.	Hippolytus, after the death of Alexander Severus, banished with Pontianus to Sardinia.
			5. Pontianus. ✠ Hippolytus returns to Portus (?), and dies a martyr. Anterus, Roman Bishop, dies after one month.
237.		iii.	1. Fabianus succeeds (fourteen years).
238.		iv. }	2. Origen returns to Cæsarea after the death of Gordianus.
	Gordianus.	i. }	
244.	Philip. Arabs.	i.	8. Fabianus.
245.		ii.	9. His Homilies written down. The Epistle of Jul. Africanus to Origen in Nicomedia.
246.		iii.	10. Heraclas. ✠ Dionysius succeeds him.
247.		iv.	11. Origen (sixty years old) writes his books against Celsus. Commentaries upon St. Matthew and Prophets. Epistles to Emperor and the Empress Severa; also to Fabianus and other Bishops.
249.	Phil. Ar.	vi. }	13.
	Decius.	i. }	
250.		ii.	14. The Edict of Decius against Christianity. Fabianus dies a martyr.
251.		iii. }	1. Cornelius succeeds Fabianus (two years).
	Gallus and Hostil.	i. }	
252.	Gallus.	ii.	2. Origen, at Athens. Commentary upon Ezekiel and the Song of Solomon. Cornelius dies, a martyr (?).
253.		iii. }	1. Lucius succeeds Cornelius.
	Valerianus.	i. }	
254.		ii.	2. Origen dies.

ORIGEN.

ORIGEN, born at Alexandria in the year 185, the son of the cultivated and pious Leonides, was, like the friend of his youth, Alexander, afterwards Bishop of Jerusalem, the pupil certainly of Clemens, and perhaps of Pantænus. He was sixteen years of age when the persecution of Septimius Severus claimed its victims at Alexandria in 201. Leonides died the death of a martyr: his wife prevented the ardent youth from offering himself to share his father's fate, by hiding his clothes; but he wrote to his father not to waver out of anxiety for his family. Thrown upon his own resources when not yet seventeen years of age, Origen almost immediately became the centre and guide of the many inquirers who gathered together at Alexandria. It was at this date that he converted Heraclas, afterwards Bishop of Alexandria; and, at eighteen years of age, he was appointed by Demetrius a catechetes, or teacher in the Church. But, at the same time, he became the object of hatred to the fanatical mob, by his zeal in comforting the Christians, when thrown into prison or conducted to the scaffold. He was often hunted by the mob, but rescued by his loving disciples, or by his own undaunted courage and presence of mind. One day, when seized and placed at the entrance of the Temple of Serapis to distribute palm-twigs to those who entered, he accepted the office, but handed the palms with the words:—"Take this palm; not in the name of the idol, but in the name of Jesus Christ." The office of catechetes was gratuitous: in order to live, he sold the only treasure he possessed besides the Bible — his classical library, which he did for a pension of four oboli (about fivepence-halfpenny) a day. It was in this position that a glowing enthusiasm, and the literal interpretation of the words of Christ in Matt. xix. 12., led him into an aberration, which in later years he strongly condemned,

but which was, at all events, inspired by the purest moral motives.*

His office obliged him to pay more attention than he had done before to the Greek philosophers; and, in company with his own pupil, Heraclas, he attended the lectures of the celebrated professor of philosophy, Ammonius Saccas, the founder of Neo-platonism †, and teacher of Plotinus.

He was twenty-six or twenty-eight years of age, when, under Zephyrinus (about 211 or 213), he visited Rome, where, according to a credible tradition, he heard Hippolytus preaching one of his homilies: a form of instruction afterwards so successfully used by Origen in delivering short commentaries on the books of Scripture. In visiting the eminent men of Greece, Palestine, and Cappadocia, he conversed also with heretical teachers, thinking, as he says, that religious conviction, when grounded upon free inquiry and impartial examination, stands firmer than when it rests upon a servile obedience to the tyranny of the multitude. ‡ Origen was not shaken in his Christian faith; but he acquired by these studies that patient love of truth, and that mildness towards men of different opinions, which distinguish him from most theologians ancient or modern. His influence in Alexandria and elsewhere was only strengthened by his liberal and courageous spirit. He converted many Gnostics; and, amongst others, that good layman, Ambrosius (afterwards a deacon), whom he delivered from his Gnostic taskmasters, and who remained through life his admirer and generous supporter. It was in this period of his life, that Origen took up the study of Hebrew, by which he was enabled to become the first founder of a philological criticism of Scripture, and to master for the Church much of the traditional Rabbinical knowledge of Hebrew: a gigantic effort, in which he scarcely has had a successor among the Greek and Latin Fathers besides St. Jerome, who, however, infinitely surpassed him.

Heraclas having relieved him of the burden of the prepara-

* Baur's doubts as to the fact are ridiculous, in the face of the testimony of Eusebius. Neander, i. 1202. ff.

† Neander, p. 1205. ‡ Ibid. p. 1207.

tory catechetical school, Origen gained leisure to prepare lectures on Greek philosophy, such as Clemens had delivered as introductory to the philosophical knowledge (gnosis) of the Christian religion. We still possess the testimony of one of his devoted hearers, St. Gregory Thaumaturgos, to the circumstance that Origen's method taught them, above all, the art of learning to discover truth for themselves.

Hitherto Origen had not published his commentaries. Ambrosius paid numerous secretaries and copyists, to enable him to do so, that he might combat the Valentinian writers, whose books seduced many; amongst others, Heraclian. His great speculative work on the "First Principles" was published by his over-zealous admirer against his will. In a letter to Bishop Fabianus of Rome, written late in life, about 245, Origen expresses his regret at not having expressed more cautiously some of the opinions delivered in that work. At the age of forty-one (about the year 226), after having toiled so many years at Alexandria, Origen undertook, with the permission of his bishop, who gave him commendatory letters, a journey to Greece, and thence to Palestine. Here the great teacher was ordained Presbyter at Cæsarea, under the auspices of Bishop Alexander, of Jerusalem.

As in that day a Presbyter still meant a man who held the office of one of the elders of a given Church (which might be connected with a local parochial charge), that ordination made Origen, the Catechetes of Alexandria, an Elder of the Church of Jerusalem, and not of his own Church of Alexandria. This Church might even declare such an unauthorised, although not illegal act, to be a virtual separation from his Church and deprive him of his professorship in consequence. Such, indeed, was the opinion of the Egyptian Bishops and Elders, whom Demetrius, now his enemy, first consulted about this affair. But the hierarchical party, whose views were already tending to absolutism, went farther. Origen was declared not to be a lawful Presbyter. This declaration had certainly a support in the letter of the ancient canon, excluding those who had committed self-mutilation; but the application of this canon* to so

* See Canon. App. xvii. Analecta, vol. i.

peculiar a case belonged to the Church which had ordained, not to that which had deprived him. Most of the Churches, however (that of Rome in particular), adhered to the decision of the Alexandrian hierarch, and declared Origen's ordination void. He offered no opposition; but quietly left Alexandria, in 230*, never to return. Before his departure, however, in the midst of the storm raging against him, he finished the fifth volume of his Commentary on the Gospel of St. John.

But the hatred of Demetrius was not allayed by the peaceable conduct of Origen. He induced a numerous Synod of Egyptian Bishops to condemn, as heretical, many of the positions contained in the book on the "First Principles," and in particular, as it appears, Origen's opinion respecting the universality of final salvation. This opinion he had certainly stated so as even to hold out a prospect of the conversion of Satan himself by the irresistible power of the love of the Almighty. He had offered this as a philosophical opinion on a point not determined by the clear teaching of Scripture. The arguments he adduces are in general those of nearly all the Ante-Nicene Fathers before him. But hierarchs never have believed their own absolutism safe unless based upon fear — the principle of action for all despots, as Montesquieu has well shown; and in every age their view naturally finds support from all unbelievers and materialists, baptised or unbaptised. For, since to them the Christian religion has no basis in reason, it must not lose the only hold it can have upon the mind of the multitude (and therefore the only excuse its existence offers to the enlightened), namely, the terrors of an indefinite, and thus, to their apprehensions, infinite and eternal punishment, which has vengeance and not amendment for its end. "Away with Origen! What is to become of virtue, and heaven, and—clerical power, if the fear of eternal punishment is not to be for ever kept before men's eyes as the prop of human and divine authority?" So thought Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, in 230. All the arts of clerical persecution were used against the pious and courageous Presbyter. At Rome, as well as elsewhere, false protocols of a

* Neander, p. 1217.

disputation of his with the Gnostics were brought forward against him; and he was condemned by the successor of Callistus, "not," as says St. Jerome, who was no friend to his theology, "on account of novelty of doctrine — not for heresy — but because they could not bear the glory of his learning and eloquence." Still it appears as if the absolutistic tendency had had a still greater share in procuring his condemnation than mere personal jealousy, although the latter certainly co-operated. The Bishops of Palestine, Arabia, Phœnicia, and Greece, however, supported the persecuted man.

Origen expresses himself very mildly in speaking of the injustice of the sentence pronounced upon him.

He thus writes to his friend: "We must rather pity than hate them, rather pray for them than curse them; for we are created to bless, not to curse." His whole life testifies to the sincerity of this sentiment. He continued his laborious task without even making any angry allusion to his persecutors. Except that, in his Commentary upon the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. i. 25., he exclaims: "'The foolishness of God!' how I should be accused by the cavillers, in spite of all that I had said well, if I had only pronounced these words!"

Our period opens for Origen in 231, with the demise of his persecutor, Bishop Demetrius, who was followed by Heraclas, Origen's pupil. He was not, however, recalled to Alexandria, the spirit of the clergy being evidently against him. In 238, the persecutions of the cruel barbarian Maximinus threw many of his friends in Palestine into prison, generally the presage of death by torture. It was at this conjuncture that Origen wrote his powerful address on Martyrdom, exhorting Ambrosius and his wife Tatiana to constancy in their faith in this extreme trial. He begins with refuting all the sophistries invented by their enemies for weak-minded Christians, and then applies the doctrine of salvation to the supreme duty of confessing the truth, and of acting up to that confession unto death. This was the victory over the tyranny under which empires and nations had fallen; for it restored to man the consciousness of his duty and power. He is far from approving the desire of martyrdom; but, when called upon to confess, we ought to drink

the cup offered. "The divine Word," he says, "has left to us that peace which He left to His Apostles; but it interposes the word betwixt the image of the earthly and of the heavenly mind in us. He now wants to take to Himself our heavenly man, that we may come to that state where there is no longer a division between what is godly and ungodly."

Origen now went to his theological friend, Bp. Firmilianus, in Cappadocia: a Christian virgin, Juliana, concealed him for two years in her house. Here he wrote his laborious work the Hexapla, or the collation of the different Greek versions of the Old Testament, with each other and the Hebrew text. The death of Maximinus in 238 put an end to the persecution, and Origen returned to his occupations at Cæsarea. Summoned to Greece by the confidence of the Churches, he paid a visit to Ambrosius, at Nicomedia. Evidently his spirits were already broken. He is almost shocked by Julius Africanus, the chronographer, then a venerable old man, pointing out to him that the legend of Susannah, given by the Alexandrian version, was spurious, and formed no part of the Daniel of the Hebrew Canon. He defends the authority of the book, saying that one could scarcely suppose God would not have taken care that no such spurious book should have been delivered to the Church. Great danger might arise from such scepticism! Origen was then only 54 years of age.*

His commentaries on Ezekiel and Canticles, written at Athens, whither he went from Nicomedia, likewise exhibit a decided decay in his critical powers.

In 244 Philippus Arabs ascended the throne, with whose family Origen carried on a correspondence. In his reign Origen, now above sixty, wrote his book "Against Celsus," —a most learned apology for Christianity against one of its acutest and bitterest enemies—and the "Commentaries upon St. Matthew." Having been consulted by the Arabian Bishops (Beryllus of Bostra had consulted him before) on the question whether the soul slept and rose with the body, he decided,

* Redepenning places the correspondence with Julius Africanus in 245, or the sixtieth year of his age.

on cogent grounds, against this old Jewish opinion. He did not, however, propose that the Synod should condemn those who believed otherwise, but he conversed with them, and tried to convince them of their error. Origen had the satisfaction of seeing that when Heraclas died in 247, Dionysius, another pupil of his, was elected his successor. The same Dionysius had succeeded Heraclas in the professorship of Divinity.

Already in 250 the first general systematic persecution of the Christians commenced, in consequence of the crushing edict of Decius. The illustrious defender of the Christian faith acted up to his own exhortations: he was thrown into prison, and subjected to the most exquisite torments. In the midst of them he dictated letters full of consolation, comforting the brethren. After every kind of torture had been tried in vain, he was at last released, but died a few years afterwards in 254, in the seventieth year of his age. His sepulchre at Tyre was shown even in the Middle Ages. His disciples and admirers all over the Christian globe were his living monument. Origen was not tall, but had a frame of colossal strength (owing to which and his endurance of labour he was called Adamantios, the man of steel). His appearance, however, was highly attractive, beaming as his face is said to have been with kindness and that majesty which comes from sanctity of mind combined with intelligence.

The contemplation of the struggle and tragedy of his life is as elevating as it is touching. In its general features it is the struggle and tragedy of his age. It is, besides, the close of a great period of the history of Christianity and of the civilization of mankind. With Origen closes apostolical Christianity as to its liberty of mind amidst tyranny and bloody persecution: his efforts are the last attempt made to combine thought and tradition, and avert a confusion which he saw to be impending. Indeed they are the last efforts of ancient Christianity to treat spiritual concerns and traditions as intellectual, and as belonging to the inalienable domain of Reason, under the guidance of faith, and with the pledge of individual self-responsibility. Soon after his time, a systematic persecution, an inflamed enthusiasm, and hierarchical pretension conspired to trouble the serenity of

the mind which such contemplations required. When those persecutions merged into favour, protection gave power and privilege, and engendered internal persecution. Christian divinity as well as Christian society were drawn into the vortex of Byzantine tyranny and corruption, and conventionalism and formalism seized and gradually benumbed the members of the visible body of Christ. Origen's death is the real end of free Christianity, and, in particular, of free, intellectual theology.

We now proceed to an outline of his own views of Christian doctrine and life, laying before our readers, out of his voluminous works, such thoughts and facts as will enable them to enquire and judge by themselves.

We commence with a sketch of his Christology, and of some points connected therewith. It is very desirable that the four principal works of Origen, which might be compressed into two volumes, should soon be printed separately. They are the following:—First, the book on the First Principles, or fundamental truths of religion, a general view of Christian doctrine, biblical and philosophical. Then the two essays On Prayer and On Martyrdom, showing how we have to appropriate to our own soul the salvation offered to us. The treatise On Prayer considers this with regard to the life with God, or the adoration; that On Martyrdom with regard to our converse with the world, teaching that we must confess the truth unto death. The fourth principal work is the Defence of Christianity against its fiercest adversary, Celsus, the heathen philosopher, who wrote in the time of Marcus Aurelius.* The first of

* Of the book Περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν, we have the excellent edition of that truly learned and judicious biographer of Origen, Redepenning. The essay Περὶ εὐχῆς, from the only manuscript (which exists in England), has been the object of the critical care of Bentley, and is one of the soberest and most perfect works of that immortal master of criticism, and of an anonymous English scholar, worthy to glean after such a man. The text of the book Περὶ μαρτυρίας is very readable, and as for the books Contra Celsum, which exist only in the Latin translation of Rufinus (and here and there also in that of Jerome), much has been done by Jachmann and Bindemann (1842), besides Redepenning and Lommatzsch.

these, that on the First Principles, belongs probably to the end of the first period of his life; the other three certainly all were composed in the age we are now considering, the Seventh Christian Generation. The two ethical essays were written in the time of the persecution of Maximinus, about 236: the eighth book against Celsus about 244. As to the first, it is nothing less than a speculative theological discussion of the fundamental truths of Christianity, concerning God, the Father, Son, and Spirit, Free Will, Immortality, Eternity, Eternal Life. The principles here laid down in a concise form, and with great boldness, are in themselves the foundation of all later doctrinal Divinity, and, however impugned or ignored, misunderstood or condemned, stand erect, after sixteen hundred years, in their substantial parts amongst the scattered ruins of the systems of the later Greek, or Latin, or reformed Churches, the speculative parts of which systems were more or less all developed out of those principles, even where they differ most widely from Origen.

But what deserves still greater attention, is his wise method, so soon abandoned by the teachers and leaders of the Church, of stating clearly, in the first place, what are the points on which the Scripture, the only foundation of our faith, delivers to us a definite, clear doctrine. The book begins with a summary of these articles, which is as it were the condensed expression of what we have hitherto met with among the Fathers of the second and third centuries. On other points he states his speculative opinion, which he wishes to be considered only as such; for these are subjects, he considers, on which we may differ philosophically, and on account of which we ought not to separate from each other as Christians. All such opinions however must be held in agreement with those great fundamental truths which are the rule (canon) of our faith, and must like them be based upon Scripture. Christ is the truth: but Christ, as the Word of God, spoke also in Moses and the Prophets. This Word is understood by that Faith of which the Epistle to the Hebrews (ch. xi.) speaks. This truth of Christian faith has been taught in the Christian congregations in uninterrupted succession from the time of the Apostles, and

forms the ecclesiastical and apostolical tradition (ch. 4.). It may be reduced to the following points (ch. 4—9.):—

I. "There is one God who created and ordered all things: He made the universe, which had no existence before. This God was from the beginning the God of all just and holy men, from Adam to Moses and the Prophets: the same who, according to his promise, sent our Lord Jesus Christ, that He should first call Israel, and when the people of Israel proved faithless, then the Gentiles likewise. This just and good God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, inspired Moses and the Prophets: He is the God of the Apostles and of the whole Old and New Testament.

II. "Jesus Christ, who appeared on earth, was generated by the Father before all creatures. Having ministered to the Father in all His behests,—for 'through Him all things are made,'—he 'emptied' himself (Philipp. ii. 7.) in the last times, and became incarnate man, being God, and having become man, remained what he was, God. He took a body, like our own, differing only in that it was procreated by the Holy Ghost and a virgin. This Jesus Christ was born and suffered agony and death, not through an apparition, but in his own person: in this his own reality he rose from the dead, and, having conversed with his disciples after his resurrection, was received up into heaven.

III. "The Holy Spirit is in honour and dignity associated with the Father and the Son. It has not been clearly revealed whether he was procreated or not procreated, or whether he was or was not the Son of God. These are questions to be inquired into, as far as we can, from Holy Writ, and by intelligent research. But it is clearly the doctrine of the Church that the same Spirit has inspired every holy man, or Prophet, or Apostle, and that there is not one Spirit who inspired the men of God in ancient times, and another who inspired those who lived in the time of Christ's advent.

IV. "The soul, having a substance and life of her own, will receive her reward according to her merits, either obtaining the inheritance of eternal life and blessedness, or being delivered over to eternal fire and torments: there will also be a time

when the dead shall rise, and that body which 'here is sown in corruption will rise in incorruption,' and 'what is sown in dishonour will rise in glory.'

V. "Every rational soul has the power of free will. She has also to strive against the devil and his angels and the hostile powers, because they seek to load her with sins. But, if living rightly and advisedly, we are not subject to necessity, and cannot be absolutely forced to do evil or good, against our will. There are also angels of God, and powers created to minister to man and further the work of his salvation.

VI. "This world was created and began to exist at a given time, and is hereafter to be dissolved on account of its corruption.

VII. "Finally, the Scriptures were written by the Spirit of God, and possess not only the sense which is manifest, but also another latent meaning: for what is written are the formulas of certain intellectual mysteries, and the images of things divine; the spiritual law, however, is only intelligible to those to whom the grace of the Spirit is given."

This is what we may call Origen's representation of the confession of faith common to all Christian Churches, so far as it was known and understood by him. A comparison of this short abstract with the other writings of Origen proves that, in its essential points, it was truly the constant faith and doctrine of Origen. According to him, all Christian speculation must repose upon this doctrinal basis of Scriptural truth, as interpreted by the common consent of all those who have received the Gospel message. But our reason finds itself impelled to ask various questions on topics lying beyond these boundaries: as for instance, what is the nature of the Holy Spirit? Is he the Son of God (as Hermas had positively assumed), or not? What is the nature of the soul? Does it take its substance from the human seed, or has it another origin? and if so, is that origin procreated or not? or does it come into the body from without? What are the devil and the evil angels, and what is their mode of existence? Is the common opinion well-founded that they are apostate and fallen angels? What are the good angels, and

when were they created? In this universe, are the sun and moon and stars living beings?

The succeeding chapters treat more particularly of the following subjects: —

I. *On God.* — God is a Spirit, a simple (monas) intellectual being, an indivisible mind, the source of all intellectual nature (ch. i. 6.). There is in man, besides the senses for the outward world, an intellectual, immortal sense, and by this God is beholden.

In his other writings, Origen has thus explained his speculative ideas of the creation. The spiritual creation is eternal. Matter is nothing but the limitation of existence, which is necessary to the creature.* The spiritual creation is above all time, without beginning and without end †; it is the will of God acting upon the divine nature, a world of ideas, an infinite evolution, forming itself (as Plato has said) according to the eternity of the divine existence.

The omnipotence of God is not an arbitrary power, but determined by his eternal nature, as being infinitely good and wise.

The rational beings created by God are not infinite in number, but present a great variety by reason of the changes to which they are subject in consequence of their possessing the power of free will.

II. *Of the Logos and of Christ.* — The communication of divine life to any spirit proceeds from the Logos of God, who is the manifestation of God's glory in its totality, not divided as in other beings. As there is one self-existent God, so there is only one divine or absolute Reason.‡ All truth therefore is objective, that is to say, is founded upon that primitive one Reason in God. Wisdom is the development of the Truth. The substance of that truth has been working in man from the beginning: "None of us," says Origen (Against Celsus) "is so stupid as to believe that the substance of truth did not exist before Christ's appearance on earth." § This divine principle

* Neander, p. 1075. † Ibid. p. 979.

‡ Ibid. p. 1011., *αὐτόθεος* and *αὐτολόγος* are his expressions.

§ Ibid. p. 1012.

which dwelt in Jesus of Nazareth is eternal. This is that wisdom of which Solomon speaks *, which God created before all worlds: it is also called Only Begotten and First Begotten. It is not an abstraction, but a hypostatic (personal) power, which makes man wise. God is, through it, eternally the Father, without a beginning, and all created things have their being, and are as it were pre-formed in His eternal Son. The human principle is Jesus Christ.

We find the same principles likewise maintained and carried out in the other works of Origen. The belief in Christ on account of his miracles (he says in his Commentary on St. John †) is the lowest degree of faith;' which, on the contrary, ought to be founded on the conviction of the truth of his doctrines. The whole historical account of Christ's life is only intended to be a step to the knowledge of the Logos, who spoke through him. The Christ in the form of a servant is the preparation for Christ glorified, as the Logos is to lead us to the Father, whose substance is immensely higher than that of the Logos, and belongs to Him alone. The temporal (historical) Gospel is to lead to the eternal (spiritual) Gospel.‡ This eternal Gospel (the inward manifestation of the Logos in holy men) was already known to some minds before Christ; and, on the other hand, many Christians never rise to the knowledge of it, This knowledge, however, of the Logos, is not of a theoretical kind, but the fruit of holy life connected with thought. But there is one Christ for the simplest and for the most enlightened Christians: Christ is, in a much higher sense than St. Paul, "all things to all men." He does not allow that the words of Paul, "to know only Christ and him crucified," apply to spiritual Christians, in the sense that there is no higher view of Christ. But he also says §: "Even when we have arrived at the highest intuition of the Logos, we certainly shall not forget

* He means that apocryphal Book of Wisdom which formed a part of the Alexandrian Canon of the Old Testament.

† Neander, p. 940.

‡ Comment. on St. Matthew. Neander, p. 942.

§ Comment. on St. John ii. 4. Neander, p 951.

Christ's dying for us, because it is to this that we owe our introduction into the higher life."

III. *Of the Holy Spirit.*—"All truth respecting the Father is known through the revelation of the Son in the Spirit (cap. iii. sect. 4.). The work of the Father and of the Son is in every created thing, that of the Holy Spirit only in those who have been converted to the ways of Christ and remain with God (sect. 6.). The work of sanctification is an ever advancing process; man is never safe without a longing for further progress in divine blessedness."

He treats of these and other speculative subjects, as for instance the nature of the soul and the world, in the first and second books. The restoration of all things had been taught by him at the end of the first, as he says in the beginning of the second. There also he treats again, and more profoundly, of the union of the divine and human nature in Christ, and says (cap. vi. sect. 2.): "When thus we see in Him what does not differ at all from human frailty, and again things so divine that they belong only to that first and ineffable nature of the Godhead, the human mind is lost in admiration. If he perceives God, he sees the man: if he thinks him a man, he sees him return from the dead with the spoils of death." And after having given his own mode of explaining the mystery of the incarnation, he concludes the chapter with these remarkable words: "If anybody shall find anything better, and prove what he says by clearer arguments from Scripture, let his views be received in preference to mine." He expresses the same sentiment still more strongly in a later passage of the book (ch. iii. sect. 4.), where he treats of the soul.

His own explanations may be compressed in the following words (see ch. 5.): Christ had a reasonable soul, capable of doing good and evil, of a like nature to that of every other man, but his soul voluntarily followed after righteousness with such boundless love and unfaltering constancy, that what was first free will became by habit nature.

IV. *Of the Spirit.*—He defines in the following (seventh) chapter of the second book the progress of its operations, by showing how that which was the privilege of a few became

through Christ the property of all believing men. Christ is called the Paraclete (1 John, ii.) as interceder, the Spirit as comforter, giving consolation to the believing soul in opening the sense of spiritual knowledge (gnôsis).

V. *Of Redemption.*—Like all the Fathers before him, Justin (to a certain degree) excepted, Origen had no idea of the atonement in the sense of the Anselmo-Calvinistic theory of satisfaction given by the death of Jesus to the Divine justice. On the contrary, Irenæus, as well as Marcion and Clemens, considered that the only satisfaction that could come in question must be a satisfaction rendered to the Devil or the Demiurge. God (says Irenæus) would not use violence like the devil, even in saving man, but, as it behoves God, save him by kindness, working with persuasion on his soul. The author of the Epistle to Diognetus says still better: God's eternal love has saved us by sending the Son, the holy, sinless one, whose righteousness covers our sins.* The centre of Origen's peculiar view is to be found in the intuition which he had of the eternal laws of the moral government of the world. Its aim and end is to break the power of evil, which came into the world by man's misuse of his free will, but, according to the laws of that moral government, merely to realise the triumph of good. That great victory over the power of evil can be obtained only through the free sacrifice of the perfectly holy man, which was fulfilled in Jesus. This, he says, is the universal belief of mankind, only that we find it connected with superstition and error. "It was certainly not to God," he says, "that Christ gave his soul a ransom (Matt. xx. 28.), but to the Devil, who had usurped the power over the heart of man." Christ died because he would, and when he would, not compelled by any force or necessity. The redemption wrought by Christ is appropriated through inward sanctification, by keeping the pledge taken in baptism, to fight under Christ's banner against the evil one, and by ever-renewed repentance and faith. This is the true union with Christ, and through him with God, not the partaking of the Lord's Supper, which is only the

* See Neander's beautiful exposition, pp. 1104—1121.

symbol of the eating of the bread of life. The sacramental bread is the same as all other earthly bread.

VI. *Of Free Will.*—In this work and elsewhere Origen may be said to have confessed his failure in solving the secret of free will and grace, of liberty and necessity, when he supposed that the human soul contracted certain good or evil qualities in a former existence. Thus the Son of God (the Logos) selected for Jesus, as he said in the Fourth Book of the Principles, a soul which chose the good before it knew the evil. This is merely putting off the problem, not solving it. It is a falling off from what he had stated before, that it was by doing the Father's will that Jesus attained to such a perfection of holiness that what he had freely and lovingly elected turned into nature. The reason is that here, as on some other points, Origen was already trammelled by vulgar opinions, which, though founded in error, obtained general assent.

VII. *Of the Consummation of all Things (Eschatology).*—We may sum up Origen's opinions respecting the end of the world, by referring to his fundamental principle, that finally, at the end of time, God will be all in all; not by the destruction of the creature, but by its gradual elevation into His divine being. This is life eternal, according to Christ's own teaching.

VIII. *Of the Inspiration of the Scriptures.*—Origen assumed a threefold sense of Scripture, corresponding to the three kinds of men — the carnal, or purely historical; the psychical, or moral interpretation; and the spiritual, or speculative sense.*

IX. *Of the Christian Soul and Life.* — Origen's anthropology was intimately connected with his ontological system. All men, according to him, have fallen, because they have used their free will for selfish purposes, and thus become connected with matter, which is limitation. The higher intelligences are those which now animate the great celestial bodies, being filled with love and longing after the general restoration. Of men, some are spiritual, some psychical, some material, or carnal. All, however, have in them some spark of the divine essence; and are made subservient to the realisation of the great divine plan of

* Neander, p. 956.

the Universe, which tends to general restoration. We understand this plan but very imperfectly, because we perceive only a very limited part of its realisation.*

There was a first man, historically; but what is told as a history of the fall upon this earth of ours belongs to the history of the spiritual world, and in this sphere Adam is primitive humanity, and nothing else.† All souls were originally alike; but, having free will, prepared for themselves a different material existence in the material world: they, however do not fall into animal bodies.

The Spirit in man (his spiritual element) is that which counteracts the downward selfish tendencies of the Psyche, and is the organ of communication with God. Of this communication, prayer is the highest type. It is the immediate expression of the Christian's life with God. We have already observed above, that one of his finest and deepest works is devoted to a philosophical inquiry into the nature of Prayer. Origen taught, that as the Son is inferior to the Father, as touching the substance of his Being (although he has a personal existence of his own), he cannot be the object of adoration or address, considered absolutely, but only in reference to the Father. This I believe to be the shortest and most intelligible formula for his theory.‡ "Christ," he says, "is, to all Christians, the way, the truth, and the life: it is through Him, as the mirror, that Paul, and Peter, and all those who are like them, beheld God." Before His coming, men knew only the Creator and Ruler of the world. Christ taught them of the Father, made them children of God through the spirit of adoption, and taught them to pray to Him as their Heavenly Father. Christ, therefore, in saying "One only is good," teaches us, as it were, to pray not to him who was ordained by the Father to be our high priest and advocate, but to the Father through this high priest and advocate, who has been tempted like us, yet, by the grace of God, remained without sin.§

* Homil. iv., in Jes. § 1. Neander, p. 1078. ff. † Neander, p. 1080.
‡ See on this difficult subject Neander, i. 1017. ff.
§ De Orat. c. xv.

But, as in thought, so in prayer and worship, the psychical man does not see God but in Christ; and, therefore, makes Christ the object of prayer. It is, however, the aim of Christian life to ascend to the spiritual element, which is the higher and, as it were, superhuman part in man. It speaks to man as conscience, warning, judging, and punishing; and as the consciousness of God, which points to the cause of the Universe as the Centre of all spiritual life and the Source of Law. Moreover, this spirit alone is immortal; and, in the moment of death, it leaves the souls which have during life rebelled against it, instead of allowing it to rule over them. The others must pass through many purifying stages of existence, as the human souls have done already who are now living on this earth. But the divine element will triumph at last, as a consequence of the irresistible power of God, who is Love.

The real mainspring of evil lies in self; and as the psychical man is the man "of self-interest well understood," he is, in a certain sense, farther from the divine life and from redemption than the carnal man, whose very sins make it more easy to bring him to repentance, and thence to salvation.* No man is constrained to be subjectively evil: he may be saved by exercising his free will, and ceasing to oppose himself to the will of God.†

It was through the ever faithful obedience of the soul of Jesus to the Spirit within Him, which was the Logos itself, that she became entirely one with the Logos, was made Divine.‡ Through that divinizing spirit the Psyche becomes again Mind (Nûs). To attain, as nearly as possible, to that state, is the highest scope of Christian life. As to Jesus himself, it is not clear whether Origen carried out consistently in his own mind the idea, stated above, that by the holiness of his earthly life his soul became divinized, or whether Origen mythically referred this act of Christ's God-devoted soul to a former existence.§ But it is essential to bear always in mind, that Origen did not consider the Psyche of Christ as absorbed by the Spirit,

* Neander, p. 1085. † Ibid., p. 1086. ‡ Ibid., p. 1097.
§ Ibid., p. 1099. ff.

but as continuing in its free action. What he had in his mind was nearly the same as was taught a thousand years after him by the German School of the "Friends of God" (Eckart, Tauler, and the anonymous author of the German Theology) with the clearness and simplicity of a spiritual gospel.

The same may be said with perfect truth of Origen's sublime and pious, but not always philosophical theory of prayer. His system was not sufficiently profound, nor his mind sufficiently free, to solve the apparently, for him, insoluble problem of reconciling man's free determination with the eternal Providence of God. As Redepenning very profoundly observes, "He keeps to the Divine objective element, without which all theoretic religion falls to the ground, and the door is opened to a bottomless pantheism, in which the soul, imagined to be all in all, ends in losing herself." But those wonderful men of the fourteenth century knew and taught the true solution, though hitherto they have scarcely found any followers, with the exception of Luther.

Origen's theory of prayer is intimately connected with his view of sanctification and holiness. It is that of the apostolic time, as preserved in the East, which Irenæus and Cyprian in vain strove to reintroduce into the Western Church, and the prophet of which is Tertullian, in his book on Prayer. According to Origen, it is the Divine Word or the Spirit of God, in us, which really prays, and this, the only real, prayer is always heard, because, in following the aspirations of the Word in us, the soul, thus exercising her highest act of free will by freely giving herself up to God, necessarily tends towards God, as the Highest Good, and falls in with his eternal decree of love. Prayer is the hymn of creation of the universe: the Sun and Moon and all the Stars as well as Christ and the Holy Spirit and all blessed Spirits, praise God, which is the privilege of all rational beings. To man it is what Clemens has called it, "the converse of the soul with God." The whole life of the believer may be said to be one connected great prayer. Prayer in the highest sense is always connected with thanksgiving, and therefore with the recollection of Christ our Redeemer, who is our

High Priest; and it is addressed, not to Christ, but to God himself — His Father and our Father.*

The Lord's Prayer is the treasure of godliness: the large and deep explanation he gives of it†, is the finest part of the book, and has never been surpassed, unless, perhaps, in Luther's celebrated "Auslegung."

As to public worship, Origen recommends it as having a peculiar blessing from the communion of those who worship in the spirit, in the presence of the Lord and the holy angels, and, "as I think," he adds, "also of the spirits of the departed."‡ But without inward devotion it may, on the contrary, be hurtful. In this public worship, Origen evidently represents prayer, in the highest sense, as adoration, the most sublime part. "It is true," says Origen (Against Celsus §), "we have no temples, no altars, no images; but the true temple of God is in the highest sense Christ, God's mirror in human nature; then also in all the faithful who have Christ's spirit: their souls are living statues, with which no Jupiter of Phidias can be compared." And in the same book‖, "All who can say, in truth, we have risen with Christ and have been seated with him in the kingdom of heaven, live always in the Pentecostal days" (the fifty days

* Orig. de Orat. c. xv. et xx.

† C. xxii. — xxx. p. 170. — 273. ed. Lommatzsch (vol. xvii.)

‡ De Orat. c. xxxi.; p. 283. ed. Lommat. I must not pass over in silence that the otherwise very learned English editor of this treatise (Reading) indulges a mere fancy in supposing that Origen's suggestion as to the most natural arrangement of our private prayers (c. xxxiii.), has any reference to the order of the liturgical service. I can now speak of this confidently, as I have restored the order of the Alexandrian service at and before the time of Origen. The order of a devotional exercise which Origen suggests refers to his exposition of the different elements of prayer. He proposes an introduction (as it were a præfatio), and a conclusion in the ordinary ancient form of the Doxology (Praise to God through Christ in the Holy Spirit). In this frame he places three heads: first, thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστία*): secondly, confession of our faults and sins (*ὁμολογία*): thirdly, prayer for our own wants and those of all and about our families, and beloved. Redepenning (ii. 54.) has inadvertently assented to Rue's approval of Reading's inadmissible explanation.

§ L. viii. § 17. Neander, p. 497.

‖ De Orat. c. 12. Neander, p. 491. Compare Redepenning's beautiful exposition, vol. ii. pp. 31—48.

from Easter to Pentecost).* Baptism and Communion are symbols of inward things in man's mind, and have no saving effect in themselves, as we have seen above in speaking of redemption. As to externals (posture, place, time), he recommends them to be treated as such.†

Origen's anthropology and ethic philosophy was not confined to the contemplation of the divine principle in prayer and worship, nor to speculative thought: he preached, as he lived, the undaunted manifestation of that divine principle, in confessing the truth, and dying for it, if required.

This is the subject of the collateral and contemporary work of his, on Martyrdom.

If we look back to the causes of this mixture of truth and error, of real philosophy and of fancy and delusion, we shall find them to arise principally from two circumstances.

The first is the want of respect for reality. As all knowledge of reality, so also interpretation rests upon this basis. We can no more interpret the Bible, the mirror of God's ways in the history of mankind, than the book of God in nature, which is the creation, without respecting the laws of their existence, which God's ideas impressed upon Man and Nature. All things have in them one and the same Divine law, but according to their specific and generic nature. The species and kinds which we find in them are God's own first law in them, God's thought of them. Now, Origen has little respect for this historical interpretation of facts, still less for that of thoughts, and none at all for that of their union. In his eagerness to express this feeling of the harmony which they display through their partaking of the Divine nature, he steps over the limits and boundaries of reason, which are God's own laws imprinted in the finite. What he does with a mind full of thought, most of his theological successors, in explaining the Bible and the Creation, have done without any but conventional notions.

And what is the deeper cause of this? The despair of that real world in which the Christians lived!

* L. viii. c. 22. † C. 34.

And this brings us to the second cause: the want of a Christian commonwealth. This alone would have been the proper receptacle and embodiment of those thoughts of Christ, which, regenerating and reconstructive in themselves, became at that time corrosive and destructive elements, because they could not be realised, and which by their, however imperfect, application to society, satisfy the human intellect and heart, and produce and preserve that balance of the mind, and that harmony of its powers, which alone constitutes its healthiness.

Those who followed Origen were thus one-sided without philosophical ideas, as Origen and his best contemporaries were with ideas. Thus they fell into servitude, and prepared an intellectual and spiritual bondage of the Christian world, which could not be broken till after a lapse of more than a thousand years. It is against this slavery that wise and good men are struggling now, while fools and rogues rivet their chains by attempting to break them by violence and revolution, and to emancipate the bestial element in order to make it do the work of the Spirit.

What this means I explain fully in my Sketch of the Philosophy of Religion.

It will be sufficient here to state, in a few concluding words, the grand general results of the history and philosophy of primitive Christianity, of which we have endeavoured to lay before our readers the principal facts in the form of a picture of the leading men who flourished during the first seven generations of the Christian Church, and of the ideas which swayed the Christian mind in that momentous period.

CONCLUSION.

RETROSPECTIVE AND PROSPECTIVE VIEW.

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CHRISTIANITY is a history and a philosophy. This it has, to a certain degree, in common with all religions, and, in particular, with those founded upon written records. But the peculiarity of Christianity is, that it alone possesses a true historical basis, whose character is neither mythical nor doubtful, but at once spotless and universal; and a true philosophical basis, the principles of which are identical with the intuitions of Reason and Conscience, to which they perpetually appeal, above all ritual or constitutional authorities or usages.

The historical basis of Christianity is the life of Christ and the teaching of His Apostles, as contained in Scripture.

The life of Christ does not simply exhibit to us the most sublime moral teaching, but all His works and precepts centre in that which constitutes Him, on the one side, the Son of God in an unparalleled sense, and, on the other, the brother and ensample of all mankind. Christ is the Son of God by the constant presence of the Divine Spirit, and by that conscious self-sacrifice of which His whole life formed one act and His death was the seal. Christ is the Son of Man — not a Jew, not a Gentile, but a Man — the eternal model of Humanity. These two views are inseparably united; for Jesus is the Son of Man, as being an infallible mirror of that divine love which created the world, and which presides over the destinies of mankind. His whole earthly existence being thus one expression of unity with the Divine Will, His individuality is at once strictly his-

torical and eternally ideal; and such is the character which He has imprinted upon the religion taught by His disciples.

It was this individuality of Christ which gradually enlightened and inspired the Apostles when left to themselves. They understood comparatively little of Christ's teaching while He was yet among them; but, according to His promise, they were "led into all truth," when, under the guidance of that Spirit which came from Him, they began to apply Christ's religion to all mankind. The teaching of St. James and St. Peter, of St. Paul and St. John, agree in substance, while they each present a strongly marked and, so to speak, a typical individuality, foreshadowing the elements to be afterwards developed in the Christian Church during the course of the eighteen centuries already past, and those which are yet to come.

Divine revelation is therefore eminently, and in the highest sense, a history, a sacred history, a history of God in Man, based upon universal principles. But as the History of which Christ is the centre is the key to the whole history of mankind, so the complete understanding and application of this Sacred History rest upon the belief that there exists a moral government of the world as a universal Law, upon which the progress and prospects of mankind depend. The progress of the understanding of Christianity as a history is therefore indissolubly connected with the progress of that fundamental belief, and upon the understanding of the laws of gravitation which prevail in the intellectual world. Sound religious faith cannot exist without a sober, reasonable belief in the truth of certain historical facts; but it can no more rest exclusively upon a history than it can upon a myth or a legend. It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that Christianity rested ultimately upon a philosophical system.

Even the speculative element which it contains takes an his-

torical form. It does not present itself as an abstract system, but as a divine evolution, centering in the consciousness which Christ had of Himself and of His union with the Father and with His brethren. Speculation therefore can no more absorb this individual consciousness than its historical expression can supply the place of systematic dialectic reasoning, which must vary according to the horizon of the speculative mind and the general method of reasoning.

The philosophy of Christianity is divine because it descends to the very depths of the longings and instincts of the pious soul, while it rises to the loftiest flight of aspiration and conscious thought of which the contemplative spirit of man is capable. And it does so precisely because it is independent of national and conventional interests and peculiarities, and of the dialectic forms of a particular age. It enlightens the philosopher because it offers a Life, and not a System. For it centres in the highest instinct of humanity, which assumes as a postulate that there exist a real and eternal union of the Soul with God, and a moral government of the world, which tends towards progressive good as a consequence of the very nature of God, which is Love.

Reason is summoned by Christ and His Apostles to apply her powers even to the investigation of the divine nature, of which the human mind is the finite mirror and evolution; but all her operations are so intimately connected with the dictates of Conscience, that they cannot be understood, still less exert an active, freeing, regenerating influence, without the recognition of the law of conscience. This again requires a constant recollection of the contrast existing between the ethic ideal, which uncompromising conscience demands, and the shortcomings and failings of human nature, struggling between Self and God.

Christianity therefore is the realization of all foreshadowings

in nature and history, and the consummation of all religious symbols, both Jewish and Gentile. This is true, especially as to Sacrifice, which is the fundamental mystery of all religion, whether considered as worship or as life.

The self-devoting life, and the holy and conscious death of Christ for mankind, in unity with the Father's will, is the first realization of the great Sacrifice of mankind. In like manner the Life of Christians, individually and socially, is the ever-continuing Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, that is to say, of self-devotion from gratitude to God, the Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, through Christ.

All the intellectual mysteries of Christianity are the mysteries of the individual soul awakening to the consciousness of her eternal glory, and of humanity rising to that of its destiny. All its symbols and mysteries are not only capable of a rational and philosophical explanation, but, they require it. The key, however, to their inward effective understanding is in the conscience; and, therefore, in the acknowledgment of moral self-responsibility, and in a holy life, according to the example of Christ.

Christianity further teaches distinctly that this law of individual life is the law of the universe — the principle of the intellectual and moral Kosmos.

The history of mankind is the development of a divine plan of progress from instinct to reason, from impulse to conscious principles, which is all summed up in the expression — transition from physical necessity to moral freedom, from unconscious nature to conscious spirit in nature. The kingdoms of the prince of this world are to become the kingdoms of God; brute force and blind necessity are to vanish in the liberty of the children of God; and the state as well as the family, mankind as well as the individual, are to be made conformable to this law of the universe, revealed in the Gospel, and realized,

although imperfectly, in the history of the Christian world and of society.

The basis of Christianity is therefore indestructible, in spite of the frailty of some of its accidental supports, and the imperfection of its superstructure.

So also the unity of the Church, which is the unity of the human race, is indestructible, in spite of aberrations, mistakes and misdoings, and indeed by means of them.

This character of Christianity, grand from its simplicity as well as depth, is the pervading spirit of all the leading minds from St. Peter to Origen, and the connecting link between the seven generations of apostolical Christianity.

A twofold despotism and the great social and political revolution in the European world successively interfered to prevent the organic development of this spirit. The theological system built up since is conventional: it is based upon misinterpretation and upon Council formularies, which were a wall between the theologian and Scripture as well as reason. These formularies of the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, are the confession of a failure, and have made the most sublime part of our theology conventional and hollow.

As regards those Churches which insist upon hierarchical tradition, both as to dogma and authority, they acknowledge, and cannot help acknowledging, the paramount authority of the first links in the chain of that historical development whichthey call tradition. The undeniable facts of that age accordingly witness against them as much as they do in favour of free Christianity.

The liberty which the early Christians enjoyed even in a sinking and decrepit age, has by the restoration of the principle of civil liberty and religious toleration become an inalienable possession for us and for the living Christianity of future ages. Humanity may live upon truth in forms into which error has crept, but never upon demonstrable falsehoods and deceptions.

Christianity sprung up and flourished under a despotic government, but it cannot thrive under false professions. All theological formularies, posterior to the age of free Scriptural development, must therefore, even in the eyes of those who take their stand upon a tradition which is neither Scripture nor history, be considered as secondary and provisional, requiring new Scriptural investigation and philosophical discussion. We may understand these later formularies as being apologetic measures against those who attacked, or seemed to the majority of the clergy to attack, the principles of the faith of the Apostolical age — a faith which certainly is based upon the two indestructible pillars of Christianity, Scripture and conscientious Reason. This liberty being conceded, those formularies may be tolerated. But they are as intolerable as a rule of faith, as they are irreconcilable with ancient Christianity.

That Apostolical Christianity, however, and therefore all future Christianity, is absolutely irreconcilable with an hierarchical despotism which arrogates to itself the right of interpreting as well as applying Scriptural tradition. Such a despotism weakens and gradually destroys, in individuals as well as nations, that which is the foundation of Christianity — moral responsibility and belief in truth.

In professedly Christian states, Christianity is for the same reason irreconcilable with any system of government, whether despotic or republican, which, either by its principles or actions, impairs the basis of all religious belief, the faith in moral responsibility and in a divine moral order of the world.

Christianity is a consuming fire not only to the individuals who profess it, but also to the nations and governments which make it their standard: more conspicuously so indeed to the latter, because their judgment takes place upon this earth.

APPENDIX.

PART I.

THE FIVE LETTERS TO ARCHDEACON HARE,

ON

THE AUTHORSHIP, CONTENTS, AND BEARING OF THE WORK LATELY PUBLISHED AS ORIGEN'S PHILOSOPHUMENA, OR, REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES,

WITH NOTES.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.*

THE book which I venture to present to the Public, has grown out of letters written to an English friend, on a subject of common interest: and I must plead this circumstance as my apology for undertaking a task so hazardous as the composition of a work in English must always be for a foreigner.

The subject itself requires no apology, nor does it need any recommendation, in the eyes of a Public alive to whatever is connected with Christianity. A few words only of introduction, on the history, purport, and bearing of the patristic relic which is the immediate object of this inquiry may be desirable in this place.

Some months ago, a curious problem was presented to the Christian world, by the publication of an important work, long lost, treating on the primitive doctrinal history of the Church.† The book is evidently authentic, and was written under Alexander Severus, or about the year 225 of our era. I believe it can be proved by unanswerable arguments, that its author is not Origen, but an illustrious and influential member of the Church of Rome itself, in short, no less a personage than St. Hippolytus. This circumstance does not diminish, but enhances, the value of this recovered relic of antiquity. For Hippolytus, as a disciple of Irenæus, and being about twenty years older than Origen, must have enjoyed, on many important points, still more than he did, the living tradition of the Apostolic age: his name and character are not involved in any reproach or suspicion of heresy, as those of the great Alexandrian doctor unfortunately are: and further, as a member of the Roman Presbytery, he could speak with the highest authority on the affairs of the Church of Rome. Through

* Hippolytus and his Age; or, the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus: and Ancient and Modern Christianity and Divinity compared. By Christian Charles Josias Bunsen, D. C. L. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. The Critical Inquiry: in Five Letters to Archdeacon Hare. With the Effigy of Hippolytus. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1852.

† Ὠριγένους Φιλοσοφούμενα ἢ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος. "Origenis Philosophumena sive omnium hæresium refutatio. E codice Parisino nunc primum ed. Emmanuel Miller." Oxonii e Typographeo Academico, 1851.

The title which I propose is this:

Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἱππολύτου Ἐπισκόπου καὶ Μάρτυρος Κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος· τῶν δέκα βιβλίων τὰ σωζόμενα. Sancti Hippolyti Episcopi et Martyris Omnium Hæresium Refutatio: Librorum decem quæ supersunt.

his master Irenæus, the Apostle of the Gauls, and disciple of Polycarp of Ephesus who had caught the words of the Apostle of Love from St. John's own lips, Hippolytus received the traditions and doctrine of the Apostolic age from an unsuspected source, while, as a Roman, he recollects, and describes from his personal knowledge, the secret history of the Church of Rome under Commodus. In his riper years, he had witnessed successively the important administration of two Roman bishops: the one, Zephyrinus, who succeeded Victor, contemporary of Irenæus; the other, Callistus, who occupied the see of Rome during a great crisis of that Church in doctrine and discipline, and whose life and character are here for the first time disclosed.

The book gives authentic information on the earliest history of Christianity, and precisely on those most important points of which hitherto we have known very little authentically. It contains extracts from at least fifteen lost works of the Gnostic, Ebionitic, and mixed heretical schools and parties of the earliest times of Christianity. These extracts begin with the account of heresies which existed in the age of St. Peter and St. Paul, and consequently preceded the Gospel of St. John. They go down, in an uninterrupted line, to the first quarter of the third century. We have here, amongst others, quotations from the Gospel of St. John by Basilides, who flourished in the beginning of the reign of Hadrian, or about the year 117; furnishing a conclusive answer to the unfortunate hypothesis of Strauss, and the whole school of Tubingen, that the fourth Gospel was written about the year 165 or 170. Many other points of almost equal importance are settled for ever by these extracts, at least for the critical historian.

The conclusion of the work is not less interesting and important. It contains the solemn confession of faith of the learned and pious author himself, who represents the doctrine of the Catholic Church, exactly one hundred years before the Council of Nice, in the very age of transition from the Apostolic consciousness to the Ecclesiastical system.

The five letters to Archdeacon Hare apply the principles of historical criticism to the questions of the authenticity, the authorship, and the contents of the book, and form the first volume of the present work.

The Second Volume treats of a higher subject — the philosophical history of the Christian Church. I have condensed the matter into aphorisms and fragments, which, I trust, include the most essential points. The Restoration of the Creed, the Liturgy, the Doctrine and the Constitution of the Anti-Nicene Church, form the Third Volume.

Neander was the first to give us a history of the Church as the history of the Christian religion, and not simply as that of the ecclesiastical system; of Christian life, and not of doctrine only; of Christian thought, and not merely of scholastic formularies. But he has not given us a philosophical history in the highest sense; nor have his followers or his antagonists. A philosophical history of Christianity must rest upon a double basis: a critical history of the life of Christ, and a general system of the philosophy of religion. The first has been attempted by Strauss, but has confessedly failed: not only because he gives up the problem itself, but also because both the origin of the evangelical accounts and the primitive history of Christianity would be more inexplicable, if we were

to adopt his hypothesis, than any one could have supposed them to be before. The other, a general system of the philosophy of religion, has not hitherto been even attempted. Yet this latter is as necessary as the former. The Christian must know as a fact of real history, illustrated by real philosophy, what Jesus of Nazareth thought both of himself and of his personal divine mission, and what was the extent of that holy work for which he lived and died, but which he left as a progressive act of the divine regeneration of mankind, to be carried out by the Spirit of God among his believers. Nobody can philosophically appreciate what has been done in these eighteen hundred years for the realization of this divine idea, unless he is able to measure it by the standard placed by Christ himself before his followers. But the faithful and thinking Christian, in the second place, must not be ignorant of the laws and principles according to which a religious idea, as such, develops itself in history. He knows, as a believer, that his religion is the true one; but he will not lose sight of the important circumstance, that the elements which act in true religion are not exempt from the general principles of evolution inherent in the nature of those elements. The antagonisms contained in them are capable of receiving their solution; the defects growing out of the natural development may be corrected; but the history of the Christian religion shows, that neither its rites, nor its records, nor its forms of government, are exempted from general laws, as to their origin, their interpretation and application, and their progress and decay. This is no longer a question of theory or of probability, but a matter of fact and of history. Nearly two thousand years of evolution are before us: we are fully able to go through the accounts: if any priest, or any body of priests or doctors, pretend to infallibility or the exclusive right of judging, we shall not lose our time in disputing their authority, but point to the sum total, and to all the great items which throughout these eighteen hundred years cry out against such unholy pretensions. Any flaw in the account proves the pretender to infallibility to be mistaken, and sets him down, if he continue to claim that authority, as a tyrant or an impostor, or both. The divine nature of Christianity is not established by the absence of those agencies which ordinarily contribute to the development of human institutions; indeed, if it did, Christ and Christianity would not be an object of history, but a fable: it is proved by the renovating power of the Spirit in the living conscience of believers. It is the unity of the working of this Spirit which in the whole course of development forms the real, the only true, unity and uninterrupted continuity of the Church. Neglect this, and you have to choose between superstition and infidelity; and in either case you give up religion.

I have, therefore, thought it right to begin the Second Volume by such philosophical aphorisms on the general principles of the history of religion, and on the leading features in the history of Christianity, as bear directly upon the subject. I have then discussed the principal historical points in the life of the ancient Church, in the hope of making the knowledge of Hippolytus and of his age practically useful for the understanding both of primitive Christianity and of our own time. Instead of examining Hippolytus and his age by any later standard, and

instead of reducing the inquiry to the absurd question: Was Hippolytus a Roman Catholic, or a Protestant? I have endeavoured to bring the reader into the very heart of the life and consciousness of the ancient Church, and, if I am not strangely mistaken, by this very process also to the centre of the real controversies of our own age. What is the authority of Scripture? What is Apostolic Tradition? What are the Church and her Sacrifice? What were the idea and practice of the ancient Church respecting the Sacraments? What, finally, is the origin of our Canon Law? We have now materials enough to answer these questions in such a way as not to ground our conviction upon this or that passage, which may be controverted, but upon the undeniable existence of a general consciousness of the ancient Church. Take away ignorance, misunderstandings, and forgeries, and the naked truth remains: not a spectre, thank God! carefully to be veiled, but an image of divine beauty, radiant with eternal truth. Break down the barriers which separate us from the communion of the primitive Church — I mean, free yourself from the letter of later formularies, canons, and conventional abstractions — and you move unshackled in the open ocean of faith; you hold fellowship with the spirits of all the heroes of Christian antiquity, and you are able to trace the stream of unity as it rolls uninterruptedly through eighteen centuries, in spite of rocks and quicksands.

For all these questions Hippolytus and his works are of primary importance: indeed a book of his, the genuine text of which unfortunately is lost, gives us, in the extracts and fragments we possess, the key to the origin of the so called Apostolical Constitutions and Canons, and enables us, more than anything else, to restore the whole of the Law of the ancient Church.

After having established that the real Apostolic Tradition exists, and that it is neither a secret, nor identical with what is now appealed to as Tradition, but the very contrary to it, I have examined its three branches. These are: first, the tradition about the Number and Authors of the canonical books of the New Testament, according to the ancient Church; then the tradition as to Liturgical theory and practice, particularly as to the Christian Sacrifice and the Eucharist; lastly, the tradition about Ecclesiastical law and custom. For all these three points the age of Hippolytus is of decisive importance; and he himself, as well as his great master, a leading witness.

The aphorisms and fragments relative to these subjects are partly new, partly of older date. The general introductory aphorisms are based, as to the system of a philosophy of the history of mankind, upon a German Essay composed by me in January 1816, as the result of my studies and meditations on that subject; and upon an Introduction to the Philosophy of Universal History, written last year; neither of which have yet been published. The aphorisms on the origin and epochs of the Christian sacrifice were written in December 1822, and early in 1823, as the summing up and conclusion of a series of researches made on this sacred subject from 1817 to 1822. The extract from a letter dated Christmas 1829, addressed to a late friend, Dr. Frederic Nott, prebendary of Winchester, on the nature of the Christian sacrifice, has been known for many years to several of my English friends in manuscript copies,

and was to have been published by Dr. Arnold as an appendix to a new volume of sermons, which his premature death unhappily prevented him from compiling. I give these Essays exactly as they were written at the time: not only because they are documentary evidence of the consistency and continuity of my views on all those points, but also because I believe they have not become antiquated from having been kept back something like twice nine years.

In the Third Volume I have given, first, the texts of the Creed, Liturgy, and Ordinances; in short, the Book of Common Prayer of the third century, and its Ecclesiastical Code: both with the necessary explanations. I feel myself entirely incompetent to exhibit a complete picture of the age. I can understand that age only as one scene in a great drama, which begins with the first Christian Pentecost, and the first act of which closes with the death of Origen. This drama is a fragment, and it rests upon the divine centre of humanity, the life of Jesus of Nazareth. I shall admire the courage of the man who undertakes now to give such a historical and philosophical picture of Hippolytus and his age; but I do not aspire to the honour of attempting it.

Still, all antiquarian researches ought to terminate in history or poetry; and all past ages ought to be made true mirrors for ourselves; particularly in matters which have a lasting interest for us and for all mankind. I consider him a coward, or an unthinking being, who does not ask himself two questions in a case like this, where the subject is one of absorbing interest. These questions are: What should we ay of that age of Christianity, if we saw it with our own eyes? and what would Hippolytus say of our own age, if it should be brought before his vision?

No answer to such questions can be given without some degree of fiction. Most of the speeches in the ancient historians are fictions even as to their contents, all as to the form. The necessity of this lies in the very nature of the problem. You want to give to your reader the picture of an age by the words of one of its historical personages. But that man, when he really spoke, spoke to his age. He did not say what everybody then knew: and that is exactly what you want to tell. The same applies with still greater force to his writings, if he were an author. Distant ages are, even to very learned men, a sealed book, until these two questions be asked.

These considerations must form the excuse for what I have felt myself compelled to attempt. I have written, as the last part of this Philosophical Inquiry, an imaginary Apology of Hippolytus. It rests upon the fiction, that he came to England in order to complain of the authorship of the lately discovered book having been taken from him, and that he claims to be recognized as what he really was, bishop of the Harbour of Rome, and member of the governing presbytery of the metropolis; and, above all, as a thinking Christian and an orthodox divine, in an age which had still uncorrupted traditions, and whose heroes and innumerable martyrs lived and died for Christianity. I suppose Hippolytus to make this defence of himself before a distinguished English assembly, after some months of interviews and theological discussions with learned divines. In carrying out this fiction, I have endeavoured to follow, as closely as possible, the form of the Platonic Apology of Socrates, and

humbly to imitate that mixture of irony and ethical earnestness which is inseparable from the name of Socrates. I know full well that Hippolytus was not Socrates, and still less do I pretend to be his Plato. But I have attempted to give something of his character as a thinker and as an author. As such he exhibits, predominantly, a Roman oratorical style of the declining age, and betrays perhaps, here and there, a senile prolixity; but there is in him a true element of dialectical reasoning, which shows the Greek blood in his veins. I have endeavoured to represent the Roman element in the introductory part of my Apology, and the Greek in the rest. The form of the composition is that of a vision: its practical purpose is to be a mirror to our own age.

Respecting the execution of this attempt, I must, of course, claim the highest degree of indulgence as to the form; but no just and intelligent critic will have to blame me for the want of a conscientious wish to be historically true and perfectly impartial. I feel sure, I am still less liable to the reproach of having treated intricate and sacred questions with levity, or of having intended to mix myself up with national and personal questions, and with the controversies of the day in this country. Nothing is further from my mind and from my position. I felt myself compelled to bear on this occasion testimony to what I am convinced is the truth: let it be read and judged as such. Neither can it be said with justice that I have endeavoured to insinuate my own religious convictions, or philosophical opinions, under the cover of Hippolytus. What I think and believe personally on the subjects here treated, I have stated with Christian frankness, partly in my "Constitution of the Church of the Future," and in my "Epistles on Ignatius," and partly in the Aphorisms and Fragments which precede the Apology. Some further elucidations of several difficult points in the history of the second century, to which I have alluded in this book, will appear next year, in one German volume. If God grant health and leisure, a "Synoptical text of the Four Gospels," and a "Critical Reconstruction of the chronological order of the Evangelical Accounts" (both ready for the press), will be followed by a "Life of Jesus." This is the work which for twenty years I have considered as the final object of my thoughts and researches, if I should be found worthy to realize the idea which I have conceived of this sublime problem. But, as author of the Apology, I am only responsible for letting Hippolytus speak according to his known opinions and principles, as to his own time; and in character, although with a poetical license, as to ours.

I have honestly endeavoured to do both: it is not for me to judge how far I may have succeeded. What, however, I confidently hope to have established by holding up such a mirror to this age is, the wholesome truth that the age of Hippolytus was not shackled by those conventionalities and prejudices, and not burdened with those ordinances of man preposterously canonized and intended to be made into civil law; shackles which at present impede the march of Christianity, not only in the Roman and Greek Churches, but also among Evangelical Christians. Whatever apology may be adduced in favour of such later contrivances and arrangements, they must not claim Apostolic origin and authority, if the work of Hippolytus be genuine: and this is a proof in itself, even for Protestants, that they are not Scriptural.

If I have not entirely failed in my efforts to elicit truth out of the records of thought, and out of the annals of history, which are now opened to us for the first time, I owe it to the resources of thought and learning which I have found in the standard works of modern German divinity and philology, and which I have endeavoured to apply to this subject. Deeply impressed as I am with my own unworthiness to represent either, I still trust to have, by this process, and by the very important contents of the newly discovered book, sufficiently shown the real nature and superiority of the German method of inquiry, and the satisfactory results already obtained. Now, if this be the case, I believe also that I have enabled every thinking reader to judge for himself whether there is much wisdom in ignoring, and whether there be not great injustice and presumption in calumniating, the Evangelical Churches of Germany, and in vilifying Germany and German divinity. I frankly own, that I have considered it my duty to avail myself of a subject entirely new and fresh, and one belonging to the neutral domain of ancient ecclesiastical history, and of a problem which is placed at the same time before all Christian natons, in order to test the real result and worth of what each of them has hitherto done in that field of thought and research. The proofs which I have given of what has been achieved already, in this respect, by the critical and historical school of Germany, will, I trust, at all events rescue, in the eyes of intelligent and fair judges, from unqualified and unworthy insinuations and suspicions, a nation and a Church from which not only the fathers of the English Church received the Reformation, but which in the last hundred years have shown a self-sacrificing zeal for Christian truth and doctrine, and fought (alas! only too long single-handed) the good fight for intellectual and spiritual Christianity, against the overwhelming indifference of this sceptical and materialistic age. Thus much every body may easily know, and ought to have learned, if he pronounce upon German theology; that so arduous a task has not been undertaken by the noblest and purest minds of a great, although religiously divided and politically torn, nation, out of levity, or for the purpose of showing ingenuity and learning, much less out of hatred to Christianity; and that it has not been supported, and in its principle accepted, by the people at large, out of infidelity and irreligion. The revilers of German divinity might also know, and ought to appreciate, the fact, that the defects and dangers of German Church life are chiefly attributable to the political misfortunes and sufferings of Germany, not to the individual or national want of religious spirit. The history of nearly a century proves that this attempt to place Christianity upon a more solid and a really tenable basis has been undertaken from a courageous love of truth, and that it has been carried out with sacrifices greater than any class of individuals or any nation ever made to that holy belief, that there must be truth in history as well as in reason and conscience, and that this truth exists in Christ and in Christianity. And this faith is so general, and has ever been so powerful in my Fatherland, that I boldly appeal to the impartial judgment of the world and to the infallible verdict of history, in expressing my conviction, that there exists at present in no country so much inward, true, sincere, religious feeling and faith in Christ and Christianity, and so much hope for a better future

as to religion, as in Germany, and in Protestant Germany in particular. Liberty is inseparable from abuse, and therefore from scandal: the political history of the politically freest nation in the world is the best proof of that. But men and Christians ought not to be frightened by such abuse and such scandal, into a betrayal of the sacred cause of liberty or of truth.

I have spoken, and I speak, freely on this subject. First of all, I do so as a Christian, who feels, and has long time felt, the critical state of Christianity in this distracted and yet nobly struggling age. I have further done so as a son of my Fatherland, who feels bound to vindicate the honour of his country among a nation he respects. I lastly have done so as a grateful guest of England. I have wished to vindicate before Germany and the Continent the character of the great body of English Protestants, as not being a party to those absurd and malicious calumnies. I know, from an experience which is deeply engraven in my inmost heart, the spirit of fairness and justice which distinguishes the nation among whom I have now lived almost twelve years. The slanderers and revilers of German religion and divinity do not speak the voice of the Protestant clergy, much less of the Christian people, of England. The attacks upon Germany issue from two parties. One of them is an extreme fraction of the evangelical class in the Church of England and in some dissenting bodies, a fraction which, unconscious of its origin, has become first indifferent, then hostile, to all free thought and all critical learning. This, however, is owing to accidental, and I hope transitory circumstances; and especially to that unfortunate isolation from the religious life of the rest of the world, and of Germany in particular, in which English Protestants have lived these last two hundred years, with the single exception of John Wesley. But, principally and systematically, these attacks upon Germany come from a party which either has joined, or ought, if consistent, to join, the Church of Rome; a party, in which, whatever the individual earnestness and personal piety of many of its members may be, all Christian ideas are absorbed in sacerdotal formalism, unsupported by corresponding doctrine, and by catholic hierarchical pretensions unfounded in themselves, and placed in flagrant contradiction to the records of the Church of England, as well as the feelings of the people. Those who once were their leaders now preach that historical Christianity must be given up as a fable, if an infallible authority be not acknowledged declaring it to be true. All these are necessarily the bitter enemies and detractors of German divinity; which makes inward religion, and not the form of Church government, the principal object, and which establishes its history upon a rational basis, according to the general rules of evidence The leading men of that school know full well why they revile German Protestantism and German philosophy and doctrine. They know instinctively that their efforts to restore exclusive sacerdotal authority upon a system of superstition, delusion, and ignorance, will be vain, as long as there exists a nation bent, above all things, upon conscientious investigation of Christian truth, both by free thought and unshackled research; a nation which of all tyrannies hates none more than that of priestcraft, and of all liberties loves none so well and so uncompromisingly as that of the intellect. But the Christian public in England is not represented by

that party. This great body is neither unwilling to extend the hand of brotherhood to the Evangelical Churches of the Continent, nor ashamed of the name of Protestants. Nor do I think that history will acknowledge as legitimate the authority of such men to lay down the law in divinity and in religion. I at least do not see how such an authority can be founded upon what they have achieved in Christian research or thought, or in the learned interpretation of Scripture, or in the field of missionary labour, or in other great national works, or finally in the free domain of science and literature. I do not believe therefore, that by their achievements they have acquired such titles as are valid and available in the common conscience of mankind, to brand with indiscriminate condemnation, as infidel rationalism, the whole theology of Germany, and to vilify the most learned and profound Church of Christendom in the present day; unless they mean to claim as their titles the irrationality of their own system, and that absence of charity in which they glory when speaking of the Protestant divines of Germany, and of the Protestant Churches of the Continent.

Hastings, Sept. 7. 1851.

The statue of Hippolytus, that precious monument of the fourth century, of which I had already pointed out the importance in the "Description of Rome" (vol. ii. B. p. 329. N.), and which is frequently mentioned in the present Volume (pp. 13. 210. 223.), has never yet been well drawn and engraved. Few persons even may have seen that barbarous representation which Fabricius exhibits in his edition of the works of Hippolytus. I therefore thought it right that the historical restoration of Hippolytus should be accompanied with a worthy faithful copy of his statue. Mr. Gruner's lithograph, prefixed to the present Volume, faithfully reproduces a classical drawing made from the original. The statue is above life size, and represents the bishop very characteristically in the Greek pallium, with the Roman toga slung over it. If it does not give an individual likeness of Hippolytus, at all events it presents to us the effigy of a Christian bishop of the Apostolic age, and may, in every respect, be called unique in the history of ancient Christian religion and art.

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PROOF THAT OUR WORK IS OF UNDOUBTED AUTHENTICITY; BUT THAT IT IS NOT THE WORK OF ORIGEN NOR OF CAIUS PRESBYTER, BUT OF HIPPOLYTUS, BISHOP OF PORTUS NEAR OSTIA, PRESBYTER OF THE ROMAN CHURCH, AND MARTYR.

Carlton Terrace, June 18. 1851.

My dearest Friend,

This year is indeed an auspicious one, and full of noble emulation and friendly cooperation, both among nations and individuals. Instead of destructive wars, bitter jealousy, and sullen isolation, it has given us the Crystal Palace, the Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, and a peaceful concourse and good understanding among jurors and visitors from all countries. Moreover, it promises to impart a fresh impulse to historical and philosophical literature and inquiry; for within the last few weeks one of the most valuable monuments of early Christianity has been restored to us by a discovery, which, if I am not greatly mistaken, is the most important made upon that ground for a century, not excepting the rescue of the Syrian manuscripts from the Libyan Desert. A lost work, in ten books, on the internal history of Christianity in the first and second centuries, written undoubtedly by an eminent author at the beginning of the third, has just been published.

How many people will smile at this juxtaposition! Some, perhaps, because they consider the Temple of Industry as a Pandemonium, or, if they use elegant language, a box of Pandora. But few of this class care for books at all; and since the first of May they are ashamed to utter their evil bodings. There are very many, however, to whom such a comparison will seem to smell strongly of learned pedantry. They fancy, the less we know of early ecclesiastical history, the better for us and our children. Now, among these, some are mere barbarians, others obscurantists by profession; and I disdain to speak to you of either of these classes. But, unfortunately, there are also timid persons among this multitude, — people afraid to think, and who ask, with Pilate, "What is truth?" As they never have seriously attempted to find out truth (being prevented either by prejudice and superstition, or by the love of power or of money), they despair of uniting reason and faith, knowledge and peace of mind. The child of this unhallowed fear is pernicious ignorance. I call it pernicious, because knowledge is not less necessary from being less sought after, and because a real knowledge of Christianity, of which that of its earliest history is an integral branch, was never more needed than now, when indifference and ignorance threaten us with all the evils which are foolishly apprehended from inquiry and knowledge. It seems to me, therefore, that all we, who profess a faith in the human mind, and in the

truth of Christianity, should not shrink from declaring our conviction of the importance of discoveries on the field of early ecclesiastical history. Facts on this vast field are the more valuable, because they are so very scarce. I do not think that I exaggerate the importance of our lately discovered work, if I say that it doubles all we really and authentically knew on this subject.

This is the motive which induces me to address these pages, destined for publicity, to you, my dearest friend, together with whom, for near twenty years, I have had the happiness of thinking and inquiring, and in whose love of truth I have found no less comfort than in your erudition and critical judgment.

I say then confidently, that I consider it an auspicious event, worthy to be registered in the annals of this remarkable year, that the book I allude to has been published during its course. I cannot help thinking it providential, that a work which throws so much light on the history of Christianity, from the time of the Apostles to the beginning of the third century, and especially on the internal history of the Church of Rome, should have been brought out at this moment. For this is a time when many feel disheartened, not only by the progress of Popery among the clergy of the Church of England, but also by what they hear of German rationalism. The informants of these good people must have very vague notions, and very little (if any) knowledge of the theological literature of Germany: else how could they confound in one condemnation the most different principles and researches, — Strauss and his opponents, those who attack the authenticity of the Gospels, and those who defend them with an earnestness of thought, of learning, and of faith, which, if the accusers of German theology possess, they effectually conceal? Thus it comes, that many are frightened by the very name of critical researches into the origin of Christianity and of Christian doctrine. They hear so much of the abuse made of the critical researches and hypercritical scepticism against received opinions, accompanied, as usual, by a most uncritical credulity of the critics in their own assertions, that they entirely overlook how others seem to be bent more than ever on stopping and suppressing, or at least discrediting, all inquiry into the origin and history of what they would impose upon us and the generations to come, not only as undoubted historical truth, but even as articles of faith, and, if possible, as the law of the land. Now I consider this despondency a want of faith, and this obscurantism the worst of all persecutions, if it could be practically carried out, and the most dangerous fuel for revolutions, even if only attempted. I deem the pompously demanded divorce between reason and faith, rational conviction and religious belief, altogether unholy; and I have no hesitation in calling all views low, which are derived from the idolatry of the form or of the dead and killing letter; however that principle of separation may be called holy, and these views high. I am sure we do not want less inquiry to renew Christian faith, but more. I also believe, with Niebuhr, that Providence always furnishes every generation with the necessary means of arriving at the truth, and at the solution of its doubts; and as there is no reasonable and tenable faith which is not founded upon rational historical belief, I cannot help thinking it of importance, that we have just now so

unexpectedly got our knowledge of facts respecting early Christianity doubled.

And is there not something striking, and congenial to the character of the year 1851, in the history of the discovery? A French scholar and a statesman of high merit, M. Villemain, sent a Greek to Mount Athos to look out for new treasures in the domain of Greek literature. The fruits of this mission were deposited, in 1842, in the great national library, already possessed of so many treasures. Among them was a manuscript of no great antiquity, written in the fourteenth century, not on parchment, but on cotton paper; and it was registered as a book "On all Heresies," without any indication of its author or age. The modern date of the manuscript, its anonymousness, and probably, above all, this awful title, deterred the scrutinising eyes of the learned of all nations who glanced over it. It fell to the lot of a distinguished Greek scholar and writer on literature, a functionary of that great institution, M. Emmanuel Miller, to bring forward the hidden treasure. He was first struck by some precious fragments of Pindar, and of an unknown lyric poet, quoted by the anonymous writer: he transcribed and communicated them, in 1846, to his literary friends in Germany, who, highly appreciating their value, restored the text, and urged him to publish the whole work.

It appears that during this time M. Miller had looked deeper into the book itself: for in 1850 he offered it to the University Press at Oxford as a work of undoubted authenticity, and as a lost treatise of Origen "Against all the Heresies." The learned men presiding over that noble institution determined to print, and have just published it, thus giving the sanction of their authority, if not to the authorship, at least to the genuineness of the work. They have done in this case what they did for Wyttenbach's "Plutarch," for Creuzer's "Plotinus," and for Bekker's "Greek Orators." And they deserve the more credit for their liberality in the present case, since the name of Origen is almost branded in the opinion of all who have never read his works, who, I am afraid, are the majority even in learned bodies. Am I not right, therefore, in saying that the publication of this work is congenial to the character of 1851, by showing the good results of international communication and friendly co-operation? The book was discovered by a Greek sent from Paris, and has been most creditably edited by a French scholar, and very liberally printed by an English university press. The publication has been accomplished by a combination of different nations, and could scarcely at this time have been brought about otherwise.

I could not help dwelling for a moment on those circumstances, before entering on the real object of these letters, which I will now do without further preface, after stating how I have become acquainted with the work in question.

Dr. Tregelles, to whom I hope we shall soon be indebted for the most authentic Greek text of the New Testament, informed me last week of the appearance of the work, and gladdened my heart by his account of the warmth with which the almost centenary veteran among living authors on the early monuments of Christianity, the venerable Dr. Routh, had immediately studied the book, and acknowledged its importance. I procured a copy in consequence, and perused it as soon as I could; and I

have already arrived at conclusions, which seem to me so evident, that I feel no hesitation in expressing them to you at once.

I maintain: —

First, that the work before us is genuine, but not by Origen.

Secondly, that it is the work of Hippolytus, a person much celebrated, but very little known.

Thirdly, that this celebrated father and martyr, Hippolytus, was a presbyter of the Church of Rome, and bishop of the harbour of Rome, *Portus*, but neither an Arab, nor an Arabian bishop, as Dutchmen and some Frenchmen imagined he might, and Cave said he must, have been.

Fourthly, that this book is full of valuable authentic extracts from lost writers.

Leaving the discussion of the third and fourth points for future letters, I shall limit myself in this to establishing the proof of the first two points, as far as this can be done without examining the arrangement and the contents of the work in detail.

I maintain, then, that our treatise is an authentic work of the earliest part of the third century, but not by Origen.

The arguments which prove this are both negative and positive. No ancient author names or quotes, among the numerous works of Origen, any "Against all Heresies," or any "Refutation of all Heresies," which is the undoubted title of the book now published. Miller is indeed right in saying, that the seven books contained in the Paris manuscript, from the fourth to the tenth, are the continuation and end of the same work, of which the "Philosophumena," printed among Origen's works, form the first book. The author says so himself in more than one passage. In fact, that first book bears the same title, "A Refutation of all Heresies;"* and the title *Philosophumena*, which we find besides in some manuscripts, is therefore only a special name given to the first four books. For these, as we see now, contained an exposition of the systems of the ancient, and in particular of the Greek, philosophers, preparatory to the refutation of the heresies, which occupies the six latter books. That special title recurs in our manuscript at the end of the fourth book, to signify that the first part of the work terminates here.†

It is also right to add that our manuscripts of this first book attribute

* So the author calls in the beginning of the sixth book that which precedes it: "The Fifth of the Refutations of the Heresies." (See below in the Second Letter, beginning of the analysis of the Sixth Book.)—1854.

† It follows that the remaining six books formed in the same manner the second part, and that both might be copied separately. Indeed, it is absurd to call the second part, or even the whole, Philosophumena, and there is no warrant for the statement that the author himself called the first part by that title. In order to satisfy myself fully on this subject, I have applied to the learned and courteous editor himself, and from his answer, which is before me, it would appear that the fifth book (the first of the Refutations of the Heresies) is called "The Fifth of the Refutations," (Βιβλίον Ε τοῦ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἐλέγχου, as superscription, in red letters (rubrica, fol. 26.); and then follows, in black letters, as heading of the contents, Ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τοῦ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἐλέγχου. In fol. 109, v. the superscription of the ninth book is written in black, thus: Φιλοσοφουμένων Θ. The first is evidently the mor eaccurate short title; the other merely conventional. — 1854.

the work to Origen, and that a marginal rubric in our Paris manuscript calls the concluding confession of faith that of Origen. But I agree entirely with Christian Wolf, Le Moyne, Fabricius, the Benedictine editor, and the recent learned biographer of Origen, Professor Redepenning, that the introduction with which the first book begins proves the contrary. The author says that he has undertaken the work as an act of official duty, incumbent upon him both as a bishop and a teacher. Now Origen can never have said this of himself: yet no other interpretation can be affixed to the following words:—"No other person will refute the heretics, except the Holy Spirit delivered to the Church, which the Apostles possessed first, and which they imparted to those who had embraced the true faith. Now we, being successors of the Apostles, and endued with the same grace, *both of high-priesthood and of teaching*, and being accounted guardians of the Church, will not shut our eyes, nor keep from declaring the true doctrine." Interpreting these words in the sense of the writers of the first three centuries, I am quite sure Hippolytus did not attach to the title of high-priesthood any Pagan or Jewish sense, but simply meant the office of a Christian bishop. But a bishop he must have been, who used that word to describe his office and its responsibility.*

But if these words prove our author to have been a bishop when he wrote the work, the ninth book gives still clearer evidence that at that time he resided at or near Rome, and was a member, and an eminent one, of the Roman presbytery. Even they who know no more of the primitive ecclesiastical polity than what they may have learned from Bingham and Mosheim, must be aware that the six bishops of the towns and districts in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome formed, even in the second century, part of what was then called the Church of Rome.† They were integral portions of her presbytery and took part in the election of her bishop, and in the important functions of ecclesiastical discipline and administration. One of those suburban bishops was the bishop of Portus, the new harbour of the Tiber, opposite to Ostia, formed by Trajan. Hippolytus, in almost all the ancient accounts respecting him, bears the title of Episcopus Portuensis: and we shall see later that there never was any other tradition about him. I will only say here, that his celebrated statue in the Vatican Library, found in the year 1551, in the very ancient cemetery near Rome, described (about the year 400) by Prudentius as the place of the burial of Hippolytus, the bishop of Portus near Ostia, is sufficient to prove him to have been that bishop: for he is represented sitting on the episcopal chair or cathedra, and the Paschal cycle inscribed on the chair is a Western Roman one.

But the book before us does not speak less clearly upon this subject. Without entering here into the detail of the curious contents of the ninth book, I will only refer to the numerous passages in it where the author speaks of himself, in the singular, as of an influential and active member

* I refer my readers to the first volume of my *Analecta*, where they will find the Greek text of the whole Proœmium.—1854.

† As not only such men, but even scholars have called this point into question, I have touched upon it in the new preface and in the picture of Hippolytus. (Sixth Generation.)—1854.

of the Roman clergy; and he uses the word "we" in acts of ecclesiastical authority exercised by the clergy as a body.* Now though Origen paid a short visit to Rome about that time, when he was very young, he could never have acted that part or used that language, being simply a visitor from an Eastern church, if he had been at Rome under Callistus, which he was not.

Our first argument evidently excludes Caius, as much as the second does any one who was not a Roman clergyman at the time. That learned presbyter of the Church of Rome was indeed, like Hippolytus, a disciple of Irenæus; and another work of our author, and one which decides the authorship of a third, was ascribed in early times to Caius. But never was any work on the general history of heresies said to have been written by this Roman presbyter.

Now an ordinary reader, finding so considerable a work assigned confidently to Origen, might suppose that some book under that title was really ascribed to the learned Alexandrian by some at least of the many ancient writers who treat of his literary achievements: yet there is not the slightest record that Origen ever wrote a work under any like title.

But perhaps it may be the same with Hippolytus, whose station and history seem alone to agree with our book? On the contrary, a book of exactly the same title is ascribed almost universally to him, the Roman presbyter, and bishop of Portus near Ostia.

Eusebius (H. E. 22.), speaking of Hippolytus, the celebrated author of the "Chronological Annals, which go down to the first year of Alexander Severus" (222), and of the "Paschal Cycle," which begins from the first year of that reign, mentions, amongst his works, that "Against all the Heresies" (*πρὸς πάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις*). Jerome does the same, which must be considered in this case as an independent testimony; for he gives the titles of some works not mentioned by Eusebius. Epiphanius (Hær. xi. c. 33.) cites the name of Hippolytus, with those of Clemens of Alexandria and of Irenæus, as the principal authors who had refuted the Valentinian heresies, the treatise on which occupies so prominent a part in the book before us.†

Finally, the editor of the Chronicon Paschale, of the seventh century,

* ix. 7. (p. 279.), Zephyrinus and Callistus patronised the heresy of the Noetians: *καίτοι ἡμῶν μηδέποτε συγχωρησάντων, ἀλλὰ πλειστάκις ἀντικαθεστώτων πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ διαλεξάντων καὶ ἄκοντας βιασαμένων τὴν ἀληθείαν ὁμολογεῖν.* The same official and authoritative position of the author appears in the passage, ix. 11. (p. 285.), where he says of Sabellius: *ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὑφ' ἡμῶν παραινεῖσθαι οὐκ ἐσκληρύνετο· ἡνίκα δὲ σὺν τῷ Καλλίστῳ ἐμόναζεν* (who was then bishop of Rome) *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνεσείετο.* Compare also the following passages: ix. 12. (p. 289,) he speaks of Callistus as fearing the author personally: *δεδοικὼς ἐμέ.* He must therefore have had an influential and an authoritative position. But the decisive passage is the following. Of some persons excluded from the Roman Church, he says: *ἔκβλητοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑφ' ἡμῶν γενόμενοι* (p. 290.) Now only the decree of the presbytery of the Roman Church could expel from its communion; and none but a member of the Roman presbytery could speak thus. The author consequently must have belonged to it, or he is a swaggerer. —1854.

† I am indebted to Prof. Döllinger (p. 90. 97.) for a more correct wording of this piece of evidence. I had assumed that the quotation from Hippolytus formed part of Bishop Peter's letter. This, however, is not the case. The letter terminates p. 97, Dind. *οἱ παρ' Ἑβραίοις σοφοί.* The Chronicle itself extends to the year, 628. —1854.

quotes in the introduction to his compilation (completed by Mai's discoveries), after the letter of Peter, bishop of Alexandria (who suffered martyrdom in 311), on the Paschal time, and another of Athanasius on the same subject, a passage from the work "of Hippolytus, the witness of the truth, the bishop of Portus near Rome, Against all the Heresies (*πρὸς πάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις σύνταγμα*)," about the heresy of the Quartodecimani; and I shall prove in my next letter, that this passage must have existed in our work,* but that our present text gives us only an extract in this as in several other places.

We may sum up the arguments brought forward hitherto in a few words. The book cannot have been written by Origen, nor even by Caius the presbyter, for it is written by a bishop: besides nobody ever attributed either to the Alexandrian or to the Roman Presbyter a book with a like title. On the other hand, such a book is ascribed by the highest authorities to Hippolytus, bishop of Portus, presbyter of the Church of Rome, who lived and wrote about 220, as the "Paschal Cycle" and his statue expressly state.

The name of Origen in a marginal rubric cannot avail against such negative and positive evidence. Origen's name was also prefixed to the first book of the Philosophumena, of which our work is evidently the continuation. That book was indeed printed on the faith of manuscripts, under Origen's name, and placed among his works, but it was also generally, and for very cogent reasons, pronounced not to be his.

But perhaps there may be some argument in store which we have not yet touched upon. Ay, there is; and it is a piece of evidence which, even if it stood alone, would put an end to all controversy on the authorship of our work. For we have an authentic and specific description of the contents of the work of Hippolytus "Against all Heresies;" and this description tallies so exactly with the book before us, that it cannot have been given of any other. I mean the account which the patriarch Photius has noted down of the contents of this work in the journal of his reading, known as "Photii Bibliotheca." The object of my second letter being to go through the whole account of the heresies, in order to prove this, I shall open it with Photius' own words.

But I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my gratitude and respect for the learned editor. His plan at first was to give the text exactly as it stood; finding this impossible, in consequence of the innumerable blunders in the manuscript, he has received such corrections into the text as, on the whole, could scarcely be doubtful, reserving for the notes his further suggestions for rendering the text intelligible, which it very often is not. He has used so much moderation in both respects, that a great part of the text is still scarcely intelligible, or at least very corrupt. I hope to prove this, and to contribute my might toward rendering it less obscure. But I trust it will not be forgotten that the principle adopted by the editor is a right one for a first edition; and that we owe the advantage of having, not only a thoroughly accurate, and on the

* Unless the *Σύνταγμα* here named is the first treatise against the heresies written by Hippolytus, as he says in the Proœmium (see Anal. i.). See note to second letter as to the article of Photius, and the new preface. — 1854.

whole a readable text, to the sagacity and good scholarship of him, who, having to wade through shoals of blunders, and to point out chasms, omissions, and other corruptions in every page, contented himself with correcting those errors and defects with a sparing hand, reserving the rest for a more complete edition, to be published at Paris. I beg besides to say, that those who have never perused manuscripts should consider that, if we read the ancient classical authors with so much ease, we have been enabled to do so by a similar process of progressive criticism carried on through ages.

Having but little time to spare from the fifth and last book of my "Egypt" for this sudden digression to the second Christian century, you may be sure of having the end of my correspondence in a few weeks, and my next letter in a few days.

Ever yours faithfully,

BUNSEN.

LETTER SECOND.

THE PLAN OF THE WORK, AND THE CONTENTS OF ITS PRINCIPAL PART, "THE EXPOSITION OF THE HERESIES," ARE DIRECT PROOFS OF THE IDENTITY OF OUR BOOK WITH THAT READ AND DESCRIBED BY PHOTIUS AS A WORK OF BISHOP HIPPOLYTUS WITH THE SAME TITLE.

Carlton Terrace, June 20. 1851.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

THE account given by Photius, the learned patriarch of Constantinople, runs thus *: —

"A little book of Hippolytus' was read. Hippolytus was a disciple of Irenæus. It is a treatise on *thirty-two heresies*, beginning with the DOSITHEANS, and going down to NOETUS and the NOETIANS. He says that Irenæus entered into a refutation of them in his Lectures, and that he, Hippolytus, made a synopsis of these, and thus composed this book. The style of the book is clear, and rather stately, but not turgid, though it does not come up to Attic speech. He says some things which are not quite correct; for instance, that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not by the Apostle Paul. He is reported to have addressed the congregation, in imitation of Origen, with whom he lived on familiar terms, and of whose learned works he was a great admirer."

Then follows a long account of what Hippolytus had done, to encourage the writing and secure the publication and preservation of Origen's works.† But all this, if we look a little closer, turns out to be a blunder. Eusebius, immediately after his short notice of Hippolytus and his works, mentioned this in reference, not to Hippolytus, but to that good and zealous layman, Ambrosius, whom Origen himself calls his taskmaster, who made him write. Jerome had taken the first false step, by interpreting the first two words of Eusebius' account, "*From that time* ‡. . . Ambrosius," as if they signified *In imitation of him* (Hippolytus) . . . Ambrosius, &c.

So much for the last part of the patriarch's account. We can dispose almost as easily of the statement which precedes this in Photius. It is at all events taken from Jerome, who, among the works of Hippolytus, mentions a homily on the praise of our Lord and Saviour, in which Hippolytus signifies, "that he preached it in the Church in the presence of

* Photii Bibliotheca, c. cxxi.

† See the text in the Analecta prefixed to the Prœmium of Hippolyti Refutatio.—1854.

‡ ἐξ ἐκείνου. Euseb. H. E. vi. 23.

Origen." This can only mean, if the text is correct, that the sermon was preached when Origen was present, that is to say, when the Alexandrian doctor was at Rome. Photius, perhaps, read differently *: at all events, it matters not to us whether Jerome misunderstood a Greek text or the patriarch a Latin one: both blundered.†

But the remainder of Photius' account of the book, which is assuredly the same with ours, must be his own, and written as his impression on reading Hippolytus' work, and of the discussion about it with his council.‡ I was struck, at first, by the expression "a little book" (*βιβλιδάριον*), for a work in ten books, of which seven and a half fill about 300 octavo pages. But it is to be considered, that he takes no notice of the "Philosophumena;" and the rest, the account of the heresies (v.—x.), occupies in our MS. less than 200 pages.§ Such a book is not too large to be called *βιβλιδάριον*.‖ Hence, as evidently he had only this second part before him,

* Instead of *παρόντος*, *προϊόντος*; or *præeunte* instead of *præsente*; and then it would mean that Hippolytus had preached, like Origen, learned sermons, worth publishing; for this, we know, had never been done at Rome before Hippolytus.

† The whole account of Photius is full of blunders. Origen visited Rome under Zephyrinus, in 211, when he was in his twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh year. How can any writer or record of the time have reported that Hippolytus, who at that time was already a distinguished writer, and at the end of the second century, had imitated Origen, whose homilies, as far as they were taken down in writing, belong to the latest period of his long life, and who certainly could not deliver any homily to a congregation before he was ordained, that is to say, before the year 228?—1854.

‡ I must preface the argumentation which follows by observing, that all difficulties may be set aside if one will assume that Photius had before him, not our book, but the Treatise which he had written before on the same subject, and to which he refers in the Procemium to the Refutation. This assumption has been brought forward very ably by Duncker, Wordsworth, and Döllinger. I am the less disposed to oppose it, because it removes many difficulties, while the argument remains the same. If Photius speaks of the short treatise, his evidence is fully as good for ours, for Hippolytus says himself he wrote such a one, naturally, therefore, without the learned apparatus of the Philosophumena, or the first four books. The same may be said of the quotation from the Chronicon Paschale, which we cannot show in our manuscript. Indeed, the author gives to the work of Hippolytus the same title as Photius, Σύνταγμα, and not Ἔλεγχος. As we do not possess the former treatise, and as our own text gives us (as we shall see) more than one reason for suspecting its completeness, it is impossible to decide the question. I will only observe that the argument drawn from the word *βιβλιδάριον* is very weak. Montfaucon says, in his great work, the Palæographia (p. 25.): "Βιβλίον et diminutive *βιβλάριον* (which is only another form for *βιβλιδάριον*), quod tamen postremum vocabulum pro libris satis amplæ molis usurpatum occurrit." Indeed we find in that same work (p. 75.) a Codex called by that name, containing miscellaneous astronomical treatises, and this MS. must have consisted of more than 345 folia (our last six books contain 100). Photius himself used the word when speaking (Cod. 186.) of Conon's Narrations, or Fifty Accounts of Mythical and Historical Events, which, according to the abstract Photius has given, must have been a book of no inconsiderable extent. So much for the learning of the philological objection against the assumption that Photius in our article might have spoken of the book we have before us. It must not be forgotten, either, that, as I maintain our text not to be complete, that of Photius may have been so still less. — 1854.

§ In the Paris MS., which is in quarto, books v.—x. occupy less than 200 pages (fol. 26ᵛ. to fol. 124ᵛ.: there may be two or three pages wanting at the end).

‖ I have left out in reprinting this an ill-chosen example from Phot. Cod. 126., where the epistles of Clemens and Polycarp are mentioned as contained in a volume termed by him *βιβλιδάριον*: for although we do not possess the first epistle of

that expression has nothing surprising in it. It must be confessed, indeed, that our manuscript has no passage quoting the Epistle to the Hebrews; but the quotation may have occurred in an introduction, where the author probably spoke of the relation of his work to that of Irenæus. Such a general introduction seems to be wanting. The "Philosophumena" in our manuscripts begin rather abruptly with an introduction, which may have been a special one for that first section of the work. But the passage alluded to may also have occurred in the lost second, or third, or at the beginning of the fourth book. We learn from the introduction to the "Philosophumena," that they treated, first, of the main systems of Greek philosophy; and the account of these forms our first book, with an appendix respecting the Brachmans (in which Megasthenes' Mandanis is named, but written Dandamis), the Druids, and Hesiod. Besides, the author says he had in that section given an account of the mystical and the astrological systems; and we see, from other passages, that he had referred, not only to the Greek writers, but also to the Chaldæan, Assyrian, and Egyptian. Now, what we read of the fourth book treats exclusively of the mathematical and astrological theories: it is therefore clear that the second and third must have been exclusively or principally devoted to an exposition of the mystical systems of antiquity. Here our author had ample opportunities for quoting the Hebrews, as a corrective of mystic writers respecting sacrifices, rites, and mysteries. Or that passage may also have occurred at the end, where our manuscript is defective.

But who can say that this censure may not refer to some other work of Hippolytus, and apply to the author, not to our book? What follows immediately certainly does. At all events, I have no doubt about the fact, that Hippolytus expressed himself in that way respecting the Epistle to the Hebrews, and therefore incorrectly in the eyes of the patriarch. He could no more have ascribed it to the apostle Paul, than did any one of his contemporaries in the Western Church, or even any Alexandrian writer openly, before Dionysius, about the year 250. The Romans knew better than anybody, from their first regular bishop, Clemens, that it was not St. Paul's.

The rest of the account given by Photius is positive and accurate enough to prove that we have the work he speaks of before us. Ere I enter into a detailed proof of this assertion, I will briefly state the three leading points of my argument.

First: Our author follows the arrangement stated by Photius. He begins with the old Judaizing sects, which were not connected with Valentinus, as, according to the general tradition of antiquity, Simon was. This is the characteristic difference between him and Irenæus. That pious and learned bishop of the Gauls, having to deal principally with the Valentinians of his time, his immediate adversaries, gradually ascends to Valentinus personally, and lastly to Simon and the Simonians, whom he considers as the root of the Gnostic system with which he had to contend. Hippolytus adopted the reverse method, the truly historical

Clemens entire, it is not likely that much of it is wanting. But as Döllinger and some English critics have made much of this mistake, I beg to refer to the preceding note to show that it is of no import whatever.—1854.

one. The second book of this section (book vi.) begins with Simon, the arch-sectary, and then proceeds to Valentinus. According to the same principle, the first (book v.) treats of those primitive sects of Jewish Christians, who, having set forth their speculative and cabalistic dreams about the Old Testament and the Jewish rites, connected Jesus of Nazareth, as the Christ, both with Judaic symbols and cosmogonic theories, whereas those known in later times as the Gnostics (a name first adopted, according to Hippolytus, by these Judaizing sects) started from Gentile and anti-Judaic views.

Photius evidently found these Judaic sects, as we do in our book, at the head of his treatise; but he expresses himself inaccurately. Instead of calling them Ophites, as he might have done, or Naassenes, which signifies the same in Hebrew, or Justinians, he designates them as Dositheans, a sect not mentioned in our book at all. But the name represents those earliest Judaizing schools: so the author of the Appendix to Tertullian's book, "De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum," begins the list of heretics with Dositheus. This is not correct; for Dositheus was not a Christian at all, but lived before Christ, and founded a mystic sect among the Samaritans.* The last of the heresies treated by Hippolytus in the work read by Photius was that of the Noetians: and so, in fact, it is in our book.†

Secondly: Our work, like that read by Photius, contains the enumeration and refutation of just *thirty-two* heresies, a number corresponding neither with the enumeration of Irenæus, nor with that given by Epiphanius‡, or by any other known writer.§

* Epiphan. Hæres. iv. Samarit. p. 30. sq. Neander, K. G. i. 784. Anm. Dorner, Person Christi, p. 144. See particularly A. Ritschl, Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche (Bonn, 1850), p. 161.

† I repeat that this difficulty disappears if we suppose Photius to be speaking of the shorter treatise. As to Dositheus, as the starting point, if we consider that Dositheus died after Christ, and that the Dositheans (which Photius alone mentions, and not their author) were co-existing with Apostolic Christianity, the Ophites, as the oldest sect of Jewish Christians, may easily have come to be looked upon as an offspring or branch of that Jewish sect, for they are distinguished from Simonians, and from Gentile Gnostics. Now, with regard to the conclusion of the list of heresies, I do not see why we may not consider the article upon the Noetians to have been the last, including the Callistians; for Photius says, the book concluded with Noetus and the *Noetians*. The few words relating to the Elchasaites may have been overlooked altogether, or else looked upon as an appendix. Döllinger's scruples about the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, mentioned at the conclusion of our book, if they are serious, will not weigh much with my readers. How absurd to suppose Photius could have characterized the series of heresies in our work, as we read it, thus: the author begins with the Dositheans and concludes with the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes!—1854.

‡ Hæresis xiv.

§ One of my reviewers, who betrays more anger than judgment, has, seriously as it appears, come forward, with the ingenious conjecture that the real book which Photius read in the genuine work of Hippolytus, was that of the ignorant writer whose superficial account of the heresies is appended to Tertullian's work, De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum, or the work from which this ignorant writer extracted his meagre notice. One of the most esteemed and learned works of antiquity is to be identified with one of the most miserable compilations! What a want of respect for the public, and what a state of mind does such a conjecture betray

Thirdly: Photius tells us that his author gives his work as based upon that of Irenæus, and as being an extract from his "Lectures." Now I shall soon show you whole articles copied from Irenæus, which contain all his facts, leaving out his declamations and prolix refutations. Of course Photius does not say that Hippolytus gave nothing but such an extract. He evidently could only copy such articles as Irenæus had written; certainly not the account of the Noetians, and others later than Irenæus. But, if Hippolytus' work was only an epitome from Irenæus, with a continuation to his own times, Photius would not have spoken with such regard of it; nor would later writers, who knew Irenæus full well, have called it an indispensable book. Now what is the real relation of those Irenæan articles to the original? Our author takes, in the articles copied from Irenæus, the historical facts, generally word for word. Then, leaving out the rest, he gives in many cases very important additions, in the most authentic form, by extracts from the works of the heresiarchs. Besides, he has several articles which are entirely his own. To these necessarily belong all those on heresies more recent than Irenæus, and generally on all which his great master had omitted. But, in the next place, Hippolytus has also some elaborate articles of his own on authors treated by Irenæus, about whom Hippolytus had made "more accurate researches," as he says himself*, and as his works prove. With respect to all these articles, we may say that, as far as the facts are concerned, and, therefore, the extracts from the heretical works, our book is a very conscientious critical enlargement of Irenæus. For, if we look to the facts given by that father, and pass by his theological refutations, we are reduced, almost exclusively, to the first book of the five against heresies; and in this far the greater portion is taken up by his own reasoning. We may therefore say, that Hippolytus' work is both an enlargement and an improvement of the first book of Irenæus, and still adopt Photius' assertion, that the author gives it as a synopsis made from Irenæus. Indeed, a passage of our book refers to Irenæus for that very purpose.†

Learned men could indulge in such a supposition before the work of Hippolytus, or, at least, one of his works on the subject, was known. But now the case is very different. Döllinger lays great stress on the point that the epitome alluded to does not call Dositheus a Christian heretic, but a Jewish one. But I have simply stated the fact that, after having announced to Christian readers a list of heretics, he mentions in the first place Dositheus, as Hippolytus concludes with the Essenes.—1854.

* ἀκριβέστερον ἐξετάσας, p. 203., speaking of Marcosians.

† I have commented upon this passage below (under X.), in examining the article upon Marcus the Valentinian, at the beginning and end of which is found the reference to the works of Irenæus (vi. 44, 55.). If Photius had not in his mind this very part of the Refutation, in which indeed Irenæus is mentioned, not once, but twice, it bears at least fully out what he says. I think it, therefore, worth while to examine the passage more minutely, in order to show that the solution I have given in the article upon Marcus, upon the incontestable general sense of a corrupt passage, is not only unassailable by honest criticism, but capable of restoration, only in the sense assumed by me. As to the text of the whole concluding chapter of the sixth book in which this passage occurs, I have given it in my Analecta. Where our author begins to treat of Marcus (ch. 39. p. 200.), he refers to a former exposure he had made (undoubtedly in his Syntagma) of the fraudulent tricks practised by him and similar impostors. "I had found out," he says, "even their last secret word (the unspeakable),

Nor does the improvement consist only in those incomparably more copious and authentic extracts, but also in the chronological, or rather genealogical, account of the heresies, which he has substituted for Irenæus' arrangement.

but refrained from divulging it." "When even," he continues, ch. 42., "the blessed presbyter Irenæus, having argued with considerable freedom against this system, had explained such absolutions, and formularies of Redemption, stating their doings rather strongly, some of the sect, having met with these statements" (I read *οἷς ἐντυχόντες*, instead of *οἱ ἐντυχόντες*), "denied their having been taught such things, doing honour to what they have learned, namely always to deny. It has therefore been my care to search with greater accuracy and to find out minutely, both what they receive in the first absolution, which they call by this name, and what in the second, which they call the Redemption. Not even their unspeakable mystery has remained unexplored to us. But we will forgive that to Valentinus and his school." The meaning of all this is, that he knows all the horrors and obscenities which Irenæus had touched upon, and even the secret word which is said by the Bishop to the initiated generally in the hour of death: he foregoes dwelling upon such abominations, which they themselves meet by a simple denial. "My scope is not such an exposure" (he says, end. of ch. 41), "but to demonstrate whence they have taken their first philosophical principles, starting from which they have established their doctrine." He alludes by these words to his preceding argumentation (ch. 21—27.) that the speculative elements of the Valentinian system are to be found in Pythagoras.

And now follows the largest transcription from the text of Irenæus which is found in the whole book. It forms the fifteenth part of the whole book, for it occupies in the Paris edition fully seventeen pages,—almost one third of the sixth book,—and contains five entire chapters of the first book of Irenæus (x.—xiv.), quite textually (with remarkable various readings), whereas generally (and in the beginning of this very article) he extracts the text of Irenæus freely. After that insertion, Hippolytus hastens to the conclusion of the sixth book and says: "This is what the Valentinians say of creation and of the universe, always inventing one thing vainer than another, and thinking to have been very successful if one startles the people by new inventions of this sort. And out of the scriptures, having gratuitously interpreted all so as to agree with those numbers of which I have spoken, they accuse Moses and the Prophets, by pretending that they have expressed (by such numbers) the measures (size) of the Æons." The Greek text of our manuscript then continues thus: "*Α παρατιθέναι μοι οὐκ ἔδοξεν, ὕντα φλυαρὰ καὶ ἀσύστατα, ἤδη τοῦ μακαρίου πρεσβυτέρου Εἰρηναίου δεινῶς καὶ πεπονημένως τὰ δόγματα αὐτῶν διελέγξαντος, παρ' οὗ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐφευρήματα ἐπιδεικνύντες αὐτοὺς Πυθαγορείου φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἀστρολόγων περιεργίας ταῦτα σφετερισαμένους ἐγκαλεῖν Χριστῷ ὡς ταῦτα παραδεδωκέναι.*" And then he concludes the book, in order to treat in the next of Basilides.

The sentence I have transcribed in Greek evidently cannot be construed. It is also clear that the correction offered by the learned editor, to read, *καὶ οὐκ αὐτῶν ἐφευρήματα ἐπιδεικνύντος, ἀλλ' ἐκ Πυθαγ.*, does not help us out of our difficulties. For *ἐπιδεικνύντος* would imply that it had been Irenæus who had demonstrated that the Valentinians had borrowed their speculative principles from Pythagoras and the old astrologers; and this is exactly what Irenæus has not done, and what Hippolytus had proposed to do, and has achieved with much erudition and ability. Ἐπιδεικνύντες, therefore, is sound, and must have the verbum finitum to which it refers. Here two ways are open to us. We may read at the end of the sentence instead of *παραδεδωκέναι*, which evidently is corrupt, *παραδεδώκαμεν*; the construction would then run thus: *παρ' οὗ* (*Εἰρηναίου*) *καὶ αὐτῶν ἐφευρήματα . . . . ὡς ταῦτα παραδεδώκαμεν.* The sense would be: We have taken from him what we have laid before our readers, respecting their inventions, namely, the exposition of the system, literally copied from Irenæus. But the whole sentence is very lame: we are therefore led to suppose that the verbum finitum has been left out (here, as in many other cases) by our copyist, and that Hippolytus wrote: *Παρ' οὗ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐφευρήματα μετειλήφαμεν, ἐπιδεικνύντες αὐτοὺς . . . . ἐγκαλεῖν Χριστῷ ὡς ταῦτα παραδεδωκότι.* The sentence then runs very smoothly, "from whom we have also transcribed their inventions, showing, besides that which they have stolen from Pythagorean philosophy and

There is also a great improvement in another essential point: Hippolytus' account of the heresies is preceded by a lucid and learned review of the systems of physical philosophy, principally those of the Greeks, but also of the Egyptians and Assyrians. In this first treatise he has collected what best proves the great argument which is entirely peculiar to him and characteristic of our work. Hippolytus says he will show that whatever is given by the heretics as Christian speculation, and even doctrine, is borrowed, in its first principles, from those older systems, and in particular from the Greeks; only with this difference, that the Greeks have the merit of invention, and of having expressed everything much better. He applies the same argument of want of originality to the mysteries and orgies which those heretics wanted to introduce into the Christian world, and which he endeavours to show to be a reproduction of those of Paganism. If, then, proceeds his argument, their first principles are not their own, how can they claim credit for them as inventors? and how can they father them upon Christ and the Apostles? That point once established, says Hippolytus, it is unnecessary to enter into any detailed refutation of those heretical principles. This very sensible idea is such a favourite with him, that most of the articles which are his own are preceded by, or interwoven with, a recapitulation of those speculative principles of the philosophers, which bear specially on the heresy he is to explain and refute. It is true that this method of reducing the heretical systems to Pythagorean, or Platonic, or Aristotelian speculalations, is sometimes not quite conclusive, and may be termed fanciful. Indeed, the whole refutation is not always satisfactory, and the whole idea is not original. Pantænus, the founder of the Catechetic school of Alexandria, himself originally a thorough Academic philosopher, had first recommended and applied that method, as we know from Clemens, his disciple. Irenæus had taken this hint, or at least thrown out the idea

the fancy of astrologers, they accuse Christ of having taught the same." But in either case, so much is clear, that Hippolytus has made in this passage a very natural acknowledgment of his having transcribed, literally, from Irenæus, the whole exposition of the system of Marcus, — one third almost of one of the largest of his ten books. This transcription, distinct from his introductory notions respecting Marcus and his tricks, and from his ordinary extracts in general, would otherwise be downright plagiarism. So much for justifying and strengthening what I have asserted here and below, that Hippolytus himself speaks of having made use of the work of his master. We get, of course, rid of this difficulty, if we assume that the article of Photius does not concern our book at all, but only the former Treatise, or Syntagma, on the heresies. But the critical question about the meaning of our passage remains the same, and none of my objectors has touched it.

It is scarcely necessary to add a word respecting the philological exception which Döllinger takes to my interpretation. He says, Hippolytus having used, in speaking of himself, the singular immediately before, and repeating it very soon afterwards, we cannot suppose that he would have used the plural between the two. And still Hippolytus does so in many places. I will only take the conclusion of the first book: Τὰς μὲν οὖν . . . δόξας ἱκανῶς ἐκτεθεῖσθαι νομίζω . . . Δοκῶ δὲ πρότερον ἐκθεμένους τὰ μυστικὰ . . . εἰπεῖν· ἔπειτα ἀκολούθως τὰ [ὑπ'] αὐτῶν ἀδρανῆ δόγματα φανερώσωμεν. The fifth book begins thus: Πάνυ νομίζω τὰ δόξαντα . . . ἐκτεθεῖσθαι . . . Περιλείπεται τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὸν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχον ὁρμᾶν—τούτου χάριν . . . ἐκτεθείμεθα. Döllinger, besides (as well as an English critic, whose fanaticism and personal violence precludes my answering him, while his observations themselves contain little worth notice), is unable to construe the passage, or to explain away the words παρ' οὗ, relating to Irenæus. — 1854.

that it was useful to trace many of the speculative opinions of the heresiarchs to the doctrine of the ancient schools of Greek philosophy. The nineteenth chapter of the second book proves this. But this chapter goes through the argument in a very hurried and confused manner: sufficiently to give him the merit of having inspired the first four books of our work, but not at all to make the author his transcriber. Hippolytus carried out accurately, by recurring to the sources, what his master had sketched out roughly, and he treated methodically what Irenæus had touched upon incidentally. He worked out the argument as completely as he could, and made his succinct but coherent review of ancient *philosophumena* an integral part of the work, placing it judiciously at the head. Thus understood, the comparison of that chapter of Irenæus with our first four books leads to a striking confirmation of Photius' account, and furnishes us, moreover, with a proof of the originality of the book and of the independent researches of its author.

These, then, are the three points I hope to prove satisfactorily, and of these three the third is the most important, and irresistibly conclusive.

I do not see how I can go through this argument conscientiously, without a complete enumeration of the thirty-two articles in question, with reference to these points, and especially to the third. This letter will therefore necessarily be a long one. I shall endeavour to keep strictly to the subject. If I allow myself to call your attention here and there to some of the special results, in showing how the new facts which we learn from our author bear directly upon the critical controversies of our day, the interest attaching to the subject will be my excuse. But I beg you not to consider this as an attempt to exhaust the new materials for thought and investigation now open to us, which, for many years to come, will occupy the thoughtful scholars who care for truth and Christianity, but merely as the hints of one who is among the foremost to travel through these records, and, as he passes on in haste, cannot see the gold of truth and knowledge lying on the surface, or glittering amid the stones and rubbish, without telling you of it.

If I am not mistaken, this auspiciously discovered book will oblige all who think it their duty to speak or write on the doctrinal history of the earliest Church, to give up the method followed almost without exception, from the fourth and fifth century down to the eighteenth, and first combated by Basnage, and above all by Mosheim. I do not know, whether in reading the ancient and modern accounts of heretics you have had the same impression; but I confess I have always felt a doubt who were the greatest fools, they who invented and believed such absurd and wicked imaginations and conceits, or they who seriously refuted them, or finally, they who took all this for a piece of history. For certainly all those representations of heresies from the fourth to the eighteenth century have led, and needs must lead, to a conclusion much like that of the Pharisee in the temple, which may be worded thus: "God, I thank thee that I am not as one of those monsters, sinners, sons of Belial, nor condemned to dispute with them, but that I am a good (Catholic or Protestant) Christian." Or in a strain like this: "but that I am a philosopher, knowing, as a reasonable theist, that all this is stuff of the 'dark ages,' most probably not true, but at all events of no interest for our enlightened and

advancing age, in which I have the (well deserved) privilege to live." I can well understand how that good, pious, and learned divine of the last century, Gottfried Arnold, at Halle, tried his hand at the ancient heresies, in order to find out whether at the bottom of all that absurdity there had not been some thought, and in all that apparently wilful wickedness some honest and respectable conviction, and above all, how we knew that those people really said all the absurdity and impiety which are laid to their charge. There is a decided reaction in Arnold; and I consider it as one of the triumphs of modern criticism, that we have got over this mere reaction of an ingenuous mind, as well as over that dry, unhistorical (and, I must add, generally uncritical, and always prejudiced) way of treating the theological systems of the first three centuries, not judging them by what they are in themselves, but simply by what they are, or may be supposed to be, with reference to certain terms, formulas, and theories of later ages. These formularies may be true; but they are at all events not those of the first ages; and the metaphysical distinctions they proceed upon are not revealed facts, but conventional philosophy.

All I can say is, that if you have a similar feeling on this subject, you will hail with me this recently discovered work as standing upon a very different ground. Our good father of the Church is of very strict orthodoxy, and does not always use very mild language towards those who taught different speculative and exegetical theories in his time, two successive Roman bishops not excepted. But he does so in self-defence, as he himself says, and with the unmistakable accent of Christian conviction and charity. He does not disdain to look for thought in the midst of apparent absurdity, for honest purpose even amongst those whom he combats. Moreover, he thinks philosophical controversies cannot be understood without an adequate philosophy: thought, he supposes, right or wrong, can only be appreciated by thought. He therefore deems it well to ask the question, whether the theories, logical, metaphysical, or physical, discussed among Christians upon Christian grounds, were not discussed before by Hellens and barbarians under the form of pure reasoning; and he comes to the conclusion that very often they were so. He further proceeds upon the assumption that he and we shall better understand the heresies, if we examine them as they followed each other, instead of going backward. Above all, he thinks it fair to let even a heretic speak for himself, and not in broken sentences (by which method you may make any one say pretty much what you like), but in long, coherent, distinct passages. This method certainly proves itself very valuable for the knowledge of facts; and besides it saves us much weariness,—which if any one does not know, I would beg him to read through Epiphanius, and he will know it for life.

Let us see now, whether these advantages do not show themselves in the very first book on heresies, the fifth of the work.

BOOK V.

This book treats first of the *Ophites* or Worshippers of the Serpent, as the symbol of the moving principle of the universe.

I. The NAASSÊNI or OPHITES, from *nahhash*, the Hebrew word for a serpent. (30 pages, 94—123.)

They, and their cognate sects, called themselves *Gnostics*, as being the only persons who knew the "depths" (p. 94.); but they received, like the others, the name of Naassêni or Ophites, because they said the Serpent was the real God, to whom every temple was consecrated, as representing the first generative substance, the moist element, corresponding to Thales' water (p. 119. sqq.). They also called the first principle *Logos*, the "Man from above," *Adamas*, whom they glorified in their hymns (p. 95. cf. 122.). He, like everything, consists of three principles, spiritual, psychical, and material, which elements all coalesced in Jesus, the son of Mary. James, our Lord's brother, had delivered the whole system to Mariamne. They used as their Gospel that known to us, by some ancient quotations, as the Gospel according to the Egyptians* (p. 98.); and another (if it was not substantially the same), called the Gospel according to Thomas (p. 101.). They also make use of the Gospel of St. John, and of the Epistles of St. Paul, as well as of the Old Testament. Their reasonings seem principally founded upon speculative ideas of Philo's school†, which they attempted to support either by the most unscrupulous misinterpretation of Scripture or by dark ancient rites and mysteries. The birthplace of this sect is evidently Phrygia, the fruitful soil of all orgiastic extravagances: for to the language, rites, and mysteries of this country everything is reduced in the last instance. A beautiful mystical hymn, by which the public celebration of the mysteries was opened in the theatre in honour of Attis, is given in this place. Schneidewin‡ thinks it belongs to the age and style of Mysomedes, who flourished under Antoninus Pius.§

As to their rites, they seem to have been truly Phrygian, that is, orgiastic, wild, and connected with phallic symbolism. They did not adopt the mutilation of their priests, but forbade marriage (p. 119.).

II. Next come the PERATÆ or PERATICS (pp. 123—138.), founded by *Euphrates*, called ὁ Περατικός, which name Clemens Alexandrinus rightly understood as indicating their country. Your remark in our conversation on the subject has led me to connect this name with the description of his companion, *Ademes*‖, as the *Carystian*. This makes him a *Eubœan;* and as Eubœa is called so frequently ἡ πέραν, the country beyond the channel, Peratæ may be taken for a general designation of the school, from the native country of their founders or leading authors. This is not in contradiction to the fact that a cognate sect became decidedly a Phrygian one. The name of Euphrates was known before from Origen;

* A λόγιον of Christ, written in this Gospel, is alluded to in one of their books (p. 99.): ὅπου οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ ᾄηλυ οὐδὲ ἄρσεν. Pseudo-Clem. Rom. Ep. ii. § 12.: ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἓν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν τῆς θηλείας, οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ. Comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. iii. p. 465. (See Analecta, I.—1854).

† To this class belongs the question (p. 98.), Whether the soul is ἐκ τοῦ προόντος or ἐκ τοῦ αὐτογενοῦς (the text has ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους, which gives no sense; the use of αὐτογενής by our author is proved by 124, 27, 43.) ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐκκεχυμένου χάους.

‡ Philologus, iii. 246.

§ I have pointed out in my picture of the third age in what relation the system of the Ophites seems to have stood to Basilides and Valentinus.

‖ Theodoret also calls him Ademes: in our text the name is written in another passage Kelbes, and in a third Akembes.

but so little did we know of himself, that Neander thinks he may have lived before Christ. *

We have here a mixed sect, which, starting from general Oriental and Jewish speculations, and local mysticism and orgies, adopted Christianity in their own way as an order of the initiated. Their whole system is decidedly fatalistic and astrological; and it would seem that they interpreted their name, *Peratai*, with reference to the Greek πέραν, *trans*, or περᾶν, *transire*, saying that by their gnosis they alone of mankind should pass through destruction and get beyond it, — a derivation, which proves only that they did not like the true one (p. 131.). Their sacred book too had a mystical title not easily explained. † (pp. 130, 131. 49.). Neander's doubt, whether Euphrates did not live before Christ, is decidedly solved by the extracts here given: for Christ is evidently an integral element in their wild physical speculation; and they quote the Gospels and St. Paul as well as the Old Testament. The worship of the Serpent as the first moving principle (p. 135.), and the triplicity of the first cause, seem to have been their leading doctrines. The Demiurg, or creator of the visible world, is the evil principle (p. 136.). ‡

III. The SETHIANI (pp. 138—148.), from Seth, Σήθ, constantly, but falsely, written in the text Σιθιανοί. — Their sacred book was called Παράφρασις Σήθ, from the name of the old patriarch (p. 147. sq.), who was ever among the Jews the symbol of mystical and lying tradition, to which the famous columns of Seth also belong. They worshipped the Serpent and the Logos (pp. 142, 143.), made use of Orphic theology, and of the mysteries of Eleusis §, and believed themselves, like all Gnostics, the only elect and the only knowing (p. 146.).

IV. JUSTINUS, not of course the martyr, but the *Gnostic* (pp. 148—159.), who wrote the "Book of Baruch" for his sect (p. 149.). — He regarded Jesus as the son of Mary and Joseph (p. 156.). His followers had other sacred books. They also adopted three causes or first principles (p. 150.), and had genealogies of angels, springing from Elohim and Edem (Eden), the female principle. Amongst their names we meet Amen, which may explain Apoc. iii. 14.: and the well-known Achamoth of the Irenæan Ophites (i. 30, 31.). Elohim sends Baruch to Jesus, when he was twelve years of age, in the time of Herod, watching sheep. He brought him the

* Kirchengeschichte, i. 771.

† Οἱ προάστειοι ἕως αἰθέρος, "the Suburbans up to the Ether," is evidently corrupt. Perhaps the title was: Περάται ἕως αἰθέρος, "the Transcendental Etherians."—1854.

‡ The important part of this mysticism is, that it proves the antiquity of Jewish-Christian speculations respecting the Logos, as the divine principle of movement or development; speculations kindred to, but independent of Philo. I deny that there is any good reason whatever for seeing in the Logos of the Prologue a reference to the Valentinian Logos: I consider it, on the contrary, as proved convincingly, that even the earliest Valentinian speculations presupposed the Prologue as their foundation and authority. But if this topsy-turvy theory of the anti-historical speculative school wanted a new confutation, this report of Hippolytus respecting the Peratai, the authenticity of which cannot be denied, is as irreconcilable with it as the passages in Basilides and Valentinus referring to St. John.—1854.

§ p. 144.: where, instead of μεγαληγορία (for which the editor proposes μεγάλη ἑορτή), I read μεγάλα ὄργια; and p. 145. 21., Φλιασίας ὄργια instead of φλοιαῖς ἰονόργια. M. Miller conjectures συνόργια or ὄργια.

message of the true God, and encouraged him to announce it to mankind. Jesus answered, "Lord, I will do all." The Serpent becoming wroth at this, brought about his death on the cross (p. 156. sq.). The followers of this sect took a frightful oath when initiated.

Of all this we knew next to nothing hitherto. It is now clear that we have to deal with sects which were coeval with Peter and Paul, as Simon was. But they started from foreign Judaism, mixed up with the pan theistic mysticism of Asia Minor. Hereby they were also opposed to the Valentinians, who started from Gentile ground; although, being Christians, they could not help drawing Judaism into the sphere of their speculations. Our author, as we shall see presently, derives the Valentinian principles from Simon, and brings Cerinthus, who also belongs to the first century, into connection with them. But he distinguishes the Ophites entirely from all these, and places them at the head of the whole list, which, he repeatedly says, indicates the order they appeared in. Irenæus represents the Ophites expressly as predecessors of Valentinianism: but the schools he enumerates are evidently mixed up with this system. Nothing is more natural. The first outburst of Gnosticism sprang from a mixture of Christianity with Phrygian Judaism, imbued generally with Gentile speculations, orgies and mysteries. The Jewish element was considered as the least important. But, after Valentinus had taken upon himself to solve that great problem of the world's history, Judaism, by interpreting it as the working of the Demiurg, or the mundane evil principle, those Gnostics appropriated many of the leading speculations and fictions of Valentinianism. Thus we can explain the representation, which Irenæus, in the last two chapters of his first book, gives of the Ophitic systems. We have now, for the first time, the pure, primitive Ophites before us.

And are they really unknown to us? I hope, on the contrary, my dear friend, you will agree with me, that most probably we have here the very heretics to whom the Apostle alludes in the fourth chapter of his First Epistle to Timothy. The "endless genealogies" (i. 4.) must be explained, as many have suggested, of the cosmological genealogies of æons or angels. Here we have them, in the very words of the most ancient sects. All that has been said against the Pauline origin of that Epistle, and of the Pastoral Letters in general, on the score of the allusions to heretics of a later date, thus falls entirely to the ground. I believe I have proved in my "Letters on Ignatius," that the development of the constitutions of the Church, and the history of the organization of the congregations, leads irresistibly to the same result. The state of the Churches at the end of the first century was decidedly different from that exhibited in the Pastoral Epistles. *

But do you not see, that the whole scheme of the late origin of the Gospel of St. John falls also to the ground, if our book is authentic, as

* It does, of course, not follow, from what I have said here in the text, that the books themselves, from which Hippolytus made his extracts, were as old as the origin of those sects. On the contrary, I doubt this; they appear to me to have been written after Valentinus, when those sects assimilated their dreams or speculations to the system of this superior mind. But the original groundwork of their system is discernible enough. The symbol of the Serpent, as representing the ever-moving and entwining principle of finiteness is no more Valentinian than it is Mosaic.—1854.

undoubtedly it is, and if our author deserves credit for the arrangement of his historical account, and justly claims authority for his extracts from the sacred books of those Phrygian-Jewish fathers of Gnosticism? The Ophites all know the Logos, and all worship the Serpent as his symbol, or that of the Demiurg opposed to him: for on that point there seems to have been a difference among them. They refer, however, not to the Logos of Philo, but to the Logos personified in man, and identified with Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Mary. The only admissible alternative, therefore, seems to me to be this. When St. John, towards the end of the first century, wrote down his evidence respecting Jesus the Christ, and placed at the head of his exposition those simple and grand words on the Logos, he either referred to sects who had abused the speculations about the Logos, as God's thought of himself, or he did not. If he did, as it seems to me impossible to doubt, he cannot have had in mind so much the philosophical followers of Philo, who abhorred the very idea of the personal union of the Logos with Man, as the Christian heretics who perverted this idea in one way or another. This being the case, I maintain that he had before him the very sects which we have now become acquainted with from their own writings, the very titles of which we did not know hitherto. At all events, then, what the Apostle says is not the Christian and popular expression of a speculative system of Valentinianism, but the simple statement of the fact, that the Logos is neither an abstract notion, nor an angel, nor an æon (if that word existed as a term), but that He is one with the Man Jesus, the Christ.

That this reasoning is sound, the progress of our researches will easily prove. For even in the second stage of Gnosticism, the Gentile one, we find the very words of St. John evidently alluded to, twenty or thirty years before the middle of the second century, when, according to the most unhappy of all philological conjectures, and the most untrue of all historical views, the system of Strauss and Baur, that Gospel was composed, in order to transfuse a tame Gnosticism into the Church.

In declaring myself so strongly against Baur's historical hypothesis, I think it is only fair to add, that no one has done more for the speculative comprehension of the Gnostic systems than this eminent writer, of whose researches concerning that part of the history of philosophy those only can speak without respect, who have never read them or who are incapable of understanding them. The facts now before us show, that many of his acute illustrations of the very difficult and abstruse concluding chapters of Irenæus' first book, and especially his treatise on the Ophites (Gnosis, pp. 171—207.), are wonderfully confirmed by the work before us. It is unnecessary to say, that Neander's representation of those systems in the second edition of his "Ecclesiastical History"* gains many a confirmation from our pages. But I beg to refer the reader especially to some hints which Dorner gives in his marvellous work on the "History of the Doctrine about the Person of Christ†;" and to A. Ritschl, "On the Origin of the ancient Catholic Church," a book full of independent research.

* Kirchengeschichte, 2d edition, i. 764—774.

† 2d edition, pp. 297. 355. note 196., p. 365. note 207.

BOOK VI.

Simon, Valentinus, and the *Valentinians.* 62 pages, pp. 161—222., with copious extracts.

The author at the beginning repeats that he intends to enumerate the heresies in succession.*

V. SIMON of *Gitta* in Samaria (pp. 161—177.; compare the *Gittean,* iv. pp. 51—90.; Irenæus, i. 23. § 3.). — The story of Peter's meeting him at Rome, where he died, is told here in a new form. Simon caused himself to be buried alive, promising to rise like Christ (p. 170.). This myth is just worth as much as any other about Simon's death: the utter diversity of the stories, and the fabulous nature of the whole, prove this. But how can men of sense conclude from this, that Simon must have been altogether a mythical person, and that we can have no writings belonging to his immediate disciples, who wrote down his (true or supposed) system?

There were such works.† As the principal book on Simon's doctrine, our author mentions the "Great Announcement, or Revelation" (*Μεγάλη ἀπόφασις*) (pp. 165—168.), — a Gnostic work, full of Pagan fables, decidedly anti-Judaic and antinomian, favouring impurity. The Simonians had mysteries bearing the same character (p. 175.). The Valentinians took their start from these tenets; although nobody will believe that the "Great Announcement," in which some verses of Empedocles are quoted, was Simon's work, any more than that the books of the St. Simonian sect of our days are by St. Simon. Still Simon appears throughout, not as a mere impostor, but as a man combining with Christianity certain metaphysical tenets, which were formed by his immediate followers into a system, based, like that of all the Gnostics, upon the assumption of the evil principle as one of the primary acting causes of the universe. The "Great Announcement," bearing Simon's name, represents therefore the system of the Simonians in the first generation after him. The root of all existence (says this book, p. 163.) is infinite, and abides in man, who serves as its dwelling-house. It is of a double nature, latent and manifest: the first comprehends all that can be thought. *The word of God lives in man.* From that original root, the hidden principle, spring three pairs of manifestations:

Mind and Thought (*νοῦς καὶ ἐπίνοια*);
Voice and Name (*φωνὴ καὶ ὄνομα*);
Reasoning and Reflection (*λογισμὸς καὶ ἐνθύμησις*).

The infinite power (*δύναμις*) is in all these six roots, but potentially, not

* The first period is to be corrected thus: *Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως τὰς ἀρχὰς παρειληφόσι, καὶ κατὰ τελείωσιν* (t. *κατὰ μείωσιν*) *τῶν χρόνων εἰς φανερὸν τὰς δόξας ἀνοσίως* (t. *ἑκουσίως*) *προενεγκαμένοις* (t. *προσεν.*) *ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ οὔσῃ πέμπτῃ τοῦ Ἐλέγχου* (t. *τοὺς ἐλέγχους*) *τῶν αἱρέσεων ἐξεθέμην.* As to the story of Apsethos the Libyan, and his parrots (p. 161.), the editor refers to Apostolius Prov. v. *Ψαφῶν.* Almost the same story is told of Hanno the Carthaginian, Ælian. Var. Hist. xiv. 30. Compare Justin. xxi. 4.; Plin. H. N. viii. 16.

† Compare on this point Grabe, Spicileg. Patrum, i. 308—310.

actually (*δυνάμει οὐκ ἐνεργείᾳ*, comp. p. 171.). In order not to perish, the infinite power must be typified, imaged (*ἐξεικονίζεσθαι*); otherwise it becomes extinct: whereas, if thus actuated, it loses nothing by this manifestation. By a progressive manifestation, those six roots become three other *συζυγίαι*, or pairs:

Heaven and Earth;
Sun and Moon;
Air and Water.

The infinite power working in all of them is called by a compound name: He who stands, has stood, will stand (*ὁ ἑστὼς, ὁ στὰς, ὁ στησόμενος*); a term dimly alluded to in the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, which say, that Simon called himself *Stans* (the standing)*, and reminding us of Apocalypse, i. 8. Simon considered himself as in a special manner the manifestation of this infinite power (p. 175.): but we have already seen that this was, according to him, the general attribute of man when he had attained to knowledge, with a difference only in degree.

The author endeavoured to explain by his theory the six days of the creation, and to build upon it a whole cosmogonic system (pp. 166—174.), for which he quotes the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Prophets. He also pretended to find proofs of his speculative system in St. Paul's writings, of which he quotes the First Epistle to the Corinthians. He tries likewise to show that the Greek mythology points to a similar theory. And here his mysterious Helen becomes the prominent figure. Helen is to him the successive incarnations of Beauty, dazzling the powers (*δυνάμεις*) that work on the earth. Every body knows the story that Simon carried about a woman, whom he said to be the newly embodied Helen of Troy. He had bought her, a forlorn slave, at Tyre, and said (or is reported to have said, for we have no extracts to vouch for this), that she was human nature redeemed by him. But what our book seems to prove (in spite of the confusion between reports, anecdotes, and extracts) is, that he called the ideal Helen, not his paramour, the "forlorn sheep," and that he placed her in connection with the daughter of the Canaanitish woman, whom Christ healed in passing by Tyre (Matt. xv.). It may be true, that Simon said he was his Helen's Saviour, and that he himself had come to Tyre to loosen her from her fetters, he himself being "the power over all."† It may be also true, that the Simonians worshipped two images, said to represent Simon and Helen, under the likeness of Jove and Minerva, and called them "Lord" and "Lady" (*κύριος, κυρία*); but our author himself is candid enough to add, they excluded from their sect any one who called those persons by the names of Simon and Helen (p. 176.). They considered it therefore clearly as a calumny. It may even be true, that the conduct of Simon and Helen was the cause or pre-

* Ritschl. p. 161.

† Compare Acts viii. 10.: *Οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ μεγάλη.* The history of this Helen of Simon is told by Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Theodoret. In the text of the latter it is only necessary to read *ἑταίραν* instead of *ἑτέραν*, to understand the sense. In Hippolytus' text I read (p. 175. 14.) *Ὁ δὲ μιαρὸς, ἐρασθεὶς τοῦ γυναίου*, instead of *ὁ δὲ ψυχρὸς ἐρασθεὶς τῷ γ.*, which gives no sense whatever.

text of those scandalous orgies of the sect, of which our author gives us such shocking details. Indeed, it seems impossible to doubt, from the extracts here exhibited (p. 175.), that some of them (in his time) blasphemously and satanically abused the most sacred formularies of the ancient liturgy of the communion to designate and sanctify their horrible impurities*, justifying their conduct by saying, they were redeemed, washed, emancipated, free, saved, not by their works, but by grace. But all this does not prove in any way that Simon said of himself, or that the Simonians said, he, Simon, had appeared to the Jews as the Son, to the Samaritans as the Father, and to the Gentiles as the Holy Spirit. For the account of our author, though confused,—the quotations from the "Great Announcement" being here interrupted by the traditional story of Simon and Helen, and the scandals connected with it,—clearly proves that those words referred to Jesus, and not to Simon. For, after the exposition of the immoral principles of the Simonians, the extracts begin (p. 175. 24.) with sentences evidently relating to the life of Jesus. Having redeemed Helen, he thus vouchsafed salvation to mankind through his own intelligence (or by means of the knowledge he gave them of themselves). For the "angels having administered the world badly, in consequence of their love of power, Jesus came (Simon said) for the work of restoration, having been transformed, and made like to the principalities and powers, and to the angels. He thus appeared as a man, not being such, and seemed to suffer in Judea, although he did not really suffer†, but was manifested to the Jews as the Son, in Samaria as the Father, among the other nations as the Holy Spirit. He allows men to call him by whichever name they please."‡

Now, how could Simon say of himself that he had suffered death in Judea? The whole account, therefore, refers to Jesus, and gives, originally at least, Simon's doctrine on the appearance, life, and sufferings of Christ. Thus that mysterious saying about the Son, Father, and Spirit, becomes intelligible. Jesus did call himself the Son in Judea. To the Samaritans he manifested the Father; and indeed in the words spoken to the Samaritan woman (St. John, iv. 21—23.), Jesus refers them to the Father, and the worship of the Father, and nothing is said about the Son. It is also quite intelligible how Simon could say, that Jesus appeared among the Gentiles as the Holy Spirit; for it was under the authority of the Holy Spirit, poured out upon them, and communicated by them, that the Apostles preached Jesus among the Gentiles.

* Ταύτην εἶναι λέγοντες τὴν τελείαν ἀγάπην, καὶ τὸ "Ἅγιος ἅγιος" (or ἅγιον ἁγίων) καὶ "Ἀλλήλους ἁγιάζετε" (now unintelligibly printed καὶ τὸ ἅγιος ἁγίων . . . λλη . os ἁγιασθήσεται). These horrors reappear almost literally in the account of the "Infamies des Couvens," authentically detailed in the protocols of Ricci's visitation of the Tuscan convents, under Archduke Leopold, published by De Potter. It is not irrelevant to add, that the Bernese Protestant fanatics, whom I saw in 1841 in prison after their just condemnation, perverted in a similar way the sublimest passages of Scripture in their impure orgies, and had a printed liturgy composed for this purpose.

† Καὶ παθεῖν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ δεδοκηκέναι μὴ πεπονθότα: the text is now deformed by having καὶ before δεδοκηκέναι. There can be no doubt as to the sense, and I think none either as to the reading. (Scott has adopted the same correction.—1854).

‡ Baur, Die Christliche Gnosis, p. 305.

Of this I feel quite sure. But I confess I cannot understand the meaning of the "lost sheep," an evident allusion to the Parable, in connection with Helen, except by assuming that Simon combined the account of the Canaanitish woman with his allegory of Humanity suffering in the form of Helen under the fetters of her mundane existence. The mother crying out for help for her daughter possessed by the evil spirit (*δαιμονίζεται*, Matt. xv. 22.), the Apostles requesting Jesus to redeem her (*ἀπόλυσον αὐτήν*, v. 23.), and his first saying that he was sent to "the lost sheep" (*τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα*, v. 24.) of Israel, were allegorized by Simon, as alluding to human nature in this life, and to the work of redemption (*λύτρωσις*, pp. 174. 12., 175. 25), and then mythicized by reference to Helen of Troy, Helen of the mysteries, Helen of Stesichorus, and finally Helen at Tyre, first healed by Jesus, and later found in another shape by Simon, who became her Deliverer.

I may, therefore, state this as the result of our criticism on this passage. There is a confusion in Hippolytus' account; but we can make out the truth, if we examine his words with care; whereas Irenæus, whom Eusebius and Theodoret have merely transcribed, gave the whole story in such a mutilated shape, that he rendered it very questionable as a fact, and made a correct explanation impossible.

On the whole, it is very interesting to compare our article with the corresponding chapters in Irenæus (i. 20, 21.). Such a comparison will leave no doubt as to the relation which our work bears to his, and as to the character of both writers. Hippolytus' account of facts is not only fuller and more explicit, but also more authentic; for he gives us extracts and on the whole copious ones.

Moreover, the accurate comparison of the text of the two authors is interesting, as proving, first, that Irenæus also had the "Great Announcement" before him, although he does not quote it. Several passages given in both as representing Simon's doctrine are literally the same, or almost so. In the second place such a critical comparison will sometimes assist us in restoring the original Greek text of Irenæus, and oftener in rendering the very corrupt text of our author intelligible. I will illustrate this by placing in juxtaposition the text of the following two passages. (Iren. i. 20., and Hippolytus, vi. pp. 175, 176. 43—47.)

Irenæus.	Hippolytus.
Secundum enim ipsius gratiam salvari homines, sed non secundum operas justas. Nec enim esse naturaliter operationes justas, sed ex accidente: quemadmodum posuerunt, qui mundum fecerunt angeli, per hujusmodi præcepta in servitutem deducentes homines. Quapropter et solvi mundum et liberari eos qui sunt ejus ab imperio eorum qui mundum fecerunt repromisit.	*Κατὰ γὰρ τῆν αὐτοῦ χάριν σώζεσθαι αὐτοὺς φάσκουσι. Μηδὲν* (l. *μηδένα*) *γὰρ εἶναι αἴτιον δίκης εἰ πράξει τις κακῶς* (l. *τι κακόν*)· *οὐ γάρ ἐστι φύσει κακὸς* (l. *οὐ γάρ ἐστι τι φ. κακὸν*) *ἀλλὰ θέσει· ἔθεντο γὰρ* (*φησὶν*) *οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ τὸν κόσμον ποιήσαντες ὅσα ἐβούλοντο· διὰ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων δουλοῦν νομίζοντες τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀκούοντας. Φύσιν δὲ αὖθις λέγουσι τὸν κοσμὸν ἐπὶ λυτρώσει τῶν ἰδίων ἀνθρώπων.*

The last words in Hippolytus baffle all interpretation. But you will imme-

diately alter with me ΦΥCIN into ΛΥCEIN, and, having done so, you will have not only the true text of Hippolytus, but also the original Greek of Irenæus, because the sentence is evidently the same. As to the words *ab imperio eorum qui mundum fecerunt*, they are either added by way of explanation, or they are the translation of words omitted in our Greek text.

But undoubtedly the latter is the more probable. As to our work, the whole extract is confused, whether it be the fault of Hippolytus abbreviating Irenæus, or that of a later transcriber who abbreviated the text of Hippolytus. We shall meet with unmistakeable instances of both.*

At all events, this passage, like many others, bears out my argument respecting the relation between the two works and authors. To touch upon another argument, which I can only do justice to in my concluding letter, does it not strike you as one of the many internal proofs of the book's being written by a Roman, that our author abstains from repeating Justin the Martyr's fable? I mean the story, not disdained by Irenæus, and maintained by Tertullian, of the statue erected to Simon at Rome, the words *Semoni Sanco* having been unfortunately mistaken by that Eastern philosopher for *Simoni Sancto*. Hippolytus, as a Roman, knew better, and was honest enough to write accordingly.

If, from the new facts we have before us, we look back to the present state of the discussions respecting this darkest of all points in early ecclesiastical history, we find that they militate, in many respects, against the hypotheses of the modern Tübingen school,—Baur, Strauss, Schwegler, and others. First of all, I cannot consent to regard Simon himself as merely a mythical person, the mythological fiction of one of the great family of the sun, moon, and stars, and his Helen as Selene or Luna. Her bearing that name in the "Clementine Homilies," proves only that she was called so in the later stages of the Simonian heresy; which agrees with the whole character of the ingenious, but rather prolix novel, told in the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. Simon of Gitta, the sorcerer of the Acts, appears to us, in what we hear of him from Hippolytus, as a real man, a sorcerer and magnetizer of a very questionable moral character, but who, according to the testimony of the old fathers, was worshipped in Samaria as a prophet, and as the incarnation of the highest power, and who, for a time, startled the Romans, whether at Rome or in Asia is not certain. He was, further, a heretical Christian; he perverted the Gospel and the Jewish Scriptures; but he accepted them as revelations. Neander, therefore, has been wrong in striking him out of the list of heretics, as a person who had nothing to do with Christianity. Undoubtedly, like all the leading men of the Jewish and Pagan party of the time, who endeavoured to frame Christ and Christianity according to their philosophy, he had a speculative system of his own; but in this speculative system Christianity was not an accidental ingredient. On the contrary, Christ and the Gospels and their preaching gave the impulse to the speculations embodied under Simon's name, and Christ's person formed the centre of them. Simon himself, I believe, no more wrote a

* I restore the text thus: λύσειν δὲ αὐτόν (instead of αὖθις), viz. Ἰησοῦν, or Σίμωνα: as in the first sentence.

speculative book, than Pythagoras or Socrates did; but, as we know that Menander, his disciple, and the leader of his school, who lived and taught at Antioch, was a writer, and inculcated the Simonian doctrine, it seems to me reasonable to assume, that the "Great Announcement," or "Pronunciamiento" of the Simonians, although bearing Simon's name, was written by Menander, or at least by some cotemporary of his. For this book appears throughout as the representative of Simon's own opinions, and is mixed up with his life. Now, as Simon, the master, belonged to the Petrine and Pauline age, Menander and his book must belong to that of St. John, or to the time between the years 70 and 100; and it would be absurd to suppose, that a book written in Simon's own name, or at least generally considered as the representation of his personal system, should be later than Menander's exposition of the principles of that sect. Shortly, Menander's doctrinal work must have been this very "Announcement." Assuming this, what do we find in this book respecting the Gospel of St. John? I confess, the fourth chapter of this Gospel seems to me to be alluded to by the expression, that Jesus appeared to the Samaritans as the Father. If this supposition is correct, it would be a direct proof of the undoubted fact, that the book was not Simon's; for Simon cannot be supposed to have lived to the end of the first century, when the Gospel of St. John was written. Indeed, the uniform tradition is, that Paul and Peter outlived Simon; who must therefore have died before the year 65.* If it be assumed that there was no allusion to the fourth Gospel in the "Great Announcement," this may be said to be in keeping with the pretension that it was Simon's book. A Pauline epistle (the first to the Corinthians), certainly is quoted in the extracts (p. 167. 10.). This is very natural, for the same reason: a book purporting to be written by Simon might very well quote an epistle of St. Paul, although not a Gospel written between 90 and 100.

I must, on this occasion, return for a moment to the bearing of these new facts upon the prologue of St. John's Gospel. Whatever may be thought of the influence of Philonian speculations upon the evangelical doctrine concerning the Logos, and upon the wording of that apostolic prologue, I feel sure that the heretical speculations about the Logos could never have arisen but through the powerful effect produced in the Eastern world, from the centres of Jerusalem and of Antioch, by the unparalleled personality and history of Jesus of Nazareth, the Christ. The *Logos*, as God's eternal thought or consciousness of Himself, before all time, was known well enough to the Alexandrian Jews, even at the time of Christ's birth, as Philo's writings prove. But that the Logos was embodied in a real man, and had become personal, this, and this alone, was the all-pervading intellectual leaven which produced that wonderful fermentation in the Eastern world, and this fermentation became in the schools of the Gnostics an entirely cosmogonical and mythological process, through a constant and progressive hypostasis or personification of abstract notions,

* It is quite clear that those who will not admit that allusion, can draw no consequences from this passage against the early existence of the fourth Gospel, because we have not the whole "Announcement" before us. The Gospel may have been not only alluded to, but even quoted, frequently.—1854.

or, as it were, by a constant transformation of abstract neuters into mythological masculines.

This mythological process was the natural produce of the two elements alluded to. The one was the personality of Christ, and the other was the idea of the Logos, elevated into a moving principle, identified with the human mind. All mythology arose in a similar way, although we, being ignorant of the historical ingredient now, generally are not able to analyse the whole, and show in detail what portions are historical, and what ideal. But in this case we are enabled to prove what the historical element is, and show that it did not grow out of a myth but might, by connection with speculative ideas give rise to a myth. This purity of the historical element forms one of the distinguishing features of Christianity, as basis of a great civilisation.

The discovery of Hippolytus' work throws also a new light upon an obscure point of the Ignatian controversy. We certainly must ascribe to pure Simonism, that is, to the Simonian heresy unmixed with Valentinianism, the system of Gnostic evolutions, of which *Sigê*, Silence, is a primitive element. For in the extracts from the "Great Announcement" we find the following words, evidently the beginning of a solemn address and recapitulation (p. 173. 2.):—"To you then I say what I say, and write what I write. The writing is this. There are two offshoots accompanying all the æons, having neither beginning nor end, from one root, which is power (*potentia*), *Sigê* (Silence), invisible, incomprehensible. Of these two suckers, the one appears above, and this is the Great Power, the Mind of the Universe, directing all things, male: the other appears below, the Great Thought (ἐπίνοια), female, producing all things. Hence, being thus ranged one against the other, they form a syzygia (a pair, *copula*), and make manifest the intermediate interval, the incomprehensible air, having neither beginning nor limit; and in this air is the Father, supporting all things, and nourishing that which has a beginning and end. He is He who stands, who has stood, and who will stand, being the male and female power, according to the infinite pre-existing power, which has neither beginning nor end, being in solitude (μονότητι). For the Thought, which was in solitude, coming forth from thence, became two. And He was one; for having the thought within himself, he was alone, not however the first, though pre-existing; but, being manifested by himself, he became the second. But neither was he called the Father, before she, the Thought, called him father."

This is not Valentinianism; but there is the principle of the pre-existing supreme power, Silence; the Word or the Thought had not yet appeared.

Now, what follows from this? That Ignatius, who certainly may have read the "Great Announcement" as well as he read St. John, might have alluded to it in a letter to the Magnesians, if he ever wrote it. If, therefore, the text of the Seven Letters is (as I believe, with the most eminent critics of our age, that it is) the work of an impostor, who wrote after Ignatius' death under his name, corrupting the genuine Three Letters, it is very natural that he should make Ignatius allude to a term which he may have known, but which certainly became much more powerful by Valentinus. But such a mention can no more prove, against

good evidence to the contrary, that Ignatius did write that letter, than the allusion contained in it to the early Judaizing Sabbatarians and Docetæ does. I have, in my "Letters on Ignatius,"* assumed these two heresies as possibly older than Ignatius' death; and I now believe also that the term of Sigê may be so.

If any further proof were required of Pearson's explanation of the Sigê in the "Epistle to the Magnesians" (p. 8.) being untenable, this passage would suffice. Feeling the difficulty about the Sigê as a Valentinian term, Pearson resolved to deny altogether that Ignatius alluded to that term in this passage. According to him, the words, "the Eternal Word, not proceeding from Silence," mean that the Word which is eternal, did not appear (as the human word does) after there had been silence before. This is the argument of a special pleader, not of a historical critic, and it is as flimsy as it is unnecessary. The Sigê is the Sigê. She is preceding, not appearing. It is the Logos who appears; and according to the doctrine of Valentinus (which perhaps was founded upon a term of the Simonian school, stamped by Menander), this appearance of the Eternal Word proceeded from the Eternal Silence, that mysterious companion (quality) of the Ineffable, of the Eternal Thought, silentiously wrapped up in itself through eternities before the word of creation began to be spoken.

There is perhaps even a proof in our fragments that the Ignatian forger knew the "Great Announcement." In the 11th chapter of that fictitious epistle, "Letter to the Trallians," the passage about Sigê, which I have just quoted from Simon's "Great Apophasis," seems to be alluded to by the words "offshoots" and "root," there used, with an apparent allusion to the heretical terminology, in an ironical sense.†

* p. 68.

† Having touched upon the Ignatian controversy, I take this opportunity of saying a word to a learned author who lately has treated this question in the "Quarterly Review." He says that I seem to have miscalculated the effect of my arguments in favour of Cureton's Syriac text; for Baur says, in his essay upon the subject, that he believes neither in the authority of the one text nor in that of the other. I confess, the argument seems to me rather blunt, having no argumentative edge in it at all. At all events, I beg to observe to that critic, that I have not written and published my Ignatian researches, any more than others, in order to produce an effect upon this or that person, but to satisfy my own mind, by expressing a conscientious conviction on a point on which I thought I had something to say.

I confess, the arguments which that critic brings forward against Cureton's text (since found in a second Syriac manuscript), and against Cureton's arguments, seem to me to savour much of a preconceived opinion respecting the case itself, or to betray an overrated feeling of the vocation of the critic to question Cureton's competency to judge of this question. But what shall I say of Professor Petermann, who has published an Armenian translation of the Seven Letters, which, if the Syriac text of the three letters is genuine, are as regards these three an interpolation, and a forgery as regards the remaining four? Now, it seems to me a simple truism unworthy of a serious writer, to say that if the Greek text of the Seven Epistles is genuine, the translation of the same is genuine also. This is begging the question at issue. It is quite a secondary question, whether (as is the most natural supposition, confirmed by all the other Armenian translations of the works of the Greek fathers) this translation has been made from the Greek original, or from a Syriac translation. But it appears to me scarcely serious to say: there are the Seven Letters in Armenian, and I maintain they prove that Cureton's text is an incom-

If the article on Simon is quite original, containing authentic extracts wholly wanting in Irenæus and elsewhere, and giving us an entirely new view of the history and character of the Simonian school, the next article is no less so.

VI. VALENTINUS (pp. 177—198.).—After an introductory dissertation on those leading principles of the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy, from which Valentinus is stated to have borrowed his speculative ideas (pp. 177—183.), our author gives us copious extracts from Valentinus' own work or works, and such as enable us for the first time to know what dogmas he laid down on the principal speculative questions. Most probably all these extracts have been taken from Valentinus' great doctrinal work, the "Sophia," which our author does not name, supposing his readers to know it, as indeed it had the admiration as well as the malediction of the later fathers, of Jerome in particular. Of this work we do not know a single sentence with certainty; as Irenæus, and those who followed and copied him, not only never clearly distinguish between that which belongs to Valentinus personally, and that which belongs to his followers, but scarcely give any genuine extract (κατὰ λέξιν, literally) at all. Great, therefore, were my hopes, in 1842, that the ancient Coptic manuscript of the British Museum, inscribed Sophia, might be a translation, or at least an extract, from that lost text-book of Gnosticism; but unfortunately the accurate and trust-worthy labours of that patient and conscientious Coptic scholar, Dr. Schwarze, so early taken away from us, have proved to me (for I have seen and perused his manuscript, which I hope will soon appear) *, that this Coptic treatise is a most worthless (I trust, purely Coptic) offshoot of the Marcosian heresy, of the latest and most stupid mysticism about letters, sounds, and words.

plete extract, because I think I have found some Syriac idioms in the Armenian text! Well, if that is not a joke, it simply proves, according to ordinary logic, that the Seven Letters must have once been translated into Syriac. But how can it prove that the Greek original of this supposed Syriac version is the genuine text, and not an interpolated and partially forged one? The Seven Letters and the forged text go together: either there have been no interpolation and forgery at all, or the Seven Letters, neither more nor less (at that time), were the produce of this imposition. I take it for granted, Professor Petermann is a good Armenian scholar: I confess I thought he had still to prove that he possessed critical judgment; and now I fear his Ignatian production fully proves that he possesses none. There is absolutely no argument in all that he has said.

I developed this addition in 1854, in the preface to the fourth volume of the first edition, now reprinted at the end of my second volume, and in the picture of Ignatius drawn in this first volume, to which is appended a review of the most recent objections started against the genuiness of the Three Epistles by the combined efforts of Romanist writers, defending the Seven, of those of the school of Baur believing either text to be spurious. As to that remarkable passage of the "Great Announcement," which I have just given, I now consider it as a distinct proof that the Simonians used the Sigê as a term, as early as Menander or the age of St. John. Let my readers compare that exposition with the exposition of the system of Valentinus as I have given it in my picture of this great Gnostic, and they will see that Sigê is not brought in extraneously: the philosophical construction of the whole in the "Great Announcement" is original, and differs essentially from the Valentinian. This confirms the conclusion drawn in the text from the Epistle to the Trallians.

* It has since appeared, but without any critical explanation.—1854.

Irenæus treats of Valentinus personally, only in the first paragraph of the eleventh chapter of his first book. According to his exposition, Valentinus began his system by establishing a nameless *dyad*, or double principle, of which the one was called the Unspeakable, the other Silence (*Sigé*); out of this primitive dyad, he said, another dyad sprang, of whom he called the one the Father, the other Truth. This tetrad produced first the Logos and Life (*Zoê*, a feminine), and then Man and the Church (*Ecclesia*, the people elect, the saved human race). Thus he arrived at the first ogdoad.

In a like manner the common Valentinian system (i. § 1.) proceeds. It begins with "the æon who was before," who was called the Forefather (*Propator*), and the Abyss (*Bythos*), invisible, inaccessible, eternal, and for many æons in deep solitude. With him co-existed Thought (*Ennoia*), also called Charis or Grace, Sigê or Silence. These generated the Mind (*Nous*), who, being inferior to none but to the Father, was called the Only-begotten (*Monogenes*), and the Father, and the Beginning (*Archê*, principle) of all. With him was procreated Truth. . . . No æon knew the Father except the only-begotten Son. (§ 2.)

Hippolytus, in his fourteen pages about Valentinus, gives us full eight (pp. 186—194.) of Valentinus' own words; and these eight pages are not detached sentences, picked out in the ordinary inquisitorial way, to prove what you want the heretic to have said, but connected passages, if not in fact one uninterrupted passage. These extracts contain the proof of what Valentinus' own cosmogonic system was, and show the exact truth of what Hippolytus premises in a few words, as the substance of Valentinus' own system, which as to this point he identifies with that of Heracleon, Ptolemæus, and other strict followers.* Hippolytus' words are:—"The beginning of all is to them the *Monad*, unbegotten, incorruptible, above all conception and comprehension, generative, and the cause of the origin (genesis) of all. This monad is called the *Father*. But these systems differ greatly: some keep to this first principle alone, retaining the Pythagorean doctrine in its purity; others think it necessary to add a female principle, in order to arrive at the procreation of the Universe; and this they call the *Syzygos* or *Consort*." The exposition of the strict Pythagorean system is this:—"Originally nothing existed but the Father, unbegotten, without place or time, without counsellor or any being that can be subject to perception. He was alone, solitary, as they say, and reposing alone in himself. But, being generative, and not loving his solitary existence, he willed that what was the most beautiful and perfect in him should produce and bring fourth. For (says Valentinus) he was all Love (*Agapê*); and Love is not Love, unless there is something Beloved." The Father himself, therefore (continues the extract), brought forth and procreated, as he was alone, Mind (*Nous*) and Truth, that is, a dyad, which is the Sovereign and Mother of all the æons within the *Plerôma* (the Plenitude) which they reckon up.

And then follows the well-known system of progressive evolutions.

I must refrain from entering into this further exposition, which will

* Compare, about Ptolemæus, our article IX.; and about him and Heracleon, Iren. ii. 4. Epiph. Hær. xv.

soon be made the subject of deep inquiries and discussions, both speculative and doctrinal. All I wish to state is, that the method of our work is better, and the research deeper, than that of Irenæus, and the whole exposition our only authentic one, as far as Valentinus himself and his stricter followers are concerned.*

But I must direct your attention to a historical point mentioned by Hippolytus at the end of his exposition, respecting the divisions of the Valentinian school. The controverted question being whether the body of Jesus was *psychic* or spiritual (*pneumatic*), the Occidental school took the first view, the Oriental school (Ἀνατολικὴ διδασκαλία) the second. The authors of the first were "of Italy;" and among them Heracleon and Ptolemæus were conspicuous. Of those of the Oriental school he mentions *Axionikos* and *Ardesianes*, of whom the former is entirely unknown; the latter may be the same as Bardesianes the Armenian, mentioned in a later passage (p. 253.), and then that Valentinian writer lived as late as 172; for Bardesianes the Armenian must mean Bardesanes of Edessa, which lies near the frontier of Armenia. This piece of information respecting the two schools, throw slight on one of the most obscure points of the doctrine and writings of Clement of Alexandria. I mean his "Extracts from Theodotus, or the Oriental School;" a most important chapter, which, in my unpublished "Restoration of the Eight Books of the Hypotyposes of Clemens" (of which the first book is hidden under a false title), I believe I have proved, forms an integral part of those esoteric lectures, which are the deepest and most instructive work of the great Alexandrian teacher.†

I must now proceed, without further investigation of Valentinus' speculations, with the text of our thirty-two heresies.

If the two articles on Simon and Valentinus are original, when compared with Irenæus, the whole remainder of the sixth book (pp. 198—222.) is almost entirely copied or extracted from the first book of his master. It is not the less curious for that; and, as far as my immediate argument goes, it is more important even than those original articles. For it proves most palpably, that our author extracted Irenæus; and this is exactly what Photius says, that Hippolytus himself had stated he did in his work against all the heresies. Who, then, will believe that we read here the book of another author of that time, who had written a book (never mentioned) of the same title? and who can doubt that we have the work of Hippolytus before us?

VII. Secundus. — Five lines only (p. 198.), and these almost literally copied from Irenæus, i. 5. § 2., with the sole addition, that he was a cotemporary of Ptolemæus. Here are the two texts:—

Irenæus.	Hippolytus.
Σεκοῦνδος	Σεκοῦνδος μέν τις κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἅμα τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ γενόμενος. οὗτος λέγει Τετράδα εἶναι δεξιὰν καὶ Τετράδα ἀριστερὰν,
λέγει εἶναι τὴν πρώτην Ὀγδοάδα Τετράδα	

* I have now given the whole text in the Analecta, and a comprehensive picture of the character and system of that great man, at the head of the Fourth Age.—1854.

† The restored text of the extracts from Theodotus is now exhibited in the Analecta, as part of the fragments of the Hypotyposes of Clemens.—1854.

δεξιὰν καὶ Τετράδα ἀριστερὰν, οὕτως παραδιδοὺς καλεῖσθαι, τὴν μὲν μίαν Φῶς, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην Σκότος· τὴν δὲ ἀποστᾶσάν τε καὶ ὑστερήσασαν δύναμιν μὴ εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα Αἰώνων ἀλλὰ . . . (Latin text: sed a fructibus eorum.)

καὶ Φῶς καὶ Σκότος· καὶ τὴν ἀποστᾶσαν δὲ καὶ ὑστερήσασαν δύναμιν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα Αἰώνων λέγει γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν.

We have here an extract, in which the omission of the words τὴν πρώτην Ὀγδοάδα is no improvement.

VIII. EPIPHANES.—Nine lines, copied in the same manner from what follows in Irenæus, after the words on Secundus. The beginning of the first sentence is mutilated in the Greek and in the Latin interpretation as well as in our manuscript, the well known proper name of this Gnostic has been taken for an adjective.*

IRENÆUS (i. 5. § 2.).	HIPPOLYTUS (198. 98.—199. 8.).
Ἄλλος . . . . (Latin text: Alius vero quidam qui et *clarus* est magister ipsorum) εἰς ὑψηλότερον καὶ γνωστικώτερον ἐπεκτεινόμενος τὴν πρώτην Τετράδα . . . . οὕτως· ἔστι τις πρὸ πάντων προαρχὴ προανεννοήτος, ἄῤῥητός τε καὶ ἀνονόμαστος, ἣν ἐγὼ μονότητα ἀριθμῶ. ταύτῃ τῇ μονότητι συνυ-	Ἄλλος δέ τις Ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν οὕτως λεγει· Ἦν ἡ πρώτη ἀρχὴ ἀνεννόητος, ἄῤῥητός τε καὶ ἀνωνόμαστος, ἣν μονότητα καλεῖ· ταύτῃ [δὲ συνυπάρχ]ειν δύναμιν, ἣν ὀνομάζει ἑνό[τητα].† Αὕτη ἡ ἑνότης ἥτε

* I am truly obliged to one of my reviewers for having called my attention to the fact, that the editors of Irenæus, and in particular Grabe, had not overlooked this fact as I had inadvertently said in the first edition. I seize the same opportunity of observing that Pearson's proposed restoration of the Greek text of Irenæus is no more confirmed by Hippolytus than by the Latin interpreter. The simple restoration seems to me to be: Ἄλλος δέ τις ὁ καὶ Ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν.—1854.

Döllinger cannot believe yet that this article treats of Epiphanes. If this doubt is to have the effect to demolish my proposal as to making out the XXXII. heresies, it is of no effect, as XXXII may be easily counted without Epiphanes. But that our Epiphanes is, however, the same whom we know from Clemens and Theodoretus to have been a disciple, and even the son, of Carpocrates, is not only in itself the only reasonable assumption, but I believe results directly from the short but striking characteristic, given of him by Tertullian in his treatise against the Valentinians. I read this very obscure passage (c. 37.) thus: "Accipe alia ingenia. Cucurbitinum *insignioris* apud eos magistri, qui et pontificali sua auctoritate in hunc modum censuit—c. 38. Humanior jam Secundus, ut brevior!" He announces some new Valentinian authors. Of these, the second is Secundus, and none other follows. Now, the first is *Epiphanes* whom Tertullian already found written in his manuscript of Irenæus as an adjective, of which he made the best Latin possible, by putting it into a comparative. The preceding word, which in the MSS. is Cicuria Enniana, or Currucæ Enniani, must be *Cucurbitinum*; for Epiphanes made use of the word cucurbita to designate one of his fictions (Iren. i. 5. p. 32. Gr.). Leopold came near the sense by proposing "cucurbitina," but the word applies only to the system of Epiphanes. What Tertullian says of his pontifical dignity, corresponds with what Clemens relates, that he lived only seventeen years, but that his memory was greatly celebrated by his Cephalonian countrymen, as that of a god, in a temple dedicated to him.—1854.

† These words are left as they were printed by Miller. The MS. reads: Ταύτῃ δὲ ἣν μονότατα (after which there is a lacuna) ειν δύναμιν. I now propose to restore the text thus: Ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ μονότητι λέγει συνυπάρχειν δύναμιν.—1854.

πάρχει δύναμις, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ὀνομάζω ἑνότητα. αὕτη ἡ ἑνότης, ἥ τε μονότης, τὸ ἓν οὖσαι προήκαντο μὴ προέμεναι ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πάντων νοητὴν, ἀγέννητόν τε καὶ ἀόρατον, ἣν ἀρχὴν ὁ λόγος μονάδα καλεῖ. ταύτῃ δὲ μονάδι συνυπάρχει δύναμις ὁμοούσιος αὐτῇ, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ὀνομάζω τὸ ἕν. αὗται αἱ δυνάμεις, ἥ τε μονότης καὶ ἑνότης, μονάς τε καὶ τὸ ἓν προήκαντο τὰς λοιπὰς προβολὰς τῶν αἰώνων.

(Here follow declamations.)

μονότης προήκαντο μὴ προέμεναι ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πάντων νοητῶν ἀγέννητόν τε καὶ ἀόρατον, ἣν μονάδα καλεῖ. Ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει συνυπάρχει δύναμις ὁμοούσιος αὐτῇ (t. αὐτῇ ὀνομ.) ἣν ὀνομάζω το ἕν. Αὗται αἱ τέσσαρες δυνάμεις προήκαντο τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν αἰώνων προβολάς.

(Left out by Hippolytus.)

Then the text proceeds in both as follows: —

IRENÆUS (i. 5. § 3.).

Ἄλλοι δὲ πάλιν αὐτῶν τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἀρχέγονον (Lat. archegonum) Ὀγδοάδα τούτοις τοῖς ὀνόμασι κεκλήκασι; πρῶτον προαρχήν, ἔπειτα ἀνεννόητον, τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἄῤῥητον, καὶ τὴν τετάρτην ἀόρατον· καὶ ἐκ μὲν τῆς πρώτης προαρχῆς προβεβλῆσθαι πρώτῳ καὶ πέμπτῳ ἀρχὴν, ἐκ δὲ (τῆς ἀρχῆς) τῆς ἀνεννοήτου δευτέρῳ καὶ ἕκτῳ τόπῳ ἀκατάληπτον· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀῤῥήτου τρίτῳ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ τόπῳ ἀνονόμαστον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀοράτου ἀγέννητον, πλήρωμα τῆς πρώτης Ὀγδοάδος. ταύτας βούλονται τὰς δυνάμεις προϋπάρχειν τοῦ Βυθοῦ καὶ τῆς Σιγῆς, ἵνα τελείων τελειότεροι φανῶσιν ὄντες καὶ Γνωστικῶν γνωστικώτεροι· πρὸς οὓς δικαίως ἄν τις ἐπιφωνήσειεν· ὦ ληρολόγοι σοφισταί!

Καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βυθοῦ πολλαὶ καὶ διάφοροι γνῶμαι παρ' αὐτοῖς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄζυγον λέγουσι, μήτε ἄῤῥενα μήτε θήλειαν μήτε ὅλως ὄντα τι· ἄλλοι δὲ ἀῤῥενόθηλυν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν εἶναι, ἑρμαφροδίτου φύσιν αὐτῷ περιάπτοντες. Σιγὴν δὲ πάλιν ἄλλοι συνευνέτιν αὐτῷ προσάπτουσιν, ἵνα γένηται πρώτη συζυγία.

HIPPOLYTUS (199. 8—16).

Ἄλλοι δὴ πάλιν αὐτῶν τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἀρχαιόγονον (l. ἀρχέγονον) Ὀγδοάδα τούτοις τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐκάλεσαν

τετάρτην ἀόρατον. Καὶ ἐκ μὲν τῆς πρώτης προαρχῆς προβεβλῆσθαι πρώτῳ καὶ πέμπτῳ τόπῳ ἀρχήν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀνεννοήτου, δευτέρῳ καὶ ἕκτῳ [τόπῳ], ἀκατάληπτον· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀῤῥήτου, τρίτῳ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ τόπῳ, ἀνωνόμαστον· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀοράτου, ἀγέννητον πλήρωμα τῆς πρώτης Ὀγδοάδος. Ταύτας βούλονται τὰς δυνάμεις προϋπάρχειν τοῦ Βυθοῦ καὶ τῆς Σιγῆς (t. γῆς).

Ἄλλοι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βυθοῦ ἀδιαφόρως κινούμενοι, οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν ἄζυγον λέγουσι, μήτε ἄῤῥενα μήτε θῆλυν.

ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν Σιγὴν θήλειαν αὐτῷ συμπαρεῖναι καὶ εἶναι ταύτην πρώτην συζυγίαν.

This extract is of great interest for judging of the character of our text. It is quite clear that between the words ἐκάλεσαν and τετάρτην ἀόρατον the words in Irenæus' text from κεκλήκασι to ἀόρατον have been left out, but scarcely by Hippolytus; for the text as it stands gives no sense.

He may have marked them in his autograph for the copyist thus, ἐκάλεσαν . . . τετάρτην ἀόρατον· or they may simply have been omitted by careless extracting of a copyist. We shall soon see that we have, at all events not everywhere, the complete text of our author.*

IX. PTOLEMÆUS (pp. 199. 20., 200. 36.).—An article on Ptolemæus follows also here in Irenæus. Hippolytus extracted or rather reproduced it, as far as it contains facts:—

IRENÆUS (i. 6. § 1.).

Hi vero qui sunt circa Ptolemæum scientiores, duas conjuges habere eum [Bython] dicunt, quas et dispositiones vocant, Ennœam et Thelesin. Πρῶτον γὰρ ἐνενοήθη προβαλεῖν (sicut dicunt), εἶτα ἠθέλησε· διο καὶ τῶν δύο τούτων διαθέσεων, ἡ καὶ δυνάμεων, τῆς Ἐννοίας καὶ τῆς Θελήσεως ὥστε συγκραθεισῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας, τῇ προβολῇ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς καὶ τῆς Ἀληθείας κατὰ συζυγίαν ἐγένετο· οὕς τινας τύπους καὶ εἰκόνας τῶν δύο διαθέσεων τοῦ Πατρὸς προελθεῖν, τῶν ἀοράτων ὁρατὰς, τοῦ μὲν Θελήματος τὴν Ἀλήθειαν, τῆς δὲ Ἐννοίας τὸν Νοῦν, καὶ διὰ τούτου τοῦ Θελήματος, ὁ μὲν ἄῤῥην εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγεννήτου ἐννοίας γέγονεν, ὁ δὲ Θῆλυς τοῦ Θελήματος· τὸ Θέλημα τοίνυν δύναμις ἐγένετο τῆς Ἐννοίας· ἐνενόει μὲν γὰρ ἡ Ἐννοία τὴν προβολήν· οὐ μέν τοι προβαλεῖν αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐδύνατο ἃ ἐνενόει. ὅτε δὲ ἡ τοῦ Θελήματος δύναμις ἐπεγένετο, τότε ὃ ἐνενόει προέβαλε.

HIPPOLYTUS.

§

Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον δύο συζύγους αὐτὸν ἔχειν λέγουσιν, ἃς καὶ διαθέσεις καλοῦσι Ἔννοιαν καὶ Θέλησιν. Πρῶτον γὰρ ἐνενοήθη τι προβαλεῖν, ὥς φασιν, ἔπειτα ἠθέλησε. Διὸ καὶ τῶν δύο τούτων διαθέσεων καὶ δυνάμεων, τῆς δὲ ἐννοίας καὶ τῆς Θελήσεως, ὥσπερ κραθεισῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας, ἡ προβολὴ τοῦ τε μονογενοῦς καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κατὰ συζυγίαν ἐγένετο, ὥς τινας τύπους καὶ εἰκόνας τῶν δύο διαθέσεων τοῦ πατρὸς διελθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀοράτων ὁρατὰς, τοῦ μὲν θελήματος τὸν νοῦν, τῆς δὲ ἐννοίας τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ ἐπιγεννητοῦ θελήματος, ὁ ἀῤῥενικός· τῆς δὲ ἀγεννήτου ἐννοίας ὁ Θῆλυς ἐπὶ τὸ θέλημα ὥσπερ δύναμις ἐγένετο τῆς ἐννοίας. Ἐννοεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἀεὶ ἡ ἔννοια τὴν προβολήν, οὐ μέντοι γε προβάλλειν αὐτὴν κατ' αὐτὴν (l. καθ' ἑαυτὴν) ἠδύνατο, ἀλλὰ ἐνενοεῖτο. Ὅτε δὲ ἡ τοῦ θελήματος δύναμις [ἐπεγένετο] τότε [ὃ] ἐνενοεῖτο προβάλλει.†

* It is clear that Hippolytus did not know more of those "others," that is to say, other Valentinians, than what he found in Irenæus. Our historical criticism must, therefore, be based exclusively upon the original writer. It is impossible to say whether he had one subdivided school, or two or three different Valentinian schools in view. We certainly, however, may say that Hippolytus, if he counted his heretics, did not give a number to these, because he had no name for any of them. The only conjecture one can make, seems to be that Irenæus alluded in the sentence to those who made the Bythos a being neither male nor female. This coincides with what Irenæus says of the peculiarity of the system of *Heracleon*, who had the true Valentinian Ogdoads, and the thirty pairs of Æons. Ἄνθρωπον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς φάσκει εἶναι τὸν ἄνω τῶν ὅλων Πατέρα ὃν καὶ Βυθὸν προσηγόρευσε, βούλεται δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτὸς λέγειν μήτε ἄῤῥεν μήτε Θῆλυ, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ εἶναι τὴν τῶν ὅλων μητέρα, ἣν καὶ Σίγην ὀνομάζει καὶ Ἀλήθειαν.—1854.

† Hippolytus names Ptolemæus at the end of the Philosophumena (iv. 12.). He there ridicules a Ptolemæus, as one who had measured the distances of the planets (*μετρητὴς* instead of *μημημητής*). That the Valentinians measured the Æons, is mentioned by him (vi. 55.).

This* article is followed in Irenæus, after some of his wonted exclamations, by a succinct mention of the heresy of the *Colarbasians*, which name is preserved by Epiphanius (Hær. xv.), in giving the Greek text. Now I can easily prove that an article on *Colarbasus* (for thus he writes the name), must have followed in our author too. Not only does the

* In what follows, I maintain the principal point, that there must have been an article on Colarbasus in our book. I have to add, as additional proof, the remarkable passage at the end of the Philosophumena (iv. 13.), immediately after the words just quoted about Ptolemæus, the passage runs thus:—*Τούτοις ἐν μέρει ἐπισχόντες τινὲς ὡς μέγαλα κρίναντες καὶ λόγου ἄξια νομίσαντες αἰῶνας* (cod. et ed. *αἱρέσεις*) *ἀμέτρους καὶ ἀπείρους συνεστήσαντο. Ὧν εἷς μὲν Κολάρβασος, ὃς διὰ μέτρων καὶ ἀριθμῶν ἐκτίθεσθαι θεοσέβειαν ἐπιχειρεῖ. καὶ ἕτεροι δὲ ὁμοίως οὗς ἐπιδείξομεν, ἐπεὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀρξώμεθα λέγειν.*

Döllinger makes Colarbasus the master of Marcus. This is simply a mistake. But I am indebted to Döllinger's criticism for the fact that Colarbasus was earlier than Marcus. I had taken him to be the disciple of Marcus; on the authority of Epiphanius (Hæres. xv. 1.). My reasons, however, for changing my opinion, are not those of Döllinger. Döllinger is decidedly wrong in finding an argument for his own assumption in Iren. i. c. x. Gr. (c. xiv. Mass.). According to him, Marcus was made to say he was the only disciple of Colarbasus who carried out his ideas. The passage does not say a word about it. My readers may see this proved in my Analecta (Hippol. Iren. ii.), where I compare that text with the corresponding one in the Refutation (vi. 42.). Irenæus says that Marcus founded his system upon a vision he had of Sigê — the primitive maternal principle — who appeared to him "as to *her* only born Son." It is not only unfounded to say that Marcus was the disciple of Colarbasus, but it is even contrary to the only good evidence which exists for assuming that he was later than Colarbasus or Colorbasus. This is the obscure passage of Tertullian (Adv. Valentinianos, c. 4.), in which Döllinger adopts, evidently with Rigaltius, the conjecture of Latinus Latinius of Viterbo. Semler rejected it, and Leopold even makes no mention of it: indeed those conjectures of Latinus are deservedly not in good odour with philologers. The passage runs thus in Semler's and Leopold's editions:—(Valentinus) "ad expugnandam conversus veritatem, et cujusdam veteris opinionis semini nactus Colobroso viam delineavit." As this gives evidently no sense, Leopold proposes to read:—"semina nactus colubrosam viam delineavit." The mixture of two images, however (semina and via) is not like Tertullian's terseness. But, moreover, he carries out the idea of road through the whole passage, which I give here textually after Leopold:—"Eam postmodum Ptolemæus *intravit* (S. *instravit*) nominibus et numeris æonum distinctis in personales substantias, sed extra Deum determinatas, quas Valentinus in ipsa summa divinitate ut sensus et affectus et motus incluserat. Deduxit et Heracleon inde *tramites* quosdam, et Secundus et magus Marcus. Multa circum imagines legis Theotimus (Theodotus?) operatus est. Ita nusquam jam Valentinus et tamen Valentiniani qui per Valentinum. Solus ad hodiernum Antiochiæ Axionicus memoriam Valentini integra custodia regularum ejus consolatur."

He therefore either does not speak of Colorbasus at all, or he does so in the unintelligible conclusion of the sentence respecting Valentinus. This he does indeed if we read with Latinus:—"et cujusdam veteris opinionis *semitam* nactus Colorbaso (*Colobarso*) viam delineavit."

Valentinus found an old *track*, and *traced* a *road* for Colorbasus.

Ptolemæus *paved* this *road*.

Heracleon conducted *footpaths* from it.

These are the reasons why I believe Colarbasus to have been the immediate successor of Valentinus, and place him chronologically before Ptolemæus and Heracleon.

I have therefore left out in the text what I said in favour of the contrary opinion, and have given the article on Colarbasus, which I suppose to have been left out in our text at this place, as the tenth, and that on Marcus as the eleventh.

index of the chapters, prefixed to this sixth book as to all the others, mention Colarbasus with Marcus, as treated of in the fifth chapter (the authors just named, Secundus, Ptolemæus, Heracleon, forming the fourth); but our author himself concludes this sixth book with the following words: —"I believe I have now sufficiently exhibited their worthless doctrines, and clearly shown whose disciples they are. Marcus as well as Colarbasus, who followed Valentinus as heads of his school." But not one word does he say, according to our text, of Colarbasus, the immediate successor of Valentinus, and predecessor of Marcus. Nor can it be maintained that he meant to say these two taught exactly the same doctrine, and therefore that, having treated largely on Marcus, he had also said enough of Colarbasus. We know the contrary: Colarbasus gave a new turn to Valentianism: Marcus became the head of the Marcoseans. Nothing remains, therefore, but to say, that Hippolytus did insert an article on Colarbasus, and that here too we have only an extract of his original text, and a very careless one. The question is simply, whether that article was placed before or after Marcus.

X. COLARBASUS and the COLARBASIANS.—The author concludes this sixth book with that reference to the treatise of Irenæus, on the absurdities of other gnostic teachers, which contains one of the proofs that our book is substantially the work of Hippolytus as read by Photius. The Greek text of Irenæus (i. 6. § 2.) ran thus, according to Epiphanius (i. tom. 3. xxxv.) and the Latin translation:—*

* I have examined that conclusion philologically in a note, when discussing the passage of Photius in the Second Letter, and given the whole text in the Analecta. (Hippolytus, II.).—1854.

That the article concerns Colarbasus personally, and his school, has been called in doubt by Döllinger without any reason. The next chapter is incribed in the Latin manuscript of Irenæus: "Quæ est Colabarsorum doctrina:" this may be right or wrong, but it contains different opinions of the Valentinians respecting the Redeemer, as what precedes concerns the Æons. But that the last of these articles on the first principles treats of Colarbasus and his sect, and must have had originally that inscription which now is placed over the article on the Redeemer, from the point of view of the Valentinians, or of some Valentinians, is apparent from the analogy of the preceding articles on Epiphanes and Ptolemæus, and from the circumstance that the whole article otherwise would have no sense. Added to this, we have the authority of Epiphanius, on a matter of fact, not of opinion, and finally that of Tertullian. Chapter 38. of his treatise against the Valentinians is a spirited, amplified, but faithful translation of the words of Irenæus; and, therefore, also of great importance for the right interpretation of the whole article. It runs thus:—

"Quanto meliores, qui totum hoc tædium de medio amoliti, nullum Æonem voluerunt alium ex alio per gradus vere Gemonios structum, sed mappa, quod aiunt, missa, semel octojugem istam ex Patre et Ennœa ejus exclusam. Ex ipso denique ejus motu nomina gerunt. Cum (inquiunt) cogitavit proferre hoc, Pater dictus est. Cum protulit quia vera protulit, hic (l. hoc) Veritas appellata est. Cum semetipsum voluit probari, hoc Homo pronuntiatus est. Quos autem præcogitavit, cum protulit tunc Ecclesia nuncupata est. Sonuit Homo Sermonem, et hic est primogenitus filius, et Sermoni accessit vita, et Ogdoas prima conclusa est."

The Latin text has been in the beginning obscured by the omission of the title, or at least of the subject of the article, and by the misinterpretation of the second sentence. The emendations I have proposed are based upon these assumptions.

IRENÆI *interpres Latinus.*

Qui autem prudentiores putantur illorum esse, primam Octonationem, non gradatim, alterum ab altero Æonem emissum dicunt, sed simul et in unum Æonum emissionem a Propatore et Ennœa ejus, cum crearentur, ipsi se obstetricasse affirmant. Et jam non ex Logo et Zoe Anthropon et Ecclesiam, sed ex Anthropo et Ecclesia Logon et Zoen dicunt generatos, in hunc modum, dicentes: Quando cogitavit aliquid emittere Propator, hoc Pater vocatus est, at ubi quæ emisit vera fuerunt, hoc Alethia vocatum est. Cum autem voluit semet ipsum ostendere, hoc Anthropos dictus est. Quos autem præcogitaverat posteaquam emisit, hoc Ecclesia vocata est. Locutus est Anthropos Logon, hic est primogenitus Filius: Subsequitur autem Logon Zoe, et sic prima Octonatio completa est.

IRENÆUS *apud Epiphanium.*

[Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κολάρβασον φρονιμώτερα δοκοῦντες εἶναι] τὴν πρώτην Ὀγδοάδα, οὐ καθ' ὑπόβασιν ἄλλον ὑπὸ ἄλλου [αἰῶνα προβαλεῖσθαι φασι]. Ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ καὶ εἰς ἅπαξ τὴν τῶν ἓξ αἰώνων προβολὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Προπάτορος καὶ Ἐννοίας αὐτοῦ τετέχθαι, ὡς αὐτὸς μαιωσάμενος διαξεβαιοῦται. καὶ οὐκέτι ἐκ λόγου καὶ ζωῆς ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐκκλησίαν, ἢ (Ep. καὶ) ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι, καὶ ἐκκλησίας Λόγον καὶ ζωὴν φασι τετέχθαι αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὅτε (Ep. ὅτι) ὑπὲρ ἐνενόησε (Ep. -θη) προβαλεῖν ὁ Προπάτωρ, τοῦτο πατὴρ ἐκλήθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὃ προεβάλεν (Ep. προεβάλετο) ἀλήθεια ἦν, τοῦτο ἀλήθεια ὠνομάσθη. ὅτε οὖν ἠθέλησεν ἐπιδεῖξαι ἑαυτὸν (Ep. αὐτὸν) τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος ἐλέχθη. οὓς δὲ προελογίσατο ὅτε προέβαλε, τοῦτο ἐκκλησία ὠνομάσθη. [καὶ] ἐλάλησε ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὸν λόγον οὗτός (Ep. καὶ ὁ) ἐστιν ὁ πρωτότοκος υἱός. ἐπακολουθεῖ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἡ ζωή. καὶ οὕτως πρώτη Ὀγδοὰς συνετελέσθη.

Hippolytus' article may have been shorter, but substantiully it will have been the same. His extracts must at all events have stopped here: what follows in Irenæus (§ 7.) bears in the Latin text the title, "On the Doctrine of the Colarbasians," but treats in a more general sense of the Valentinian doctrine respecting the Saviour (Σωτήρ). Some of the tenets here mentioned are incompatible with Colarbasus' system, especially the account of the ten æons, — a number abhorrent from it.

XI. MARCUS, and his followers the MARCOSIANS.— This article is remarkable for our argument on the relation which Hippolytus' work bears to Irenæus, in a peculiar way. Our last articles were almost copies: here we have an extract very much abridged. To explain the nature of this extract, I must first state that Irenæus has devoted to this sect nine entire chapters (i. 13—21.), in about ninety folio pages. This long treatise consists of two distinct parts, quotations from the works of Marcus or of the Marcosians and dissertations or declamations against them. Now, if

The sense thus obtained is clear. Father and Truth differ as the Subject and Object; Man and Church as the Real and the Ideal. Word and Life are implied in God's idea of Man (and Humanity). My Picture of Valentinus shows that this absence of mythological details and images which afterwards obscured the philosophical ideas of Valentinus, points to the first period of the system, the representative of which is indeed Colarbasus, as I have observed in the preceding note.—1854.

Hippolytus gives the first substantially, and omits the others entirely, he not only acts as a sensible author, but does exactly what he did in the articles I have this moment laid before you. That is also what Photius says Hippolytus declared he meant to do. But I can now show you that our author says so himself. For having gone through the extracts from Irenæus, and added his own researches and his criticism upon Irenæus, he concludes the sixth book by saying that the Valentinians had always gone on glorying in their inventions, the more absurd they were; and that, having "made out every thing from the Scriptures in accordance with the numbers set forth (the cabalistic numbers), they charged Moses and the prophets with those inventions, pretending that these speak allegorically about the measures of the æons. Now, I have not thought fit to give an account of such senseless and incoherent things, the blessed presbyter Irenæus having refuted their doctrines already with great skill and pains. I have taken from him the account of their inventions, having shown before that they have stolen them from the Pythagorean philosophy and the subtleties of the astrologers, and then fathered them upon Christ."* Then follows the concluding sentence given above, in which he says he had explained the systems of Marcus and Colarbasus.

Could we ever have expected to find such an explicit proof that the book now discovered is the same which Photius read, and which bore the title of Hippolytus' work mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome?

Hippolytus' account of Marcus is this: — Marcus, he says, was simply a magician, or, to speak plainly, a trickster and conjuror, using also what we call animal magnetism. Hippolytus had exposed and explained some of his tricks in the book "Against the Magi" (*κατὰ τῶν Μάγων*). The impostor used these tricks in the very consecration of the communion. In speaking of these exposures, Hippolytus says, he had not divulged the last secret word, which was to give the key to all, but which was only pronounced to very eminent personages, or in the hour of death. "I have kept silence on this point," says Hippolytus, p. 202., "that nobody may believe I intend to deal maliciously with them: that is not at all our aim, but only to show whence they have taken their opinions. That blessed elder†, Irenæus, has spoken out more openly in a general manner about these doings of theirs. Some have denied having received that word; they are always taught to deny it. We have therefore made it our object to inquire more accurately, and to find out more minutely, what is delivered to them in the first bath (baptism), and what in the second, which they call the redemption, or absolution (*apolytrósis*); and we have penetrated even into their secret. But this indulgence shall be shown to Valentinus and his school." A sentiment of delicacy, of which there are few instances in his predecessors (among whom is Irenæus, who protests that he does not believe what is told of the impurities of the Valentinians), and none in his followers.

The text goes on exposing (pp. 203—221.), almost entirely in the author's own words, the absurdity and fallacy of Marcus' mystic play with the twenty-four letters of the alphabet. You will not expect me to discuss

* This passage is very corrupt in our text. (See in my long Note to the Second Letter the philological discussion on this text.—1854.)

† *πρεσβύτερος*, in its eminent sense, as a person who had been acquainted with the witnesses who had seen Christ.

this stuff filling eighteen pages. But it is well to observe, that this authentic exposition is a new proof of Hippolytus' authorship, and that his work is sometimes an extract, sometimes an enlargement, of Irenæus, in the way in which I have endeavoured to establish this already.

If we look back over this sixth book, we find it, I think, as interesting for its contents in its first portions, as for the evidence of its authorship in the latter.

BOOK VII.

(Pp. 223—260., 38 pages.)

Having established, I believe on sufficient grounds, the authorship and character of our work, I shall now content myself with presenting a list of the sects, adding a few remarks by way of appendix.

XII. BASILIDES and his son ISIDORUS (pp. 225—244.).—This, again, is an original article by Hippolytus, and treated according to his own method. Having premised a recapitulation of the Aristotelian principle, on which, according to him, Basilides founded his philosophical system, just as Valentinus did upon Pythagoras and Plato (pp. 225—229.), he gives an authentic account of Basilides' opinions, from his own works and those of his son (pp. 230—244.). Compared with this treatise, Irenæus chapter (i. 23.) appears very meagre, incomplete, and incorrect. According to Hippolytus, Basilides was certainly an Egyptian (pp. 244.). This settles more than one much-disputed and not unimportant question.

This sect used pretended secret doctrines (λόγοι) of St. Matthias, undoubtedly the same which Clemens Alexandrinus and Eusibius mention.* The whole exposition of Basilides' system seems to me strikingly to confirm Neander's elaborate and beautiful account of it†, and also some acute observations of that accurate and truly critical historian, Gieseler. The noble character of Basilides' ethical view of the world, which both have so clearly developed, is now authentically established by the hitherto unknown metaphysical substruction of the whole system disclosed to us

* Clem. Strom. ii. 380. iii. 43 b. vii p. 765.; Euseb. H. E. iii. 25. See Grabe, Spicilegium, i. p. 117. sq. He guessed acutely that it was a Basilidian apocryphal book, which indeed Clemens asserts. The editor ought not to have changed here (230. 10. and 230. 83.) Ματθίου into Ματθαίου. I would correct the corrupt text (λόγον δν ὡς ἴδιον οὗτοι καὶ καινόν τινα καὶ τῶν Ματθίου λόγων κρύφιόν τινα ἐνδιασαφοῦσιν) thus: λόγον δν ὡς ἴδιον οὗτοι καὶ καινόν τινα ἐκ τῶν Ματθίου λόγων κρυφίων (or ἀποκρύφων) τινῶν διασαφοῦσιν. These λόγοι of Matthias are called (230. 83.) λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι. They were, probably, not an apocryphal gospel, but a mystical and philosophical doctrine; perhaps the παραδόσεις or traditions which went under his name (Grabe, i. 1.). The gospel of the school was the Nazarean one which Jerome translated into Latin, an enlargement upon the groundwork of our first Gospel.

† Kirchengeschichte, i. 691—713. I wonder that Neander should have been at a loss how to correct the passage in a Latin text of the fourth century, giving an account of Basilides' system (p. 693. iv. 3.): "Per *parvulam* divitis et pauperis naturam sine radice . . . . indicat." We must plainly read: "Per *parabolam* divitis et pauperis, naturam sine radice . . . . indicat."

in well connected extracts, which occupy nine tenths of the article, or about twelve pages. The keystone of the whole system of the metaphysical ogdoad and hebdomad is in the words (pp. 235, 236.): — "Everything has a tendency from below upward, from what is worse to what is better; and nothing in the better is too immovable to descend."* Among the Pauline epistles quoted is that to the Ephesians. But Basilides not only quotes (besides St. Luke's second chapter) the Gospel of St. John †; it is also evident that his whole metaphysical development is an attempt to connect a cosmogonic system with St. John's prologue, and with the person of Christ. Now, these extracts are undoubtedly older than Heracleon's commentary on St. John (which itself is already incompatible with Strauss' and Baur's hypothesis about the origin of the fourth Gospel), and belong to the time between 120 and 130. ‡

XIII. SATURNILUS § (Saturninus, Iren. i. c. 24.),—cotemporary with Basilides, lived at Antioch in Syria, and taught a doctrine like Menander's, who evidently is mentioned here incidentally. Irenæus treated of Saturninus before Basilides. Hippolytus inverts the order; probably he thought it better to place Basilides, as the head of a new school, before his cotemporary. But the article itself (pp. 244, 245.) is copied from Irenæus. ‖

XIV. MARCION, from *Pontus*. — This is, again, an original article (pp. 246—253.), but not so important as those on Valentinus and Basilides. After a few remarks on Marcion, extracted from Irenæus (i. 29.), as to the sense, our author gives an Empedoclean dissertation, interesting for the criticism on the works of that poetical philosopher, and containing some new verses. Hippolytus, of course, according to his favourite idea, endeavours to refer Marcion's tenets, as far as they are truly philosophical, to Empedocles; for which, although it is in some respects a fanciful notion, he urges that Marcion often copied him literally (*αὐταῖς λέξεσι*, p. 252. 19.). ⸸ He then gives a short but original

* This must be the sense of the words: Σπεύδει πάντα κάτωθεν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττονα· οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως ἀνόητόν ἐστι τῶν τοῖς κρείττοσιν, ἵνα μὴ κατέλθῃ κάτω. I read: οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως ἀκίνητόν ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς κρείττοσιν, etc.

† pp. 232. 64., 242. 55.

‡ The text is full of corruptions and difficulties. Page 234. 12. I read τὸ ἀῤῥήτων ἀῤῥητότερον instead of τὸ ἄῤῥητον, ἀῤῥητότερον. The writing Ἀβρασάξ, p. 240. 95., may be more correct than Ἀβράξας The unintelligible sentence, p. 232. 40—46., has been thus restored by Dr. Bernays, whose attention I had called to this work on account of the Heraclitean fragments: Πάντα οὖν, ὅσα ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἔτι μὴ εὑρόντα παραλιπεῖν, τῷ μέλλοντι (t. ὅσά τῷ μέλλοντι) κόσμῳ γενέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος ἔμελλεν ἁρμόζειν ἀναγκαίως (t. ἀναγκαίοις) καιροῖς ἰδίοις κατὰ προσθήκην αὐξανομένῳ (t. αὐξανομένου), ὡς ὑπὸ τηλικούτου καὶ τοιούτου Θεοῦ, ὁποῖον οὐκ εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ νοήσει (t. οὐ νοῆσαι) δυνατὴ γέγονε χωρῆσαι ἡ κτίσις, ἀεὶ (t. καὶ) ἐνυπῆρχε τεθησαυρισμένα τῷ σπέρματι. Ἁρμόζειν is of course intransitive.

§ Saturnilus is the Syrian form, that language not allowing the repetition of the same consonant. — 1854.

‖ Neander Kircheng. i. 784.

⸸ Pray correct the words in p. 252., where after mention of Paul the apostle Mark the evangelist is called Μάρκος ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος (Mark the stump-finger). But the true text may easily be restored if we consider the whole passage. Ἐπειδὰν οὖν Μαρκίων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου κυνῶν τις ὑλακτῇ κατὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τοῦς ἐκ τῆς ἀντιπαραθέσεως ἀγαθοῦ καὶ καλοῦ προφέρων λόγους, δεῖ αὐτοῖς λέγειν ὅτι τούτους οὔτε

account of a development of Marcion's doctrine for the worse. He calls the systems which rest simply upon the antagonism or duellism of good and evil, "the first and purest heresy of Marcion" (253. 39.), in contradistinction to the system of Prepon, of whom the next article treats.

XV. PREPON the *Assyrian*, a Marcionist, or follower of Marcion, and who lived in Hippolytus' time. We hitherto knew nothing beyond his name, which Theodoret (i. 25.) mentions, with other followers of Marcion, in his article on Apelles. We now learn that Prepon the Marcionist* had written a book addressed to Bardesianes the Armenian (p. 253.), in which he set up a third first principle, Justice (*τὸ δίκαιον*), in the Jewish sense of righteousness, or conformity with the law, as the middle between good and evil. It is evident from what follows, that Marcion in his later writings adopted this view. For Hippolytus returns to Marcion, and gives us his celebrated startling saying, "that the Savour came down without birth in the fifteenth year of Tiberius," with the addition: "being the mean (*μέσον*) between good and evil." To explain this expression Marcion's words are quoted: — "If he is the mean (*μεσότης*), he is delivered from the nature of evil. But evil is the Demiurg and his creatures. For this very reason, Jesus descended without being born (*ἀγένητος*), that he might be free from all evil. But he is also free from the nature of good, in order to be 'the mean' (*μεσότης*), as Paul says, and as he (Jesus) himself declares, in the words: 'Why do you call me good?' One is good."

At this point, the pure Gnostic school being exhausted, Hippolytus passes through Carpocrates and Cerinthus to the Ebionite heresies. He states that these two schools stand in opposition to each other (p. 257. 67.). Carpocrates' place is well chosen; for he partakes of both systems.

XVI. CARPOCRATES (pp. 255, 256., compared with Iren. i. 24.). — This article is from beginning to end extracted from Irenæus, but with curious omissions. The relation of the two accounts to each other presents so many interesting points, both for the criticism of the Carpocratian system, and for that of our work and its author, that I must give the two texts again in juxtaposition: —

IRENÆUS (i. 24.).	HIPPOLYTUS (pp. 255, 256.).
Carpocrates autem et qui ab eo, mundum et ea quæ in eo sunt, ab Angelis multo inferioribus ingenito Patre factum esse dicunt. Jesum autem e Joseph natum, et qui similis	*Καρποκράτης τὸν μὲν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων πολὺ ὑποβεβηκότων τοῦ ἀγενήτου Πατρὸς γεγενῆσθαι λέγει, τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ἐξ Ἰωσὴφ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ ὅμοιον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γεγονότα, δικαιό-

Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος οὔτε Μάρκος ὁ καλῶν λόγων διδάσκαλος ἀνήγγειλαν. Τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίῳ γέγραπται. He calls Mark the teacher of good words (doctrines), instead of the "evangelist" (which means the same), in order to avoid repetition, and perhaps also for the sake of the play upon the word λόγοι. There are worse corruptions in our text than this. (I adopt without hesitation the emendation of Scott: — ὁ ἀκόλουθος ἀποστόλου. — 1854.)

* Μαρκιωνίστης τίς, Πρέπων Ἀσσύριος. The text has (to my surprise, without any remark) the nonsense, Μαρκίων, νῆστίς τις Πρ. Ἀσ. Μαρκιονίστης is the usual word for Marcionist.

reliquis hominibus fuerit, distasse a reliquis secundum id, quod anima ejus firma et munda cum esset, commemorata fuerit quæ visa essent sibi in ea circumlatione, quæ fuisset ingenito Deo: et propter hoc ab eo missam esse ei virtutem, uti mundi fabricatores effugere posset, et per omnes transgressa, et in omnibus liberata, ascenderet ad Deum, et eas, quæ similia ei amplecterentur, similiter. Jesu autem dicunt animam in Judæorum consuetudine nutritam contempsisse eos, et propter hoc virtutes accepisse, per quas evacuavit quæ fuerunt in pœnis passiones, quæ inerant hominibus. Ea igitur, quæ similiter atque illa Jesu anima, potest contemnere mundi fabricatores archontas, similiter accipere virtutes ad operandum similia. Quapropter et ad tantum elationis provecti sunt, ut quidam quidem similes se esse dicant Jesu, quidam autem adhuc et secundum aliquid illo fortiores, qui sunt distantes amplius quam illius discipuli, ut puta quam Petrus et Paulus et reliqui Apostoli: hos autum in nullo deminorari a Jesu. Animas enim ipsorum ex eadem circumlatione devenientes, et ideo similiter contemnentes mundi fabricatores, eadem dignas habitas esse virtute, et rursus in idem abire. Si quis autem plus quam ille contemperit ea quæ sunt hic, posse meliorem quam illum esse. Artes enim magicas operantur et ipsi et incantationes, philtra quoque et charitesia, et paredros et oniropompos, et reliquas malignationes, dicentes se potestatem habere ad dominandum jam principibus et fabricatoribus hujus mundi: non solum autem, sed et his omnibus, quæ in eo sunt facta. Qui et ipsi ad detractionem divini Ecclesiæ nominis, quemadmodum et gentes, a Satana præmissi sunt, uti secundum alium et alium modum, quæ sunt illorum audientes homines,

τερον τῶν λοιπῶν γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εὔτονον καὶ καθαρὰν γεγονυῖαν, διαμνημονεῦσαι τὰ ὁρατὰ μὲν αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγενήτου Θεοῦ περιφορᾷ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπ' ἐκείνου αὐτῷ καταπεμφθῆναι δύναμιν, ὅπως τοὺς κοσμοποιοὺς ἐκφυγεῖν δι' αὐτῆς δυνηθῇ· ἣν καὶ διὰ πάντων χωρήσασαν ἐν πᾶσί τε ἐλευθερωθεῖσαν, ἐληλυθέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν, τὰ ὅμοια αὐτῆς ἀσπαζομένην. Τὴν δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λέγουσι ψυχὴν ἐννόμως ἠσκημένην ἐν Ἰουδαϊκοῖς ἔθεσι καταφρονῆσαι αὐτῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυνάμεις ἐπιτετελεκέναι, δι' ὧν κατήργησε τὰ ἐπὶ κολάσει πάθη προσόντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Τὴν οὖν ὁμοίως ἐκείνῃ τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ψυχῇ δυναμένην καταφρονῆσαι τῶν κοσμοποιῶν ἀρχόντων, ὁμοίως λαμβάνειν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ πράξαι τὰ ὅμοια· διὸ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο τὸ τῦφος κατεληλύθασιν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς μὲν ὁμοίως αὐτῷ εἶναι λέγουσι τῷ Ἰησοῦ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔτι δυνατωτέρους, τινὰς δὲ καὶ διαφορωτέρους τῶν ἐκείνου μαθητῶν, οἷον Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων· τούτους δὲ κατὰ μηδένα ἀπολείπεσθαι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς ὑπερκειμένης ἐξουσίας παρούσας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὡσαύτως καταφρονεῖν τῶν κοσμοποιῶν διὰ [τὸ] τῆς αὐτῆς ἠξιῶσθαι δυνάμεως, καὶ αὖθις εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρῆσαι. Εἰ δέ τις ἐκείνου πλέον καταφρονήσειεν τῶν ἐνταῦθα, δύνασθαι διαφορώτερον αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχειν. Τέχνας οὖν μαγικὰς ἐξεργαζόμενοι καὶ ἐπαοιδὰς, φίλτρα τε καὶ χαριτήσια, παρέδρους τε καὶ ὀνειροπόμπους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κακουργήματα, φάσκοντες ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ κυριεύειν ἤδη τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ποιητῶν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ποιημάτων ἁπάντων· οἵτινες καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς διαβολὴν τοῦ θείου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὀνόματος πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ προεβλήθησαν, ἵνα κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον τρόπον τὰ ἐκείνων ἀκούοντες ἄνθρωποι, καὶ δοκοῦντες ἡμᾶς πάντας τοιούτους ὑπάρχειν, ἀποστρέφωσι τὰς ἀκοὰς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματος [ἢ καὶ] βλέποντες τὰ ἐκείνων ἅπαντα, ἡμᾶς βλασφημῶσιν (l. βλασφημοῦσιν).

et putantes omnes nos tales esse, avertant aures suas a præconio veritatis: aut et videntes quæ sunt illorum, omnes nos blasphement, in nullo eis communicantes, neque in doctrina, neque in moribus, neque in quotidiana conversatione. Sed vitam quidem luxuriosam, sententiam autem impiam ad velamen malitiæ ipsorum nomine abutuntur, quorum judicium justum est, recipientium dignam suis operibus a Deo retributionem. Et in tantum insania effrænati sunt, uti et omnia quæcunque sunt irreligiosa et impia, in potestate habere operari se dicant. Sola enim humana opinione negotia mala et bona dicunt. Et utique secundum transmigrationes in corpora oportere in omni vita, et in omni actu fieri animas (si non præoccupans quis in uno adventu omnia agat semel ac pariter, quæ non tantum dicere et audire non est fas nobis, sed ne quidem in mentis conceptionem venire, nec credere si apud homines conversantes in his quæ sunt secundum nos civitates, tale aliquid agitatur), uti, secundum quod scripta eorum dicunt, in omni usu vitæ factæ animæ ipsorum, exeuntes in nihilo adhuc minus habeant.

Εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ μετενσωματοῦσθαι φάσκουσι τὰς ψυχὰς, ὅσον πάντα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα πληρώσωσιν· ὅταν δὲ μηδὲν λείπῃ, τότε ἐλευθερωθεῖσαν ἀπαλλαγῆναι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὸν ὑπεράνω τῶν κοσμοποιῶν ἀγγέλων Θεὸν, καὶ οὕτως σωθήσεσθαι πάσας τὰς ψυχάς. Εἴ τινες δὲ φθάσασαι ἐν μιᾷ παρουσίᾳ ἀνεμίγησαν (t. ἀναμιγῆναι) πάσαις ἁμαρτίαις, οὐκέτι μετενσωματοῦνται, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοῦ ἀποδοῦσαι τὰ ὀφλήματα ἐλευθερωθήσονται τοῦ μηκέτι γενέσθαι ἐν σώματι.

Ad operandum autem in eo, ne forte propterea quod deest libertati aliqua res, cogantur iterum mitti in corpus, propter hoc dicunt Jesum hanc dixisse parabolam: Cum es cum adversario tuo in via, da operam, ut libereris ab eo, etc. etc.

. . .

Alii vero ex ipsis signant, cauterizantes suos discipulos in posterioribus partibus extantiæ dextræ auris. Unde et Marcellina, quæ Romam sub Aniceto venit, cum esset hujus doctrinæ, multos exterminavit. Gnosticos se autem vocant: etiam imagines quasdam quidem depictas, quasdam autem et de reliqua materia

Τούτων τινὲς καὶ καυτηριάζουσι τοὺς ἰδίους μαθητὰς ἐν τοῖς ὀπίσω μέρεσι τοῦ λοβοῦ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὠτός.

Καὶ εἰκόνας δὲ κατασκευάζουσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγοντες ὑπὸ Πιλάτου τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι.

fabricatas habent, dicentes formam Christi factam a Pilato, illo in tempore quo fuit Jesus cum hominibus. Et has coronant, et proponunt eas cum imaginibus mundi philosophorum, videlicet cum imagine Pythagoræ, et Platonis et Aristotelis et reliquorum; et reliquam observationem circa eas similiter ut Gentes faciunt.

This long passage is very instructive. It proves that we have more facts, but fewer words, in Hippolytus than in Irenæus. It proves also that, even in those articles which Hippolytus took principally from Irenæus, he went to the fountain-head, and completed or rectified the extracts he had found in his predecessor's work. Of this we have a very striking instance in the passage about the Carpocratian doctrine of the metempsychosis. The words in Irenæus alluding to this doctrine, and beginning "Ad operandum autem in eo, ne forte . . . . . cogantur iterum mitti in corpus," &c., are entirely unintelligible; so in fact is the long confused period which precedes it. Hippolytus felt this, and introduced instead of it, not a sentence (I believe) of the Carpocration text-book, but undoubtedly the substance of what he found in it, which Irenæus had garbled. The period which begins that passage, "Εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ μετενσωματοῦσθαι . . . . ἐλευθερωθήσονται τοῦ μηκέτι γενέσθαι ἐν σώματι," renders what follows perfectly intelligible.

As to this wicked perversion of the ancient doctrine of the metempsychosis, I can only say that, if it is taken from a work of Carpocrates himself (to whom we have no right to impute such gross immorality), it expresses only that part of his doctrine in which he represented the tragic destiny of the souls living under the thraldom of the Demiurg, and driven by him into sin through all the stages of that existence, which, according to the "ancient" doctrine of the East (against which Æschylus and the truly religious Hellenic mind rebelled), was a curse in itself.

XVII. CERINTHUS, "educated in the science of the Egyptians" (p. 256. twelve lines: to be compared with x. 21. and Iren. i. 25.).—I give the two passages in juxtaposition, because we are led by this method to some corrections of our text:—

IRENÆUS.

Et Cerinthus autem quidam in Asia, non a primo Deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed a virtute quadam valde separata, et distante ab ea principalitate quæ est super universa, et ignorante eum qui est super omnia Deum. Jesum autem subjecit, non ex virgine natum (impossibile enim hoc ei visum est); fuisse autem eum Joseph et Mariæ filium, similiter ut

HIPPOLYTUS.

Κήρινθος δέ τις [καὶ] αὐτὸς Αἰγυπτίων παιδείᾳ ἀσκηθεὶς ἔλεγεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου [Θεοῦ] γεγονέναι τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δυνάμεως τινὸς κεχωρισμένης τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα ἐξουσίας, καὶ ἀγνοούσης τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντα Θεόν. τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ὑπέθετο μὴ ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι, γεγονέναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰωσὴφ καὶ Μαρίας υἱὸν (t. οἷον), ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δικαιότερον γεγονέναι καὶ

reliqui omnes homines, et plus potuisse justitia et prudentia et sapientia ab omnibus. Et post baptismum descendisse in eum, ab ea principalitate quæ est super omnia, Christum figura columbæ; et tunc annunciasse incognitum Patrem, et virtutes perfecisse; in fine autem revolasse iterum Christum de Jesu, et Jesum passum esse et resurrexisse: Christum autem impassibilem perseverasse, existentem spiritalem.

σοφώτερον. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα κατελθεῖν εἰς αὐτὸν [ἐκ]* τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα αὐθεντίας τὸν Χριστὸν, ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς. Καὶ τότε κηρῦξαι τὸν ἄγνωστον (t. γνωστὸν) Πατέρα, καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπιτελέσαι· πρὸς δὲ τῷ τέλει, ἀποπτῆναι (t. ἀποστῆναι) τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (t. Χριστοῦ), καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πεπονθέναι καὶ ἐγηγέρθαι, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἀπαθῆ διαμεμενηκέναι πνευματικὸν (t. πατρικὸν) ὑπάρχοντα.

On this occasion I will offer an observation to you, my dear friend, which forces itself upon me more and more in considering the bearing of this newly discovered work on the present controversy about the age of the Gospel of St. John, and consequently on the whole history of the hundred years, from 70 to 170. We have seen that Hippolytus not only undertook, but really carried out, with no little labour, and with the resources which Rome alone and a life of inquiry there could offer, a critical review of the doctrinal history of the Church, from its earliest age down to his own time. He dug into the depths of the first heretical speculations, which had remained historically an enigma to Irenæus; he inquired, in particular, into the historical and chronological order of these heresies, being the first chronographer of the West, and gave, in all points where we can follow him, the most authentic reports we possess. Now, when such a man transcribes an important article from Irenæus, like that respecting Cerinthus, without addition or modification, his transcript must be taken as a solemn seal put to its truth. How, then, can we treat as mythical the common traditions respecting Cerinthus, whom Hippolytus also places at the head of the Ebionitic view? And if we cannot do this, how can we doubt that Cerinthus lived in the time of St. John, and that the prologue and other important passages of the fourth Gospel refer, not to late systems of the second century, but to early theories of Gnosticism and Ebionitism in the first? Doubtless the Gospel does refer to theories and speculations respecting the person of Jesus of Nazareth, but to those which sprang up immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem. That event, the shock of which had an echo through the inhabited globe, roused the infant Christian world from slumbering dreams about future destinies in an unknown state, to the consciousness of a world-conquering divine vocation upon this earth, and to prophetic visions of new kingdoms and new nations directed by Christ's spirit. It brought on a crystallization of the floating elements of Christian worship and of corporative organization; and it roused all the depths of the human intellect to solve the great enigmas of the connection between the historical person of Jesus of Nazareth and the origin and nature of the human race, of the relation between history and the divine idea, between inward and outward revelation and inspiration. How can any one wonder that those theories sprang up as early as we are told?

* See x. 21. p. 628, 91 M.

We know now more than ever authentically, that they did; and we can understand this phenomenon, if we consider those circumstances, and the great fermentation into which the decay of Judaism and of Paganism had, for a century or two, thrown the human race.

XVIII. The EBIONITES (Ἐβιωναῖοι), who acknowledge the true God as the Creator, but adopt Cerinthus' and Carpocrates' fables about Christ. They live as Jews, and say, that, like Jesus himself, they are justified by the law. Jesus fulfilled the law, which none before him had done, and thus became the Christ; if any had done so before Him, he would have been the Christ. This short article is partly taken from Irenæus, partly original. It is well to compare the two texts, in order to observe the manner in which Hippolytus has on the one hand abridged Irenæus' account, and on the other enlarged it from the original records.

IRENÆUS (i. 26.).

Qui autem dicuntur Ebionæi, consentiunt quidem mundum a Deo factum; ea autem quæ sunt erga Dominum similiter (text: non similiter), ut Cerinthus et Carpocrates opinantur.

Solo autem eo quod est secundum Matthæum Evangelio utuntur, et Apostolum Paulum recusant, apostatam eum legis dicentes. Quæ autem sunt prophetica, curiosius exponere nituntur; et circumciduntur ac perseverant in his consuetudinibus, quæ sunt secundum legem, et Judaico charactere vitæ, uti et Hierosolymam adorent, quasi domus sit Deo.

HIPPOLYTUS (p. 257.).

Ἐβιωναῖοι δὲ ὁμολογοῦσι τὸν κόσμον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ γεγονέναι· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμοίως τῷ Κηρίνθῳ καὶ Καρποκράτει μυθεύουσιν. Ἔθεσιν Ἰουδαϊκοῖς ζῶσι, κατὰ νόμον φάσκοντες δικαιοῦσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγοντες δεδικαιῶσθαι ποιήσαντα τὸν νόμον. διὸ καὶ Χριστὸν τὸν (t. αὐτὸν) τοῦ Θεοῦ ὠνομάσθαι Ἰησοῦν (t. καὶ Ἰησοῦν), ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς τῶν [πρὸ αὐτοῦ] ἐτέλεσε τὸν νόμον· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἕτερός τις πεποιήκει τὰ ἐν νόμῳ προστεταγμένα, ἦν ἂν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Χριστός. Δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὁμοίως ποιήσαντας Χριστοὺς γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ἄνθρωπον εἶναι πᾶσι λέγουσιν.

XIX. THEODOTUS of *Byzantium* (also called the Tanner), an entirely new article, as well as the following.—Theodotus acknowledged Jesus as the son of Mary the Virgin, but as having received the spirit at his baptism, in consequence of his most holy and devout life. Some only of his followers say, that Jesus became God after his resurrection.*

XX. THEODOTUS the *Trapezite*, or Banker, father of the *Melchisedekites*, was originally a simple follower of the first Theodotus; he became the head of a peculiar system, in consequence of disputes among the Theodotians. It is not stated on what passage of Scripture Theodotus Junior based his theory of Jesus' relation to Melchisedek,—whether on the historical account in Genesis, or on Psalm cx., or on this Psalm and the Epistle to the Hebrews. But I have no doubt he referred to the fourth verse of the Psalm: "Thou art a priest for ever after the order

* On this great man, from whom Clemens adopted so much, see my sketch in the Fifth age, and the text of his Manual of Theology as excerpted and commented upon by Clemens of Alexandria, in the First Volume of the "Analecta."—1854.

of Melchisedek;" and one can easily understand, that a Gnostic philosopher of the Oriental Valentinian school might endeavour from this verse to establish the theory, that Melchisedek was the highest power (δύναμις), and Christ, being of his order, only his image (εἰκών): which latter word was one of the technical terms of the school, as the extracts from Theodotus in Clemens' "Hypotyposes" prove. Epiphanius (Hær. 54, 55,) also connects this sect with the Theodotians, as a division or branch of them; and Theodoret (ii. 5, 6.) calls their founder another Theodotus, as our author does.

Our article adds, that Christ (being himself only an image of Melchisedek) descended upon Jesus, whom this sect also considered simply as a man.

I think we may guess from this last doctrine of the Theodotians and Melchisedekites, why Hippolytus, who follows the genealogical order of the heresies rather than the strictly chronological, placed Cerinthus with the later Ebionites, or the more modern Judaizing Gnostic school, between Valentinus, Basilides, and Marcion on the one side, and the Theodotians on the other. These latter heretics had either openly adopted part of the Cerinthian and Ebionitic system; or at least their speculations developed some of the germs contained in them; perhaps also the later Ebionite writers had tried to support their doctrines by the profound speculations of Valentinus.

This is the general import of the articles on the Theodotians. But that on the younger Theodotus and the Melchisedekites is besides very important for understanding the character of our manuscript. All that is said of them is comprised in eight lines (p. 258. l. 79—86.). Not a word of refutation is there, in a work which was to leave no heresy unanswered. This is much less than what either Epiphanius or Theodoret relate of them; and now mark this circumstance. Theodoret's account is taken from a work written purposely against this sect, under the title of the "Little Labyrinth," which, I can show you good evidence for believing, was a work of our Hippolytus himself. How, then, is it to be explained, that his article is so meagre, in a work which was to leave nothing unstated, nothing without refutation? One cannot say that Hippolytus thought a sufficient refutation was contained in the first part of his work, on the speculative systems of the Gentiles; for he does not refer to it. That we have here only a hurried extract is proved by the sentence immediately following the eight lines descriptive of the Melchisedekite opinions. This sentence cannot be construed; and what it seems to say, "that there were different opinions held by the Gnostics, and that the author did not think it worth while to discuss their foolish and godless doctrines," is wholly inappropriate in itself, and in this place, and has no connection with what follows: "Nicolaus was the cause of much of the evil of this sect (which?); and then Cerdo took his start from them (from whom?), and from Simon." It is evident, that as all this cannot refer to the Gnostics generally, it must refer to those here treated of, the Theodotians. To explain this by saying that there is a defect in our manuscript, caused by the carelessness of the copyist, seems to me to be highly improbable. I therefore consider this passage as one of the many proofs that we possess a part of the seventh book only in an extract, made in a hurried manner. The original text must have contained, in

this article, much respecting the Theodotians, left out in our extract, and must have comprised the refutation of their system, concluding with a sentence the beginning of which we have. Nicolaus was mentioned after this exposition as one who had deserted the true faith, and whose disciples were condemned by St. John in his Apocalypse, as guilty of impurity and communion with idolaters. Lastly, it was stated that Cerdo started from the Valentinian school.

I have endeavoured to reconstruct the meaning of the text only so far as is necessary to restore sense to our extract. I believe that such was the general connection of the context: but what I insist upon is, principally, that in our text whole sentences (not a few words merely) are either wanting entirely, or are extracted carelessly.*

I cannot leave Theodotus without calling your attention for a moment to the bearing of this passage upon the Ignatian question. In the longer version of the interpolated Ignatian Epistles (in that to the Trallians)†, Theodotus' name is mentioned. The chronological place of Theodotus hangs upon two concurring circumstances. First, we learn credibly from Epiphanius that his doctrine was condemned by Victor (188—198); and, secondly, we know that Clemens of Alexandria, in his doctrinal book, the "Hypotyposes" (about 210), gave certain extracts from some Theodotian writing, with his own observations and occasional refutations. The title of this work of Clemens runs thus: "Extracts from Theodotus and from the so-called Oriental school (*Ἀνατολικὴ διδασκαλία*) about the time of Valentinus."‡ The last words evidently do not refer to Theodotus, who is credibly reported to have been excommunicated by Victor (187—198), but designate the Valentinian authors of the Oriental school as having been contemporaries of their great master.§

XXI. NICOLAUS, the father of the Nicolaitans. — Hippolytus takes him to be the Nicolaus of the Acts, one of the seven deacons. You know that this has been from a very early period a much-disputed point. But it is remarkable that Theodoret expressly names "Hippolytus the Bishop and

* The text now runs thus after the meagre account of the Melchisedekites:— *Γνωστικῶν δὲ διάφοροι γνῶμαι, ὧν οὐκ ἄξιον καταριθμεῖν τὰς φλυάρους δόξας ἐκρίναμεν οὔσας πολλὰς ἀλόγους τε καὶ βλασφημίας γεμούσας, ὧν πάνυ σεμνότερον περὶ τὸ θεῖον οἱ φιλοσοφήσαντες ἀφ' Ἑλλήνων ἠνέχθησαν. Πολλῆς δὲ αὐτῶν συστάσεως κακῶν αἴτιος γεγένηται Νικόλαος, εἷς τῶν ἑπτὰ εἰς διακονίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς, ὃς ἀποστὰς τῆς κατ' εὐθεῖαν διδασκαλίας, ἐδίδασκεν ἀδιαφορίαν βίου τε καὶ γνώσεως, οὗ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐνυβρίζοντας τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα διὰ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννης ἤλεγχε πορνεύοντας καὶ εἰδωλόθυτα ἐσθίοντας.* I would restore the sense of the beginning of this passage thus: —*Περὶ δὲ τὸ θεῖον διάφοροι τούτων τῶν Γνωστικῶν αἱ γνῶμαι* The remainder may perhaps be healed by simply reading *πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἱ φιλοσ.* instead of *περὶ τὸ θεῖον.* The sense is:—"The Greek philosophers have approached the Deity with much more reverence." Compare p. 4. l. 81 — 88:— *Τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς Ἕλλήνων φιλοσόφοις ὄντα τούτων παλαιότερα καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον σεμνότερα.* As to the following period, I read: *Πολλῆς δὲ αὐτοῖς συστάσεως κακῶν αἴτιος γεγένηται Νικόλαος*, etc. *Σύστασις* is to be taken in the sense of *συνάθροισμα.*

† Cureton, Corpus Ignatianum.

‡ In what follows about the chronology of Theodotus, I have left out what further researches have led me to modify.—1854.

§ See the Notice prefixed to the edition of the Clementis Excerpta ex Theodoto in the First Volume of the Analecta, and the Picture of the elder Theodotus in the first part of this Volume —1854.

Martyr," with Irenæus and Origen, as the writers who maintained that the Nicolaus of the Acts was guilty of the scandalous heresy of the Nicolaitans; and we know from Photius (i. 232.) that Stephanus Gobarus, the Monophysite, named Hippolytus and Epiphanius (who must have copied Hippolytus) as the authors who held that opinion. If the authorship of Hippolytus were not so well established, this double evidence might be quoted as a testimony in its favour.

The substance of Irenæus' and Hippolytus' articles is the same, as the following comparison shows: —

Irenæus *adv. Hær.* i. 27.	Hippolytus (p. 258. 90.).
Nicolaitæ autem magistrum quidem habent Nicolaum, unum ex vii. qui primi ad Diaconiam ab Apostolis ordinati sunt: qui indiscrete vivunt. Plenissime autem per Joannis Apocalypsin manifestantur qui sint, nullam differentiam esse docentes in mœchando et idolothyton edere. Quapropter dixit et de iis sermo: "Sed hoc habes quod odisti opera Nicolaitarum, quæ et ego odi."	Πολλοῖς δ' αὖ τῶν συστάσεως κακῶν αἴτιος γεγένηται Νικόλαος, εἷς τῶν ἑπτὰ εἰς διακονίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καταστατθείς, ὃς ἀποστὰς τῆς κατ' εὐθεῖαν διδασκαλίας, ἐδίδασκεν ἀδιαφορίαν βίου τε καὶ βρώσεως· οὗ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐνυβρίζοντας τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα διὰ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννης ἤλεγχε πορνεύοντας καὶ εἰδωλόθυτα ἐσθίοντας. [The text has βίου τε καὶ γνώσεως, which is an absurdity. βρῶσις is an allusion to βρῶσις τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων (1 Cor. viii. 5.), as βίος is to πορνεία.]

XXII. Cerdo derived his system, according to Hippolytus, "from these" (by which he means probably, not the Nicolaitans, but the Gnostics), "and from Simon." The God of Moses and the prophets was, according to him, different from the Father of Jesus Christ, who was the hidden and the good God, whereas the God of the Old Testament was the manifest and the strictly just God; an idea which (as our author says) Marcion adopted, and strengthened by his great work, as did likewise Lucianus, his disciple. (Epiph. Hær. 23, 24.) The last words are our author's own: the former part of the article (five lines) is copied literally from Irenæus (i. 28.): finally, the words respecting Marcion are identical as to their meaning with those which open Irenæus' article upon him (i. 29.). The following juxtaposition shows this still clearer: —

Irenæus *adv. Hær.* i. 28.	Hippolytus (p. 259. 1.).
Et Cerdon autem quidem ab iis qui sunt erga Simonem occasionem accipiens, cum venisset Romam sub Hygino, qui nonum locum Episcopatus per successionem ab Apostolis habuit, docuit eum qui a Lege et Prophetis annuntiatus sit Deus, non esse Patrem Domini nostri Christi Jesu. Hunc enim cognosci, illum autem ignorari: et alterum quidem justum, alterum autem bonum esse.	Κέρδων δέ τις καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφορμὰς ὁμοίως παρὰ τούτων λαβὼν καὶ Σίμωνος, λέγει τὸν ὑπὸ Μωσέως καὶ προφητῶν Θεὸν κεκηρυγμένον μὴ εἶναι πατέρα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ ἐγνῶσθαι, τὸν δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πατέρα εἶναι ἄγνωστον· καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι δίκαιον, τὸν δὲ ἀγαθόν.

i. 29. Succedens autem ei Marcion Ponticus, adampliavit doctrinam, impudorate blasphemans eum qui a Lege et Prophetis annunciatus est Deus, malorum factorem, et bellorum concupiscentem, et inconstantem quoque sententia, et contrarium sibi ipsum dicens.

Τούτου δὲ τὸ δόγμα ἐκράτυνε Μαρκίων, τάς τε Ἀντιπαραθέσεις* ἐπιχειρήσας, καὶ ὅσα αὐτῷ ἔδοξεν εἰς τὸν τῶν ἁπάντων δημιουργὸν δυσφημήσας.

Irenæus treats of Marcion after Cerdo. Our author has anticipated the article upon Marcion, when speaking of the leading heresiarchs of Gnosticism, and evidently mentions Marcion and his disciple Lucianus here, merely as a transition to a junior teacher of the same school of whom Irenæus does not speak at all; perhaps because he was posterior to him.

XXIII. Apelles "derived from these" (Cerdo, Marcion, Lucianus). — He advanced further in the same direction, setting up, besides the just Demiurg, the fiery God (πύρινος), who spoke to Moses †, and, as a fourth, the author of evil. All these three were to him angels. Of the Gospels, and St. Paul's Epistles, he picked out what he liked. He attributed the authority of prophecies to the sayings of a *clairvoyante* woman of his sect, Philumena.

This account of Apelles seems in some respects severer than that which Rhodon, Tatian's disciple, and an opponent of the Marcionites, gave of him in a fragment preserved by Eusebius (H. E. v. 13.), and written about twenty-five years before our author's time. According to Rhodon, Apelles acknowledged only one first principle. Hippolytus says that his system on this subject agreed with that of Marcion. The *clairvoyante* Philumena is also mentioned by Rhodon.

The author here concludes his seventh book, in order to pass to the *Docetæ*. We have therefore in the seventh book, first, Basilides and Saturnîlus as the elder contemporaries of Valentinus, then Marcion as a younger contemporary. Carpocrates and Cerinthus were the transition to the Ebionites. After these he continues the line of the Gnostics: the two Theodotuses and the School of Marcion (Prepon and Apelles). There is not a very strict order observable in the book, but some of the articles we evidently possess only in the shape of hasty abstracts.

* I take Ἀντιπαραθέσεις to be the more accurate title of the celebrated work of Marcion which Tertullian calls Antithesis, or to be the designation of a part of it.

† Compare also Deuteron. iv. 24. We have seen that Simon Magus founded his doctrine upon this passage, taking it (as Valentinus also did, p. 191. 10.) in the same sense as implying that the name of God was Fire (אֵשׁ). I learn from Colonel Rawlinson that the Babylonian name of God in the cuneiform inscriptions יו jav) is really Fire.

BOOK VIII.

(Pp. 261—277., 17 pages only.)

The eighth book contains seven articles, of which only one, that about *Tatian*, is copied from Irenæus: another, equally short, agrees with the corresponding article of Irenæus, as to the sense, that on the *Encratites:* the other five are entirely new, and not touched upon by Irenæus, and refer, in some places, to opinions more recent than his work on the heresies. One article (about Monoïmus the Arab) gives us an almost entirely unknown system. The whole book is very short, containing only seventeen pages. This can scarcely be accounted for, except by assuming that we do not possess the entire text, but only an abstract, and that abstract not very carefully made.

XXIV. The Docetæ.—This name, used very vaguely and indefinitely by other authors, from Sarapion (Euseb. vi. 12.) down to Jerome and Theodoret (Divin. Script. c. 12. Opp. iv. 1142.), is here attached to a particular sect which itself assumed it (p. 262. 28.). This remarkable article takes up seven pages of the seventeen, and is full of curious extracts from their text-book (pp. 263—268.), with much new matter. They had a speculative system, based upon the numbers from one to ten, like the Egyptian, treated by our author in his fourth book (pp. 77—79.).* The Docetian christology is not only very original, but also clearly shows the age to which they belong. They presuppose the whole Valentinian school. Some light may be thown by help of this article upon the fragments of the Gospel called after St. Peter.

XXV. Monoïmus, an Arab, author of an epistle to Theophrastus (p. 272.), a man entirely unknown hitherto, with the exception of two lines in Theodoret (Hær. 98.).—In the four pages and a half which Hippolytus has upon him, four are literal extracts from him. He said according to Hippolytus: Man was the universe (*ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸ πᾶν*) and the principle of all things (*ἀρχὴ τῶν ὅλων*). The system is a genuine

* In this most curious article respecting the ancient Egyptian metaphysics of numbers, it is impossible not to be reminded of the Chinese system delivered in the Y-king. There is in it a sentence perfectly unintelligible as it stands now. After the author has explained how, by repetition of itself, the monad generates the dyad, triad, tetrad, and finally the decad, he continues (p. 78. 3.): *Τῆς δὲ μονάδος κατὰ τὴν ἀδιαίρετον σύγκρισιν συγγενεῖς ἀριθμοὶ παραλαμβάνονται γ', ε', ζ, θ' (3, 5, 7, 9). Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρου ἀριθμοῦ συγγένεια πρὸς τὴν μονάδα, φυσικωτέρα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἑξακύκλου ἕλικος πραγματείαν, τῆς δυάδος κατὰ τὴν ἄρτιον θέσιν τῶν ἀριθμῶν καὶ διαίρεσιν.* The editor proposes to correct: *τῆς ἑξακ. ἕλ.* I read: *τὴν τοῦ ἑξακύκλου ὑλικοῦ πραγματείαν, ἡ τῆς δυάδος*, &c. These words allude to the divine Hexaemeron, or the six days of the creation; and I believe their sense is this: the dyad is more philosophical as respects the treatment of the six days of the creation of the material universe. For, without starting from the dyad, and proceeding by a dyadic progression (2 + 2 + 2), a philosopher endeavouring to explain the account of the six days of the material creation, cannot arrive at six, nor show how six proceeds from two by three (6 = 3 × 2). If our fragments of Hippolytus' commentary on the Hexaemeron were not so very meagre, we should be able probably to prove this explanation by the method employed by him.

Oriental mixture of Gnostic speculation, proceeding by progressive evolutions of the monad. But it is mixed up with a mythical application of the Pythagorean speculations respecting numbers, and, as Hippolytus says (p. 272.), of the Aristotelian categories. In the extracts we find the Pentateuch and the Epistle to the Colossians quoted, with every word perverted from its natural sense to fit the speculative dreams of the author. His ethical system seems a bold carrying out of the first sentence mentioned above: "Desisting from seeking God, nature, and what belongs to them, seek thou thyself from thyself, and say—'My God is my mind, my thought, my soul, my body;' and thou wilt find thyself in thyself, as the one and the whole."

XXVI. TATIAN, the disciple of Justin Martyr.—On his opinions we have only five lines (p. 273. 52—56.), copied almost literally from Irenæus (i. 31.), after his Introduction (i. 30.) had been given in a more concise form. The following comparison of those five lines shows the identity, and gives sense to a corrupt passage in our text:—

IRENÆUS (i. 31.).	HIPPOLYTUS.
(Τατιανὸς) Ἰουστίνου ἀκροατὴς γεγονὼς ἐφόσον μὲν συνῆν ἐκείνῳ οὐδὲν ἐξέφηνε τοιοῦτον· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μαρτυρίαν ἀποστὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἰήματι διδασκάλου ἐπαρθεὶς, καὶ τυφωθεὶς ὡς διαφέρων τῶν λοίπων, ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα διδασκαλείου συνεστήσατο, αἰῶνάς τινας ἀοράτους ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου μυθολογήσας· τὸν γάμον τε φθορὰν καὶ πορνείαν παραπλησίως Μαρκίωνι καὶ Σατορνίνῳ ἀναγορεύσας· τῇ δὲ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ σωτηρίᾳ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἀντιλογίαν (f. αἰτιολογίαν) ποιησάμενος.	Τατιανὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς γενόμενος μαθητὴς Ἰουστίνου τοῦ μάρτυρος, οὐκ ὅμοια τῷ διδασκάλῳ ἐφρόνησεν, ἀλλὰ καινά τινα ἐπιχειρήσας ἔφη αἰῶνάς τινας παρὰ τοὺς (l. ἀοράτους) ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου μυθολογήσασι (l. μυθολογήσας). Γάμον δὲ φθορὰν εἶναι παραπλησίως Μαρκίωνι λέγει. Τὸν δὲ Ἀδὰμ φάσκει μὴ σώζεσθαι, διὰ τὸ ἀρχηγὸν παρακοῆς γεγονέναι.

XXVII. HERMOGENES: only one page: yet containing much to illustrate what we know about the Carthaginian painter from his contemporary countryman and adversary, Tertullian (Adv. Hermogenem), and from Theodoret (i. 19.).—He said, God had made all from Matter coeval with himself, and not begotten: God overruled her, and produced order out of her confusion; but still there remained a disorderly residue (ἄκοσμος). What is original in this, observes Hippolytus, has been much better said by Plato, in a myth related by Socrates. As to Christ, Hermogenes acknowledged him as the son of the Virgin, and believed in his resurrection: he had ascended to the heavens, and left his body in the sun: an idea which he fantastically supported by the words of Ps. xix. 4., as Clemens in his "Hypotyposes" also expressly states this to have been the interpretation given by Hermogenes (Eclogæ prophet. § 56.). Neander, whose article on Hermogenes' system is admirable in every respect (i. 973—978.), did not, probably, think of that passage in Clemens, when he gave the same explanation as his guess (i. 978. n. i.).

XXVIII. The QUARTODECIMANI, or those who about the middle and latter part of the second century insisted upon celebrating Easter always on the fourteenth day of the first moon after the vernal equinox, without any reference to the day of the week.—This original, but short, article becomes in some respects the most important of the whole, as far as the identity of our book with that read by Photius, is concerned.* The words quoted from it are not found in our text. At first sight the case is rather startling. For it appears that, if we admit the authenticity of the quotation, we must give up the identity of our work with that quoted. But I maintain that, in spite of appearances, this very quotation is a proof of the identity of the work. For I can show that we have in our book all but the literal text quoted by the Chronicon Paschale; and that this passage may be a new proof, that in many articles of the sixth, seventh, and eighth books in particular, we have an abstract only of the text of Hippolytus. This opinion became probable to me from the incomplete state of some other articles. But here we can demonstrate that there exists a want of connection in the argument; and what is wanted to restore sense to the text, and connection to the argument, is exactly what is auspiciously supplied by the quotation.

As this passage is of such importance, I must first give you the whole article as it now stands, and then bishop Peter of Alexandria's quotation:—

"Some others, contentious in their nature, simpletons in knowledge, pugnacious in disposition, maintain that it is necessary to keep Easter on the fourteenth day of the first month, according to the command of the law, on whatever day it falls, apprehensive of what is written in the law, that 'cursed shall he be who does not keep it as it is ordered;' not heeding that the law was given to the Jews, who were to kill the true passover, that which is gone forth to the nations, and is understood† by faith, not kept now by the letter. Attending to this one injunction, they lose sight of what the Apostle saith (Gal. v. 3.): 'I testify to every one who is circumcised, that he is a debtor to the whole law.' In other points these people agree with everything which has been delivered to the Church by the Apostles."

The text of the quotation of the Chronicle runs thus:—

"Hippolytus, the witness of religion, who was bishop of the so-called Portus, near Rome, has written literally thus in his 'Treatise against all the Heresies:'—'I therefore see that there is a contentiousness in this affair. For he (the adversary, the Quartodeciman) says thus: "Christ

* The difficulty disappears, by assuming as I do with Duncker, that the compiler of the "Chronicle" had before him, as well as Photius, the former "Syntagma against the Heresies," and not the greater work of Hippolytus, the "Refutation."—1854.

† Τὸ εἰς ἔθνη χωρῆσαν καὶ πίστει νοούμενον οὐ γράμματι νῦν τηρούμενον. I had translated this, "is received by faith;" but I think the more literal translation is not so likely to lead to the same mistake as my excellent German translator has committed by rendering it: "im Glauben allein empfangen." Döllinger (p. 19.) has been pleased to burden me with it, as if I had intended to make out Hippolytus to have been a follower of Zwingli. He quotes in other places the original English edition, the only one for which, in doubtful cases, I am responsible; but on this occasion he happens not to mention it.—1854.

celebrated the passover on that very day, and suffered (the next day): I therefore must also do as the Lord did." But he is wrong from not knowing that, when Christ suffered, he did not eat the passover according to the law. For he was the passover which had been foretold, and which was accomplished on the day appointed.' "

There is no mistaking the sense of this passage, or of another from Hippolytus' "Treatise on the Passover," which Peter subjoins. Hippolytus and Peter both maintained that the Quartodecimans were wrong from the very beginning; for Christ himself did not eat the passover on the day appointed by the law, for the simple reason that, according to the true historical account of St. John and the tradition of the fathers, Christ suffered death on the fourteenth day of the month, and therefore had eaten the paschal lamb, but not on the appointed day. The law of Moses therefore held good for the proper time only, until Christ's death: and this was right: for then the symbol ceased; the true paschal lamb had been offered, and on the very day on which the eating of the lamb was to take place according to the law.*

We have therefore two arguments; the one which we read now in our text, and that quoted by Peter. The one contents itself with simply flinging back upon the Quartodecimans the letter of the law which they quote, proving that, if they will stick to that letter, they must keep every tittle of the law, in spite of their being Christians. This is a most sound and apostolical argument, which, by the by, may well be used in our days against many divergent Judaizing heresies around us. But certainly by itself it hardly meets the question. The poor Quartodecimans, assailed by this argument, would say:—"All very well, if you prove to us that what we do is wrong. But the simple fact, that we are not bound to keep the whole law, does not prove that we are wrong because we do keep it in this point as our Fathers did. We do not condemn you, why will you not let us celebrate the eating of the paschal lamb as we are accustomed to do, and as the law certainly prescribes it should be done? This natural reply would then call forth the second argument:—"Well, then, you are wrong on this particular point: Christ's own conduct proves that this law ceased to be binding when he was to die: at that time he did not eat the symbolical passover; for he was himself the real passover. And therefore on the day, on the evening of which the Jews eat their passover, he expired." To this of course would be added the explanation, that there was no irregularity in this proceeding of Christ, but, on the contrary, a fulfilment of the law: the reality appearing, the shadow ceased.

Our text has only the first argument explicitly; but the second is di-

* This counter argument, may also be stated thus:—The fixed point is not the eating of the paschal lamb, for Christ himself did not eat it on the appointed day, but on his resurrection. This great event took place on the first day in the Jewish week (our Sunday), after the equinoctial full-moon. The day preceding the Sabbath (the day of preparation or Parasceue (feria sexta, our Friday), was that of Christ's death: this therefore will remain the proper day for the remembrance of his death, by which he became that real Lamb, of which the legal paschal lamb was only the foreshadowing; the day before that of Parasceue (feria quinta) is the day of the institution of the Lord's Supper.—1854.

rectly alluded to in a sentence, which concludes with a phrase quite in the character of our book and author, and is an imitation of the striking passage in the First Epistle to Timothy (iii. 16.): — "He who was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." Now, we must recollect, that Hippolytus is here on his own ground, that he had argued this point for many years, more than any of his contemporaries, and that he is the great authority of his time on the subject, at least for the West. Of all the disputes in the world, Hippolytus had not taken so much trouble with any as about this. His Paschal Cycle is represented as his most glorious monument and relic, on the cathedra on which his statue is seated, erected to him probably within a century after his death; and his celebrated "Treatise on the Passover" is quoted on that monument, and referred to by his learned Alexandrian brother, about seventy years later. How, then, can we believe Hippolytus to have treated this argument so negligently and meagerly in a book on which he had spent so much time and inquiry, as he continually says? We can show, therefore, not only that our book contains the sense of the article which the Pascal Chronicle quoted from Hyppolytus' treatise "Against all the Heresies;" but also that what we read in it is nothing but an abstract, carelessly made, from the original work. Compare the words at the beginning of our article, Ἕτεροι δέ τινες φιλόνεικοι τὴν φύσιν, ἰδιῶται τὴν γνῶσιν, and the words of Peter's quotation, Ὁρῶ μὲν οὖν ὅτι φιλονεικίας τὸ ἔργον. These words of the quotation must not be taken as corresponding to the passage in which that contentiousness (φιλονεικία) is said to be characteristic of the sect. But they may refer to that passage with which our article begins, and which consequently must have immediately preceded the words quoted by bishop Peter: "I *therefore* see that there is contentiousness in the affair." We are thus led to the same conclusion to which we came in the seventh book: our MS. has not a lacuna in this place; but in this article, as probably in many other passages where the text is not clear and where something seems wanting, we have only an abridgment from Hippolytus' original work, and that a very stupid and careless one. I have already observed, how short the present book is, and how meagre certain articles are in the sixth book, and still more in the seventh.

Thus what might appear at first sight a stumbling-block, turns out to be a curious and striking proof of Hippolytus' authorship. We can prove his authorship by this quotation of a passage, which, though not found in our text, is necessary to make the argument clear and of any force. We have the same argument, the same meaning, although not the same words.*

XXIX. The MONTANISTS (Epiph. H. 28.; Theodoret, iii. 3.), or, as they are called here, the *Phrygians* (Φρύγες).—They referred their origin to a person of the name of Montanus, and were deceived by two women, their prophetesses (*clairvoyantes*†), Priscilla and Maximilla, who, they

* The argument remains essentially the same if we assume that the Chronicler did not quote from our book, but from the shorter treatise. The analogy of the passage of our text with that quotation points to an identity of the author.—1854.

† That the whole was an ordinary magnetic process seems to me proved by Montanus' own words about himself (Epiph. Hær. 28. § 4. p. 405.): "Lo the

pretended, saw certain matters, through the Paraclete in them (*τὸ Παρακλήτου πνευμα*), better than Christ himself. Some of them, he adds, partake of the heresy of the Noetians, and maintain that the Father himself has become subject to being born, to suffering and to death. It is to be remarked, that Hippolytus says nothing of the scandalous mysteries and abominable child-sacrifices with which Epiphanius charges some of this sect. Theodoret adds, with reference to this charge, that others call it a calumny; which most probably it was, although Phrygia seems always to have been the country of orgiastic mysteries and insane abominations.

Hippolytus may not have known this charge, or not thought it worth while expressly to contradict it. But the whole article is very meagre, and, if not an abstract, might certainly be called a proof that he forgot what he had promised to do, if at the end he did not congratulate himself on having fulfilled his promise. Our article passes in silence over the assertions of the Montanists respecting the Spirit and the sacraments, and over their prohibition of second marriages, mentioning, as their errors, only their new-fangled feasts and festivals, and the injunctions of those women respecting the eating of dry things and of radishes, and then self-complacently winds up this meagre account of 22 lines, not containing one word of quotation from their text-books, with these words: "I think I have said enough about them, having briefly shown to all, that their many prating books and pretensions are weak, unworthy of regard, and such as no man of a sound mind ought to attend to."

It may be said that Hippolytus expresses his intention to write more in detail about them on a future occasion: but as he mentions the eating of radishes, he may be supposed to have at least slightly touched upon the more important points.

XXX. The ENCRATITES, heretical in their precepts forbidding animal food, enjoining water-drinking, prohibiting marriage, and prescribing fasts fitter for Cynics than for Christians, as our author says. He opposes to them the wise words of "the blessed Apostle Paul" (1 Timothy, iv. 5.), as a sufficient refutation, and then concludes the book with the general observation, that he thought it advisable not to say a word about the *Caïnites**, *Ophites*, or *Noachites*, because otherwise some might think them worthy of attention.† All that remains for him to examine is the heresies of his own time.

This is the subject of the next book. As I shall have to treat the historical part of this book, so far as it throws a new light upon the history of the bishops of Rome at that time, in my next letter, and the doctrinal part in the following, I shall here only give very briefly the contents of the ninth book, so far as it relates to those two heresies.

man is like a lyre; and I play upon him (literally, fly about) like the plectrum. The man sleeps, and I am awake. Lo, it is the Lord who entrances (*ὁ ἐκστήσας*) the hearts of men, and gives hearts to men."

* See below my note to the end of the article on the polemical writings of Hippolytus.—1854.

† p. 277. 49—53. I read: *ἵνα μὴ κἂν ἐν τούτῳ τινες* (t. *τινας*) *αὐτοὺς λόγου* (t. *ἢ λόγου*) *ἀξίους ἡγῶνται* (cod. *ἡγίωμαι*. Ed. *αὐτοὺς . . . ἡγῶνται*).

BOOK IX.

The *Noetians*, afterwards also called the *Callistians* (292.), and the *Elchasaites;* with an appendix, respecting the three principal sects of the Jews—the *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, and *Essenes* (p. 279—309.): 31 pages.

XXXI. The NOETIANS.—We learn here many things entirely unknown hitherto. First, the real genealogy of the sect. Our Church historians had hitherto believed*, on the faith of Theodoret (iii. 3.), that Noetus of Smyrna only renewed the opinions of Epigonus and Cleomenes, two heretics of whom we knew nothing. Perhaps the less clear words of our author, in the epitome at the end of his work, may be the source of the whole mistake. At all events we now know the truth. Theodoret's words are only a blunder or a misinterpretation. In our passage, Noetus is said to have based his doctrine upon that of Heraclitus; and it is then added, that it was the deacon Epigonus (was Noetus a bishop?), his disciple, who first spread Noetus' doctrine at Rome. He again had a disciple, Cleomenes, a stranger to the Church by his life and manners, who did much harm, being favoured by Zephyrinus and Callistus. The Noetian doctrine therefore is not, as Neander supposes, older than Noetus, the man of Smyrna, who, according to what we learn from Hippolytus, must have taught before the year 200, probably about 190.

Secondly: we learn that the name of Callistians, given to that sect, which name we knew hitherto only from Theodoret's mentioning it without any further explanation, is derived from no less a personage than Callistus, bishop of Rome under Caracalla and Heliogabalus from 219 to 222, the successor of Zephyrinus, bishop from 200 to 218, and predecessor of Urbanus, who was bishop from 223 to 230.

Thirdly: we get from our book a new, important fragment of Heraclitus, and much new evidence about his system. Our author, applying his constant method to Noetus, proves first, that logically he stands upon Heraclitus' saying (like that of Hegel), "that every thing is also its own contrary." In order to substantiate this, he not only refers briefly to what he had said of Heraclitus in his second book, but brings new passages and arguments to bear upon this question: which renders these pages (282, 283.) very important for the history of ancient philosophy. After this prefatory refutation, Hippolytus gives us the systems both of Noetus himself (p. 284.) and of Callistus (p. 289.) mainly in their own words. I think it will illustrate these two heresies to place them in juxtaposition:—

The system of NOETUS *as expounded by Cleomenes and his School.*	*The system of* CALLISTUS.
"When the Father was not yet generated, he was justly called	"The same Logos is the Son, the same the Father, so called by name,

* Neander, Kircheng. i. 1006. Anm. Theodoret says that Cleomenes was the teacher of Noetus: this is evidently a mistake of the compiler. He was the disciple of the successor of Noetus.

Father.' But when he was pleased to suffer birth, he became, when engendered, himself the Son of himself, not of any one else." He pretends that "the Father and Son are one and the same, being so called, not as proceeding one out of the other, but himself from himself. He was called Father and Son according to the difference of times; but He is one, He who appeared and endured to be born of a Virgin, and conversed among men as a Man, confessing himself to those who saw him, to be the Son, by reason of his birth, yet not concealing from those who were able to understand it, that he was the Father." (284.)

but one undivided Spirit.* The Father is not one being, the Son another, but one and the same: and all is full of the divine Spirit, the things above and the things below; and the Spirit that became flesh in the Virgin is not different from the Father, but one and the same. This is the meaning of the words: 'Dost thou not believe that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?' For what is seen, which is Man, is the Son; but the Spirit that dwells in the Son is the Father: for I will not say there are two Gods, the Father and the Son, but One. The Father, who was in the Son, took flesh and made it God, uniting it to himself, and made it One. The Father and Son was therefore the name of one God; and this one person (*πρόσωπον*) cannot be two: the Father consequently suffered with the Son."

The Noetians further say (p. 283.), "There is one and the same God, the Creator (Demiurg) and Father of all."

In this exposition Hippolytus supposes every one to know, that Noetus calls the Father and the Son one and the same being (pp. 285. 287.). But as to Callistus, he gives a personal, and as it were historical, explanation, in which he tries to show that Callistus invented a new form of the heresy for two reasons. First, he was obliged to make good his strong word against Hippolytus and his friends among the Roman presbytery, "You are *Ditheoi* (ditheists)," men who set up two Gods, and thus destroy the unity of God. Secondly, Sabellius, who appears here in his first stage, urged him from his point of view to take such a course. Hippolytus' severest censure on Callistus' doctrine is that it was the offspring of an insincere man, opposed to truth and actuated by bad motives. Callistus (says Hippolytus, in reference to the expressions, that the "Father suffered *with* the Son") wishes to avoid saying that the Father suffered, and that there is only one person, hoping thus to escape the blasphemy against the Father.† "That foolish, shifting fellow, who, inventing

* 289. 7. ἔφευρεν αἵρεσιν τοιάνδε· λέγων τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν εἶναι υἱὸν, αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα ὀνόματι μὲν καλούμενον, ἓν δὲ ὄντα πνεῦμα ἀδιαίρετον. The text has ἓν δὲ ὃν τὸ πν. ἀδ. What follows shows that this correction is no less certain than easy. The learned editor thinks the passage is unintelligible, because mutilated: I think it simply corrupted.

† p. 289. οὐ γὰρ θέλει λέγειν τὸν πατέρα πεπονθέναι καὶ ἓν εἶναι πρόσωπον· [οὕτω πως ἐλπίζων] ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν εἰς τὸν πατέρα βλασφημίαν. The words between brackets, or some to the same purport, must be inserted to fill up the chasm, the existence of which has not been overlooked by the learned editor.

blasphemies above and below, in order to speak against the truth, is not ashamed to fall sometimes into the doctrine of Sabellius, sometimes into that of Theodotus." It is evident, therefore, that he finds in Callistianism the heresy of the Theodotians as well as something of Sabellianism.

I shall treat, in my fifth letter, of all the genuine and spurious writings which bear Hippolytus' name. But I must beg you here to compare this exposition and refutation of the system of Noetus with the "Homily of Hippolytus about the heresy of a certain Noetus." Montfaucon found the Greek text of this special treatise, and sent it to Fabricius, who published it in the second volume of his learned, but very confused and ill-digested edition of Hippolytus (pp. 5—20.), having given the Latin text in the first volume (p. 235. sqq.). It appears to me impossible not to see that the author is the same, but that the homily never formed part of the work on all the heresies. Its method and tone are those of a sermon, not of a historian writing on doctrinal controversies.

You will observe finally, that when Epiphanius says Noetus lived about 130 years before the year in which he himself wrote (375 P.C.), or about the year 245, he is monstrously inaccurate in this as in many other points of ancient ecclesiastical history and chronology. The groundlessly suspected statement, that Noetus was condemned (or censured) by a Roman Synod under Victor (188—198), is, on the other hand, no way improbable, so far at least as that Noetus, according to the authentic account before us, must have promulgated his doctrine in the last decad of the second century. Through the support his doctrine gained at Rome, it spread over the whole world, as Hippolytus says (p. 292.).

XXXII. The ELCHASAITES. — This article is almost entirely new. What was known about the name of the book or the author, was very little and confused. A Syrian, Alcibiades of Apamea, we hear from Hippolytus, a deceitful and senseless man, who (says our author) thought himself a still greater conjuror than Callistus, came to Rome, bringing with him a sacred book. The story about this fabulous book is, that a just man, Elchasai (Ἠλχασαί), had got it from the Parthians and given it to a certain Sobai. It had been inspired by an angel, of whose dimensions it will suffice here to say, that his footsteps measured in length fifteen miles (breadth and height being in proportion); which beats the seven-league-boots man of the old story hollow. By this book a new remission of all sins was announced to mankind, in the third year of Trajan, which is, curiously enough, the year 100 of our era, or three or four years before the real end of the first Christian century, according to the correct (and then probably known) era from the birth of Christ. Those who had fallen into all vice, and even into the most beastly crimes and sins, were to be admitted to a new baptism for the remission of their sins. He endeavoured to attach this system of his to Callistianism. "We (says Hippolytus) resisted this unholy attempt, and will now unveil the whole heresy."

As a bait, Alcibiades prescribed to his converts to be circumcised, and to live according to the law. Christ had been born a man like other men; there had been other Christs before him, and there would still be others. He used mathematical and astrological formulas, borrowed from the Pythagoreans, and employed charms and incantations against demoniacs, dogbitten persons and other sick. The second baptism took place in the

name of the "Great God;" and he who was to receive it was made to call as witnesses the seven angels: heaven, water, the holy spirits, the angels of prayer, oil, salt, and earth. Hippolytus gives the very words of these truly juggling Oriental impostures (pp. 294, 295.).

And here I am at the end of my second letter, which has grown a good deal longer than I expected. Looking back to the three points I undertook to prove, I believe I have established them pretty satisfactorily. For I have shown *thirty-two heresies* contained in this work. I have also shown that this account begins with the earliest Judaizing Gnostics (the Naassenes and their followers), by Photius incorrectly designated as Dositheans, who were a Judaic sect, and not heretics, but who, as fathers of that oldest class of Christian heretics, are also alluded to in the beginning of the treatise on heresies appended to Tertullian's book, "De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum." Our work, therefore, begins, in fact, as Photius says: so too does it end. Photius states, that the last of the thirty-two heresies refuted by Hippolytus was that of the Noetians: we have found this to be the thirty-first. But our author evidently treats the Elchasaite heresy, which, according to our method of counting the articles in our work, is the thirty-second, as a short appendix to the Noetian school. Indeed Alcibiades of Apamea, who taught that heresy at Rome under the episcopate, and as it were the patronage, of Callistus, was intimately connected with the Noetian school.*

No one who is acquainted with Irenæus, and the other authors on the heresies, will pretend that this coincidence can be accidental.†

I have, moreover, given many proofs during the examination of these thirty-two heresies, that what Photius states (from Hippolytus' own words) as to the relation of this treatise to that of Irenæus, is fully borne out by our text. But I have neither done with my argument, nor with the subject.

In my next letter I shall have to examine our author's account of his own position at Rome, and his relations to the Roman bishops of his time. I promise it shall be short; and I hope it will not be without interest.

Ever your faithful Friend,

BUNSEN.

* The words of the text to which I refer (B. ix. p. 292) are these: Hippolytus having exposed the pretended revelations spread at Rome by Alcibiades, who preached Elchasai, goes on to say: Ταῦτα δὲ ἐτόλμησε τεχνάσαι τὰ πανουργήματα ἀπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου δόγματος ἀφορμὴν λαβὼν, οὗ παρεστήσατο (l. προεστήσατο) Κάλλιστος.

At all events, if Döllinger uses this circumstance as an argument against me, I have only to repeat that the circumstance is irrelevant to the question of authorship. The article of Photius proves as much for the authorship of Hippolytus, if he had read only his first smaller treatise, as if he had had our work before him — 1854.

† It is too absurd in itself to suppose that the work read by Photius was the prototype of that miserable treatise unworthily attached (even against the best MSS.) to the book of Tertullian's De Præscript. Heret. But besides, it requires more than our ingenuity to make it contain thirty-two heresies instead of twenty-eight, and to make a list beginning with Simon and ending with Praxeas (the 28th) go from the Dositheans to the Noetians. Besides this list, however, we have only those of Theodoret and Epiphanius; and who would assert that either of them applies to the number of Photius?—1854.

LETTER III.

THE GOVERNMENT AND CONDITION OF THE CHURCH OF ROME UNDER ZEPHYRINUS AND CALLISTUS (199—222), ACCORDING TO ST. HIPPOLYTUS, MEMBER OF THE ROMAN PRESBYTERY AND BISHOP OF PORTUS.

Carlton Terrace, June 23, 1851.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

I HAVE left out in my extracts from the ninth book what may appear to most readers, if not the most important, certainly either the most amusing or the most painful part of Hippolytus' work, the history of the bishops of Rome in his time.

I have done so for two reasons. One is, that this matter has nothing to do, either with the special argument of my second letter, or with the merit or demerit of the theological views. For we must judge Noetianism independently of the question whether Callistus, the bishop of Rome, who supported it, deserved to be declared a saint of the Roman Church, or was a rogue and convict, as his brother bishop, a member of his presbytery, says of him. I should be very sorry to be instrumental in degrading our good bishop Hippolytus' grave work into a *chronique scandaleuse* of the Church of Rome. In uncovering the scandals of that Church, the historian must not forget what the pages of history relate of those of Byzantine court orthodoxy, or of Frank and French royal proselytism. It would be unjust to visit the inherent vices of all churches, from the management of which the people are excluded, upon Rome alone, merely because, out of a number of instances, this story, belonging to an age of bigotry and general decay, has just now by chance been revealed to us.

My second reason is, that the whole account deserves a historical and philosophical consideration by itself. It is a piece of history highly important for the knowledge of the government of the Church at that time, and for understanding the spirit of the age. I shall therefore devote the present letter to a historical elucidation of the matter, reducing the fervent language of our author to a calm relation of the tale he has to tell, and attempting an impartial review of the proceedings he mentions. It cannot be denied, that our good father, when he comes to this point, raises the tone of his voice to the pitch of indignant anger.

We know that in the latter years of the reign of the unworthy son of the philosophical and virtuous but inefficient emperor Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, his mistress Marcia played a conspicuous part in the history of the palace. She married, as a matter of course it would appear, the captain of the guards, and was believed to exercise a great influence on

the emperor. When his brutal temper became unbearable, she was privy to the conspiracy which put him to death by poison and suffocation.

Of this Marcia we knew already, from Dion, that she was very kind to the Christians. We learn now from Hippolytus, that she was Godloving (φιλόθεος), that is to say, that she had been converted to the Christian faith. †

The part she acts in the life of Callistus is peculiarly interesting. There was under Commodus, when Victor was bishop of Rome, a good Christian soul called Carpophorus, who had a Christian slave, of the name of Callistus. To help him on, he gave him the administration of a bank, which he kept in that celebrated quarter of Rome called the *Piscina publica*. Many brethren and widows trusted their money to this bank, having great faith in the Christian character of Carpophorus. But Callistus turned out a rogue: he made away with the sums intrusted to him; and when the depositors wanted their money, it was gone. Their complaints came before Carpophorus; he asked for the accounts; and when the fraud could no longer be concealed, Callistus made his escape. He ran down to the harbour, Portus, some twenty miles from Rome, found a ship ready to start, and embarked. Carpophorus was not slow to follow him, and found the ship moored in the middle of the harbour. He took a boat to claim the criminal. Callistus, seeing no escape, threw himself into the sea, and was with difficulty saved, and delivered up to his master, who, taking the matter into his own hands, gave him the domestic treadmill of the Roman slave-holders, the *pistrinum*. Some time passed, and, as is wont to happen (say Hippolytus), some brethren came to Carpophorus, and said he ought to give poor Callistus a fair chance of regaining his character, or at least his money. He pretended he had money outstanding, and that, if he could only go about, he should recover it. "Well," said good Carpophorus, "let him go and try what he can recover: I do not care much for my own money, but I mind that of the poor widows." So Callistus went out on a Sabbath (Saturday), pretending he had to recover some money from the Jews, but in fact having resolved to do something desperate, which might put an end to his life, or give a turn to his case. He went into a synagogue and raised a great riot there, saying he was a Christian, and interrupting their service. The Jews were of course enraged at this insult, fell upon him, beat him, and then carried him before Fuscianus, the prefect of Rome. When this judge, a very severe man, was hearing the cause, somebody recognised Callistus, and ran to tell Carpophorus what was going on. Carpophorus went immediately to the court, and said: "This fellow is no Christian, but wants to get rid of his life, having robbed me of much money, as I will prove." The Jews, thinking this was a Christian stratagem to save Callistus, insisted upon having him punished for disturbing them in the lawful exercise of their worship. Fuscianus, therefore, sentenced him to

* Her marriage with the captain, when she was the emperor's mistress, is awkward. The legal concubine of an unbeliever was not excluded by the canons of the time from the communion of the Church, as long as she kept only to the man she lived with. (It is however to be observed, that she may have been simply a catechumen, a God-fearing woman, who, as an inquirer after truth, and on account of her influential position, might be treated with some regard.—1854.)

be scourged, and then transported to the unwholesome parts of Sardinia, so fatal to life in summer (Strabo, v. 2. § 7, 8.).

Some time after, says Hippolytus, Marcia, wishing to do a good work, sent for bishop Victor and asked what Christians had been transported to Sardinia; adding, she would beg the emperor to release them. The bishop made out a list of them; but being a judicious and righteous man, omitted the name of Callistus, knowing the offence he had committed.

Marcia obtained the letter of pardon; and Hyacinthus, a eunuch (of the service of the palace undoubtedly), and a presbyter (of the Church), was despatched to the governor of the island to claim and bring back the martyrs. Hyacinthus delivered his list: and Callistus finding his name was not upon it, began to lament and entreat, and at last moved Hyacinthus to demand his liberation also. Here the text is somewhat obscure; but thus much is clear, that his liberation was obtained by bringing the name of Marcia into play. *

When Callistus made his appearance, Victor was very much vexed; the scandal had not been forgotten, and Carpophorus (his lawful master) was still alive. So he sent him off to Antium (Porto d'Anzo), and gave him a certain sum a month. Whether it was here Callistus fell in with Zephyrinus, or at Rome itself, no sooner was Carpophorus dead, than Zephyrinus, now become bishop of Rome, made him his coadjutor to keep his clergy in order, and gave himself up to him so entirely, that Callistus did with him what he liked. Unfortunately, says Hippolytus, Zephyrinus was not only very stupid and ignorant, but, loving money very much, took bribes. Things went on in this way until Zephyrinus died, when Callistus was elected to the eminent post he had coveted all the time.

* Ὁ δὲ (Callistus) γονυπετῶν καὶ δακρύων ἱκέτευε καὶ αὐτὸς τυχεῖν ἀπολύσεως. Δυσωπηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Τάκινθος ἀξιοῖ τὸν ἐπίτροπον φάσκων Θρέψαι εἶναι Μαρκίας τασσόμενος αὐτῷ τὸ ἀκίνδυνον. Ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἀπέλυσε καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον. The learned editor says:—"In Θρέψαι vocabulum latere videtur significans negligentiam (un oubli.)" But who can construe the rest of the phrase? I believe, first, that what the distrest eunuch said was not true (φάσκων); and, secondly, that it was something which must have given the governor a reasonable assurance for his own safety. Proceeding upon this supposition, I am led to think our author wrote: ἀξιοῖ τὸν ἐπίτροπον ἀπολύειν· φάσκων ἑαυτῷ μὲν τοῦτο ἐπιτρέψαι Μαρκίαν τὸ τασσόμενον, αὐτῷ δὲ εἶναι ἀκίνδυνον. The sense would be: "The eunuch asked the governor to set Callistus free; saying, Marcia gave him full power (left it to his discretion), and there could be no danger for him (the governor,) in the affair." Ἀπολύειν was left out at all events. Ἐπιτρέψαι is used in the sense of giving authority to decide, to arbitrate: the dative of the person can scarcely have been left out, although the accusative is left out in Attic writers. The rest supposes only a confusion and subsequent transposition of the words. (Scott has explained satisfactorily Θρέψας as identical with τροφεύς, like ὁ τρέσας; Wordsworth adopts this interpretation, and quotes for it the inscription on a cippus, commented upon by Schaefer (ad Gregor. Cor. p. 614), where we read Θρέψας αὐτῶν, instead of τροφέα αὐτῶν. He finds no difficulty in translating ἀξιοῖ τὸν ἐπίτροπον, "desires the governor *to set him free*" and τασσόμενος αὐτῷ τὸ ἀκίνδυνον ("promising him indemnity"). Such a facility in translating dispenses certainly with many difficulties. I would now propose to read ἀξιοῖ τὸν ἐπίτροπον ἀπολύειν, φάσκων Θρέψας εἶναι Μαρκίας ταξομένης (or πραξομένης) αὐτῷ τὸ ἀκίνδυνον. He said he was the foster-father (he could say no more) of Marcia, who would by her influence obtain for him "impunity," or "keep him harmless." The participle must refer to Marcia, otherwise there would be a conjunctive particle before it (ὡς τασσόμενος κ.τ.λ.), even in so loose a style as we have in this narrative.—1854.)

He became bishop * of Rome, and the theological disputes in that Church began to be envenomed.

Noetus' sect was already spreading in Rome. Sabellius was a rising man, and began his speculations. Hippolytus gives us clearly to understand that, backed by others of the presbytery, he had already remonstrated against some of Sabellius' speculations on the Trinity in the time of Zephyrinus. "Now," he adds (p. 285.), Sabellius was softened by these our remonstrances: but, when he was alone with Callistus" (who then protected and favoured the Noetian Theological College established at Rome, and at that time presided over by Cleomenes, the disciple of Noetus' ancient deacon or minister), "Callistus excited him to turn towards the system of Cleomenes, pretending that they agreed. He did not, however, side openly with Sabellius, but in private told each party, that he was favourable to their views, setting them as much as he could against each other." † Now Sabellius, says Hippolytus, did not at that time see through the roguery of Callistus; but he afterwards knew it.

For, when Callistus had been made bishop of Rome, he threw off Sabellius as not orthodox. "He did so," continues Hippolytus, "because

* Callistus is the only authentic name of this pope, the successor of Zephyrinus. Not only all ancient authors, but also the "Catalogus Liberianus," the only ancient and authentic list of the early Roman bishops, compiled in 352, spell his name as the Greek etymology (Κάλλιστος, Formosissimus) requires. In my restoration of the chronology of the early Roman bishops, which I intend to publish with some other collateral records and inquiries respecting the history of the second century, I have shown that the name *Calixtus* appears first in a list of the eleventh century; *Calistus* formed the transition.

† I have rendered the sense. The monstrous text reads thus (p. 285.):—Αὐτὸς τὰ ἀμφότερα μέρη ὕστερον κερκωπείοις λόγοις πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ φιλίαν κατασκευάζων καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀλήθειαν λέγων ὅμοια φρονοῦσί ποτε καθ' ἡδίαν τὰ ὅμοια φρονεῖν, ἠπάτα πάλιν δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ Σαβελλίου ὁμοίως. The learned editor proposes:—λέγων τὰ ὅμοια φρονεῖν ἠπάτα πάλιν δ' αὐτοῖς φρονοῦσί ποτε κατ' ἰδίαν τὰ Σαβ., which does not seem to me very clear. I think that the first ὅμοια is not genuine, and that λέγων, which precedes it, ought to be placed after φρονεῖν. The text would then read thus: καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀλήθειαν φρονοῦσί ποτε κατ' ἰδίαν τὰ ὅμοια φρονεῖν λέγων ἠπάτα· πάλιν δ' αὖ τοῖς τὰ Σαβελλίου ὁμοίως. (Dr. Wordsworth adopts the last correction αὖ τοῖς, and changes καθ' ἡδίαν into κατ' ἰδέαν, sub specie vel colore similia sentiendi, and leaving the rest as it stands, finds no difficulty in thus rendering the whole passage: "at one time speaking true doctrine to the one party who held "like sentiments (to the truth), he, under pretence of agreeing with them, "deluded them; and, at another time, speaking with similar language (of du-"plicity) to those who held the doctrines of Sabellius." The words added to give a semblance of sense are very awkwardly inserted, and my readers may judge by themselves, whether, with all that, the translation gives any clear sense. Döllinger (p. 224, N.) rejects it also, and adopting the correction κατ' ἰδέαν, explains the sense thus: in private conversation he spoke to those who were addicted to the truth (to the opinion of Hippolytus) as if he held the same opinion: but then he also spoke to them in the sense of the doctrine of Sabellius, whom he goaded on, whereas he might have set him right, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξέστησε δυνάμενος (instead of δυνάμενον) κατορθοῦν. But Hippolytus says clearly in the beginning of the sentence, that he *deceived both parties with deceitful words*. The two phrases—καὶ τοῖς μὲν . . . and, πάλιν δ' αὐτοῖς (as the MS. has it)—must, therefore, necessarily refer to "τὰ ἀμφότερα μέρη" and not, as Döllinger wishes to explain it, to one and the same party. The whole sentence (which Döllinger does not presume to construe) is as lame in argument as it is in style, and does not say what it ought to say.—1854.)

he was afraid of me, and thought he might in this manner wash off the accusation which lay against him before the Church, showing himself not to be heterodox." But now the question arose how he could set himself right with Hippolytus and his party. For they, under Zephyrinus, had resisted Sabellius, then favoured by the episcopal influence; and Callistus, having at that time the bishop and most of the presbyters with him (p. 285. l.), had insulted Hippolytus and his friends by saying to them in the open presbytery, "You are ditheists." Now Callistus, says Hippolytus, thought he must make good those insulting words; and therefore, instead of giving honour to the truth, and saying, "As Sabellius is wrong, you are right," he gave the Noetian heresy that turn, the formula of which I have placed opposite to that of Noetus (or Cleomenes) himself. He established a school, in which that doctrine was taught, as Hippolytus says, in opposition to the Church.

But he did worse as to practical Christianity, adds our father. To the satisfaction of a great many who for misconduct had been removed from the communion of the Church, and now flocked to that school, he set up the doctrine "that he forgave the sins of all." In order to screen himself, he further laid down the principle: "If a bishop commits a sin, be it even a sin unto death, he must not be deposed (or obliged to abdicate) for all that."

This was a bold measure. For at that time, although the congregational rights of the laity had been suppressed, except in their sanction to the election of a bishop, the presbytery still claimed, and more or less maintained, a supreme judicial power in matters of faith and discipline.

Now what was the consequence? Bishops, presbyters, and deacons, were received into orders, after having been married twice, or even thrice. Even he who married, when already in orders, might do so undisturbed. "Did not our Saviour say, Let the tares grow with the wheat? Were there not unclean beasts in the Ark? Such, therefore, must also be in the Church." These and like scriptural arguments were brought forward by Callistus. No wonder his party increased wonderfully. He particularly favoured single ladies of rank, who wished to have a substitute for a husband in the humble form of a slave, or of a low-born freeman, and who might prefer having no children, so as not to displease their relations: for these would not be so severe if their large property remained in the family.* In short, Callistus must have preached, according to Hippolytus, something like Molière's Tartuffe:

"Il y a avec le ciel des accommodemens."

Such was Callistus' conduct according to Hippolytus; his school was

* The Greek text, with some emendations, runs thus (p. 291.):—Διὸ καὶ πληθύνονται, γαμιζόμενοι ἐπὶ ὄχλοις, διὰ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἃς οὐ συνεχώρησεν ὁ Χριστός· οὗ καταφρονήσαντες οὐδένα (οὐδὲν) ἁμαρτεῖν κωλύουσι, φάσκοντες αὐτὸν (cod. αὐτῷ) ἀφιέναι τοῖς εὐδοκοῦσι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐν ἀξίᾳ ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ ἄνανδροι εἶεν καὶ ἡλικίᾳ γε ἐκκαίοιντο, τηρεῖν ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν ἣν μὴ βούλοιντο καθαιρεῖν. (cod. καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ ἄνανδροι εἶεν καὶ ἡλικίᾳ τε τε καίοντα ἐναξία ἡ ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν ἣν μὴ βούλοιντο καθαίρειν.) Διὰ τοῦτο νομίμως γαμηθῆναι ἔχει ἕνι ὃν ἂν αἱρήσωνται σύγκοιτον, εἴτε οἰκέτην εἴτε ἐλεύθερον, καὶ τοῦτον κρίνειν ἀντὶ ἀνδρὸς μὴ

still flourishing, and its followers and abettors were called, from their founder, *Callistians*.

This is the substance of Hippolytus' account. In fact, we find the name of Callistians mentioned by Theodoret, under the head of the Noetians.

Leaving Callistus personally to the judgment of God, I will only suggest two observations. In the first place we must not forget, in judging of the system here represented under such high colours, that Hippolytus and his minority belonged to a very strict party, who, like the old Jansenists, may have excluded many a truly penitent sinner from the communion of the Church, not considering how many must always be retained in a community, even with the severest discipline, whose hypocrisy is worse than the open sins of many. The system of censorial discipline adopted by the earliest Christians changed its character necessarily, when exercised by a sacerdotal caste, governing large congregations, nay, whole populations, and became full of inextricable difficulties, and inward contradictions. Such being the case, the Roman Church has, on the whole, always inclined to a moderate exercise of the power of punishment and exclusion, keeping in mind rather the practical view of a government, than the theoretical one of a moral censorship. The strife between Romanism and Montanism is in this respect the same in substance as that between Jesuitism and Jansenism; and Hippolytus in general takes the line of the Montanists, although he condemned their doctrinal system. This applies to both the points of discipline touched upon in this remarkable book, — the indulgence shown to laymen who had sinned against morality, and the treatment of the sins of presbyters, who had offended against that limited celibacy of the clergy which then obtained in the West, as it still does in the East. The system was wrong in itself, like that of all priest-churches. Do what you will, you cannot obtain a clear and truly Christian solution. The more honest the system is, the less practical it will prove: the more practical it is, the more it will weaken the voice of conscience and the less will it educate individuals, men and women, or whole nations to moral self-responsibility.

Taking the early priest-churches as they are, history must judge individuals, during the struggle of the two contending parties, rather by their lives than by their systems.

νόμῳ γεγαμημένην. Ἔνθεν ἤρξαντο ἐπιχειρεῖν πισταὶ λεγόμεναι ἀτοκίοις φαρμάκοις καὶ τῷ περιδεσμεῖσθαι (cod. *ἀτοκίᾳ περιδεσμεῖσθαι καὶ φαρμάκοις*) *πρὸς τὸ τὰ συλλαμβανόμενα καταβάλλειν, διὰ τὸ μήτε ἐκ δούλου βούλεσθαι ἔχειν τέκνον μήτε ἐξ εὐτελοῦς, διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν καὶ ὑπέρογκον οὐσίαν.*

This note to the first edition was simply intended to make a wholly unintelligible text so far intelligible as to bear out the meaning I had given to the whole. I am happy to find that Dr. Wordsworth has made this passage the subject of an elaborate, and, I think, on the whole, a successful emendation. He reads: *φάσκοντες αὐτὸν ἀφιέναι τοῖς εὐδοκοῦσι. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐπέτρεψεν εἰ ἄνανδροι εἶεν καὶ ἡλικίωτῃ καίοιντο ἀναξίῳ, ἢ ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν μὴ βούλοιντο καθαίρειν* (sic), *διὰ τοῦτο νομίμως γαμηθῆναι ἐκείνῳ ἂν ὃν αἱρήσονται σύγκοιτον . . .* "For he also permitted "women, if they had no husband, and were enamoured of a comrade unworthy of "themselves, or did not wish to degrade their own dignity, therefore they might "lawfully marry any one whom they chose as a consort." Adopting this on the whole, I read the passage now thus: *φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς ἀφιέναι τοῖς εὐδοκοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐπέτρεψεν εἰ ἄνανδροι εἶεν καὶ ἡλικίᾳ γε ἐκκαίοιντο (ἀνάξίαι αἱ ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν μὴ βούλοιντο καθαιρεῖν !) διὰ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.*—1854.

I must, to a certain degree, say the same as to the second, the doctrina point. According to Hippolytus, Callistus was not only the moral, but also the doctrinal corrupter of his Church and age. We shall have to consider this point in the next letter; but I must here express my conviction that the difficulties of the case are essentially the same. Good and wise men might adopt — and could scarcely help adopting, according to their temper and education — opposite views, and might condemn each other most uncharitably (and most unphilosophically); but impartial history must give its due share to the tragical complications of the times.

Before I conclude this letter, I must advert to a double mistake into which the learned editor has fallen respecting the history of Fuscianus' judgment upon Callistus.* First, he takes this to have been the martyrdom of Callistus, meaning his death, thus identifying that scene therewith; although it is quite clear from Hippolytus' account, that his condemnation to Sardinia, so far from causing his death, on the contrary made his fortune. He returned from that island to Rome, and became the friend of the bishop, and finally his successor. The ground of M. Miller's mistake seems to have been, that our author prefaces his account of Callistus' proceedings by the ironical phrase (p. 285. 8.): "He became a martyr (ἐμαρτύρησε) under Fuscianus, then prefect of Rome; and the manner of his martyrdom (μαρτυρία) was the following." Then follows Callistus' swindling conduct, as the slave of Carpophorus, his deportation and return.

Indeed, his condemnation would have been a martyrdom, which, in Greek, means testimony, if in any way it had been connected with the confession of his faith as a Christian before the penal judge: for our story is one of the proofs that the penal laws against Christianity as an unlawful religion were not abolished under Commodus, as some have supposed. There were in Sardinia other Christians condemned on that score; and they are called "martyrs" by our author (p. 288. l. 71—78.). Callistus, however, was not condemned for his profession of Christianity, but for swindling, and for the violent disturbance of the Jewish worship.

This mistake has led M. Miller into another. Proceeding upon his erroneous interpretation of Callistus' martyrdom, he thinks himself entitled to fix the year 222 (that of Callistus' death) as that of Fuscianus' præfectura urbis. Now this is a mistake, independently of its being based upon an erroneous supposition. Fuscianus' dignity of Prefect of Rome belongs to the reign of Commodus (180—192), as does the history of Callistus and Marcia. He was consul for the second time in 188, the ninth year of Commodus, and first of Victor, and was followed in the prefecture by Ælius Pertinax, at all events before 193; for in that year Pertinax became emperor. That office must therefore have been in Fuscianus' hands in the reign of Commodus, and probably soon after 188. Corsini's conjecture, that he was prefect about 178†, is therefore only a few years too early, as our author's account proves.

I remain, my dear Friend,

Yours ever faithfully,

BUNSEN.

* Preface, p. ix.

† De Præfect. Urbis, Pis. 1763. p. 87.

FOURTH LETTER.

HIPPOLYTUS' OWN CONFESSION (THE TENTH BOOK).

Carlton Terrace, 25 June, 1851.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

HIPPOLYTUS cannot have rejoiced more on arriving at the end of his account of all the heresies, absurdities, and impurities, which he had to go through in his arduous task, than I do at being able to-day to conduct you to the holy and wise man's own Confession of Faith.

In the tenth book (pp. 310—331.) he first recapitulates the contents of the preceding nine. And it may be worth noticing here, that he does not exactly follow the order of the heresies observed in the work itself. This may certainly be accidental; it may be a mere piece of negligence. But it may also be, that in this abridged account we have that rather superficial notice, which, he says in the introduction to the first book, he had written at an earlier time, about these heresies. However this be, there is one interesting fact resulting from the epitome with certainty. This abridged catalogue of the heresies occupies seventeen pages of our text, while the account itself fills 215. But some articles are scarcely shorter than the corresponding ones in that exposition; a want of proportion which points to the fact we have been led to by our examination of the preceding books, that in parts of our present text we have only an abstract of the "Refutation of all the Heresies."

What appears to me most remarkable in the short sketch of the philosophical systems, which precedes that of the heresies, is the moderation of Hippolytus' final judgment on the Greek philosophers. He does not assert that there was no truth in them: he contents himself with saying that their speculations on physical philosophy had not led to any satisfactory results (p. 314. 91.). His meaning is, that those systems prove the impossibility of founding theology and ethics upon physical speculations, and that these speculations had led the Greeks to forget God, the Creator, in nature, his creatures. This is what he states explicitly in the remarkable conclusion of the first book (p. 32. 92—98.).

With page 331. 3. ends the 132nd sheet of our precious manuscript; and one or two sheets are undoubtedly wanting, which must have been the beginning of a demonstration, very naturally brought forward in this place, to prove that the wisdom of the Greeks, the Chaldæans, and the Egyptians, could not boast of an antiquity like that of the people of God. The two pages preserved to us of this demonstration contain little that can now be of interest. But, if I am not mistaken, they give us a new proof, should any be wanted, that Hippolytus wrote the work before us; and this is a point which it is my duty to clear up. Our fragment begins

with Abraham's migration to Mesopotamia and thence to Palestine,—a subject, the author says, "*which he had treated carefully in other works.*" Now I believe we have an ancient Latin translation of the very treatise or treatises to which he refers. In Fabricius' edition of Hippolytus' works (i. 49—89.), we find a Latin translation (belonging to the time of Charlemagne) of a "Chronicle" bearing the name of St. Hippolytus, edited first by Canisius, and then by Labbé. There is every reason to believe this to be the very "Chronicle" mentioned by Eusebius, which, he says, went down to the first year of Alexander Severus. This "Chronicle," towards the end, has a list of the Roman emperors, terminating with him. It does, indeed, give the duration of his reign; but this may have been added in the copies, as that of the reign under which such books were written was generally left open by the author, and afterwards filled up. In fact (as we shall see in the next letter), Hippolytus may have brought down his "Chronicle," before he died, to the last year of Alexander; for (as we shall see) he outlived him, at least some months. Unfortunately the manuscript which contains that catalogue is incomplete: otherwise, as the title promises, we should also have a list of the Roman bishops carried down by our learned author to Callistus, or to his successor, Urbanus. This bishop governed the Roman Church under Alexander Severus; and his successor, Pontianus, was transported to Sardinia with Hippolytus in the first year of Maximin, soon after Alexander's death, and, probably falling a sacrifice to the pestilential air of the island, died there soon afterwards, under the same consuls.

Now, in this "Chronicle," we find an enumeration of the ancient divisions of nations and languages built upon the system that all the nations sprung from Noah were seventy-two.* Jewish ingenuity had got this number, probably before the age of Christ, out of the enumeration of the different nations in the tenth chapter of Genesis. Seventy or seventy-two was the number of the nations and of their Gods. Epiphanius adopts also the system of seventy-two nations. But the cotemporary of Hippolytus, Julius Africanus, who brought down his chronography to the fifth year of Heliogabalus, or to the year 221, that which precedes the first of the reign of Alexander Severus, did not adopt this system, according to the copious fragments and accounts which Eusebius, Syncellus, and others have given of his work. Now the same system, which we find established in Hippolytus' "Chronicle," is evidently alluded to in our fragment, in a passage miserably lacerated, but which may easily be restored by the help of the biblical record, and of sect. v. of the Latin text of the "Chronicle,"† to which book our author refers for the names of the seventy-two nations.‡ The identity of the systems in the two works is also proved by another point. Our author counts 215 years from Abraham to Jacob's migration into Egypt: the Latin "Chronicle" equally

* p. 50. l. 1. sectio ii.: "Erant autem quæ confusæ sunt linguæ LXXII., et qui turrem ædificabant erant gentes LXXII., quæ etiam in linguis super faciem totius terræ divisæ sunt."

† p. 52. l. 1., of the seventy-two, twenty-five belong to Shem's progeny. After these enumerations, it is added again, "Omnes autem de tribus filiis Noe sunt LXXII."

‡ p. 331., *ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι οβ'* (72) *ἔθνη, ὧν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐκτεθείμεθα ἐν ἑτέραις βίβλοις.*

follows the Septuagint; for it counts 430 years for the time from Abraham to the Exodus.* Our author evidently placed the dispersion of the nations under Peleg, Heber's son, and, having arrived at Heber, mentioned the scheme of the seventy-two nations. This is the key to the restoration of the text, as I give it below, putting in brackets the words inserted by me.† It is characteristic of our author, that, on this occasion, speaking of having enumerated those seventy-two nations, he adds, that he had done so, wishing to show to those who were desirous to learn, "the affection we bear to the Divine Revelation, and also the unquestionable knowledge which we have acquired with much labour respecting the truth." These are the words of the inventor of a system.

The end of all his demonstration is to prove (p. 332.) that the people of God are more ancient than the Chaldæans, the Egyptians, and the Hellenes. "Therefore," he says, "it being useless to go beyond Noah, I will give the division of those seventy-two races." Here we find that twenty-five sprang from Shem, and fifteen from Japhet, as is stated in the "Chronicle"; and we also learn the number (thirty-two) derived from Ham, which is left out in our present Latin text.

Hippolytus then, according to our present text, continues thus (p. 333. fol. 137. end):—

"Now having seized this doctrine" (the knowledge of things divine possessed by the fathers of the people of God), "disciples, the Hellenes, Egyptians, and Chaldæans, and the whole human race, what the divine nature or the divine being) . . ." Here our sheet ends, and, at present, our manuscript too. We have to thank M. Miller for having placed fol. 133. after fol. 137. This transposition undoubtedly restores the true order: for this sheet 133. gives us the immediate continuation of the sentence with which fol. 137. terminates. Still I thought it important to know exactly where the new page begins in the MS. As the editor only marks the line, and not the word, with which the new leaf opens, I was left to guess which are the first words in fol. 133. But I have since learned through the kindness of Professor Gebser of Königsberg, whose attention I directed to this circumstance, as he was going to Paris, that fol. 137. (and at present the manuscript) terminates thus:

καὶ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων· τί τὸ θεῖον

Professor Gebser observes that after *θεῖον* there is now a full stop, but added by another hand. ‡

* p. 53. 1. penult.

† After he had spoken of Abraham, he says (p. 337.): *Τούτου δὲ γίνεται [πατὴρ] Θάρρα· τούτου Ναχὼρ, τούτου Σερουὲ [τούτου Ῥαγαῦ, τούτου Φαλὲκ, τούτου Ἔβερ] ὅθεν καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίους καλεῖσθαι [τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Φαλὲκ ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν ἐθνῶν διασπορά] ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι οβ' ἔθνη*, etc. Cf. Jul. Africani Fragmentum ix. in Routh, Reliquiæ Sacr. ii. p. 244.

‡ The whole passage, now printed all in one, is thus to be restored:—*Τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ λόγου κρατήσαντες μάθετε* (t. *μαθηταὶ*), *Ἕλληνες, Αἰγύπτιοι, Χαλδαῖοι καὶ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων, τί τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἡ τούτου εὔτακτος δημιουργία, παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν φίλων τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ μὴ κομπολόγως τοῦτο ἠσκηκότων, ἀλλ' ἢ ἀληθείας γνώσει καὶ ἀσκήσει σωφροσύνης εἰς ἀπόδειξιν αὐτοῦ λόγους ποισυμένων.* The construction and sense of these words become thus very easy and clear: "Ye nations therefore come to us, and learn what God is, and his well ordered creation, from us, the friends of God."

The words τί τὸ θεῖον are evidently connected with the first words of sheet 133.: καὶ ἡ τούτου εὐτακτος δημιουργία. The author himself has joined these words in p. 338. 97.: τίς ὁ ὄντως Θεὸς καὶ ἡ τούτου εὐτακτος δημιουργία. Only the verb is wanting, and this want is supplied by your excellent conjecture of μάθετε for μαθηταί. The period thus restored is the introduction to the *declaration of the truth*, which was the principal object of the tenth book, as he says at the beginning of it.

This most important conclusion of the work consists of three distinct parts:—

First, the doctrine of the One God, the eternal cause of all things.

Secondly, the doctrine of the Logos, begotten by the One all-pervading God, who, being penetrated with the will of the Father that the world should exist, made all things; and who was lastly sent to speak to man, not through the prophets, but himself, and to appeal to man as endowed with a free will, the abuse of which alone had produced evil.

Thirdly, the conclusion of the whole in an address to all nations by the author, speaking as a disciple and minister of the Logos, and encouraging his brethren to have faith in their high destiny and divine nature. (The end is wanting.)

I.

Hippolytus' Declaration on the One Eternal God. (p. 334.)

"The One God, the first and the only One, the Maker and Lord of all had nothing coeval with him, no infinite chaos, no measureless water or solid earth, no thick air, or hot fire, or spirit (πνεῦμα), nor the blue form of the great heaven. But He was One, alone by Himself, who, willing it, called into being what had no being before (ἐποίησε τὰ ὄντα οὐκ ὄντα πρότερον), except when He willed to call it into being, having full knowledge of what was to be; for He has foreknowledge also. And He created first different elements of the things which were to be, fire and air, water and earth; out of which different elements he made his own creation, some being of one substance (μονοούσια), some compounded of two, some of three, some of four. And those which were of one are immortal; for they do not admit of dissolution. For what is simply one, cannot be dissolved; but that which consists of two or three or four elements is dissoluble, and therefore is also called mortal. For what is called death is the dissolution of that which has been compounded."

For the ulterior discussion of this subject, the author refers to a special work of his, "On the Substance of the Universe" (περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας); and this again is a point of much interest for our inquiry, and, if I am not mistaken, leads us to a curious discovery. *

You are aware that in a manuscript published by Le Moyne, and then inserted in Fabricius' edition of Hippolytus (i. 220—222.), there is the

* I have received the fragment into my Analecta (vol. i. under Hippolytus, iv.) and restored the text with the help of the Bodleian manuscript, the only one now existing (that of Hœschel having disappeared), but never yet collated, except for the concluding part, which is peculiar to it.—1854.

end of a homily or treatise addressed to the Hellenes, and inscribed thus: "St. Hippolytus, from his Address to the Hellenes, which bears the title (Address) against Plato, about the cause of the Universe." * This title is so like that of a treatise mentioned on the statue of Hippolytus in the Vatican, "To the Hellenes and to Plato,' or also 'About the Universe,"† that scarcely a doubt could remain of the identity, even if Photius did not expressly name all the three titles mentioned here as given to one and the same book. For he says, (c. 48.), "The book 'On the Universe,' which in other copies is inscribed, 'On the Cause of the Universe,' in others, 'On the Substance of the Universe.' "‡

What is still more remarkable, in his account of the book he gives us the contents of the very chapter to which Hippolytus here refers. "The book consists (he says) of two sections. The author shows in them that Plato contradicts himself; and he proves that Alcinous (the celebrated Platonic writer, who lived, probably, in the beginning of the second century) had spoken irrationally and falsely about the Soul, and Matter, and the Resurrection. He then brings in his own opinions on these topics, and *shows that the people of the Jews is much more ancient than that of the Hellenes.* According to his opinion, *man consists of fire and earth and water*, and besides, of the *spirit* (πνεῦμα), which he also calls soul (ψυχή). As to the spirit, these are his own words: —

"Taking of this (the spirit) the principal part, He (God) formed it together with the body, and prepared for it a passage through every limb and joint. Now this spirit, plastically connected with the body, and all-pervading, is fashioned (τετύπωται) in the same shape (εἴδει) as the visible body, but its essence is rather cold in comparison with the three of which the body consists."

You here see the exact and literal doctrine of the four elements, of which the spirit is one, carried out speculatively, in the form of a Christian physical philosophy. Besides, you see that the theory of the higher antiquity of Jewish wisdom had been treated here in the same manner as in the fragment preceding the Declaration of Faith in our work. I dare say it was this that made some wiseacre of the Byzantine age ascribe the book to Josephus, under which name the patriarch himself read it without any doubts on his mind the first time, as he tells us.

Hear what he has further to say on this book: —"After having gone through these physiological discussions, not (οὐκ ἀναξίως) unworthily of the Jewish physiology and of his learning, the author treats also summarily of cosmogony. As to Christ, our true God, he speaks theologically, very much as we do; nay, he pronounces the very name of *Christ*, and describes without fault his unspeakable generation from the Father." Poor Hippolytus! A patriarch of New Rome, in the ninth century, the most learned man of his age, has become so hardened in his formularies, that he takes a work of yours for that of a Jew, who, he seems to think, did honour to the philosophy of his nation; and then he wonders how, with

* Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἱππολύτου ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Ἕλληνας λόγου, τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου κατὰ Πλάτωνα (read Πλάτωνος) περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας.

† Πρὸς Ἕλληνας καὶ πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἢ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντός.

‡ Περὶ τοῦ παντὸς, ὃ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀνέγνων ἐπιγραφόμενον Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας, ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας.

all that, you could speak almost of Christ as if you were a Christian! What you, a learned and pious doctor and bishop of the Catholic Church,—you, the worthy disciple of Irenæus, whose master had seen St. John the Apostle,—said at the end of the second and beginning of the third century, is, in its best parts, deemed by the Byzantine just Christian enough for a clever Jew who had heard of Christ! Can any man pronounce a severer judgment upon the conventional superstructure raised by the ages intervening between Hippolytus and Photius?

Still, being an honest plodding man, Photius adds, first, that some had their doubts about the authorship of Josephus; and he confesses there might be something in this, although the man wrote well enough for Josephus. He then says: "I find that in the marginal notes the author is called Caius, the Roman presbyter, who wrote a book against Proclus the Montanist." All he can tell us positively is this: "The author of the book, called 'The Labyrinth,' says at the end of it, that he is also the author of the book 'On the Substance of the Universe.'"

Hence, if we have Hippolytus' evidence for his having written this last book, we know, through Photius' unwilling, or at least involuntary, witness, that he is also the author of the "Labyrinth," or the "Little Labyrinth," of which we have some fragments preserved by Eusebius, directed against Theodotus and his followers among the Noetians, and professing to be written under Zephyrinus "in our own time." Whoever reads those fragments *, and compares them with our book and the fragments just mentioned, will have no doubt respecting the authorship: they are by one and the same man, as Photius learned from the author himself. The author of the book "On the Universe" (Caius, according to Photius' opinion) "was elected a bishop of the Gentiles." These words, absurd as they may appear, will prove to be a historical allusion to the position which Hippolytus occupied in the Church, and in particular at Portus. They also receive a striking explanation from what our author, in the concluding section of his Declaration, says of himself, as we shall see presently.

Having gained this fixed point, I have no hesitation in saying that Le Moyne's much discussed fragment of the work "On the Universe" is genuine. In order to understand it, we must consider that it is the end, either of the whole, or of the first of the two books of which that treatise, as we have seen, consisted. Having treated of cosmogony and of the Logos, the author came to the eschatological part, and opposed to Plato's myth in the Gorgias something of the same nature, only that it is based upon Judaic and Christian apocalyptic fictions, of which that under Peter's name was very popular at Rome. I have no doubt that Hippolytus did not give his description of Hades as a revelation, but as a Christian picture.

To prove the identity of the authorship I will show, in a note to the passage on the eternal punishment of the bodies of the wicked, that a sentence, utterly unintelligible as the text stands now, can easily be restored from the corresponding passage in that treatise. With an experienced critic, this alone settles the question.

* Routh, Reliquiæ Sacr. ii. p. 129. sqq. (See now in the First Volume of the Analecta.—1854.)

II.

The second part of Hippolytus' Confession of Faith.

The Doctrine of the Logos.

"Now this sole one and universal God, first by his cogitation begets the Word (Logos), not the word in the sense of speech, but as the indwelling reason of the universe. Him alone he begat out of the substance *: for that which was was the Father himself: the being born of whom was the cause of all beings. The Word was in him, bearing the will of him who had begotten him, being not unacquainted with the thoughts of the Father. For when he came forth from him who begat him, being his first-begotten speech, he had in himself the ideas conceived by the Father. When, therefore, the Father commanded that the world should be, the Logos accomplished it in detail, pleasing God. Now what was to multiply by generation, he made male and female: but that which was to serve and minister, he made either male, not wanting the female, or neither male nor female. For the first elements of these, which sprang from that which was not, fire and spirit, water and earth, are neither male nor female; nor could male and female come out of any of them, except as far as the commanding God willed that the Logos should accomplish it. I acknowledge that the angels are of fire; and they, I say, have no females. In like manner the sun and moon and stars, I conceive, are of fire and spirit, and are neither male nor female; but from water have come swimming and flying animals, male and female: for so God ordered it, willing that the moist element should be generative. In like manner out of the earth came creeping things and beasts, and males and females of all sorts of animals: for this the nature of created things admitted of. For whatever He willed, God made. These things He made by the Logos, nor could they be otherwise than as they were made. But when He had made them as He willed, He called by name him whom he appointed after these as the lord of the whole, him whom He created a compound of all the elements. He did not intend to make him a god, and fail to do so, or an angel (be not misled!), but a man. If He had willed to make thee a god, He could have done so; for thou hast the image of the Logos: but willing to make thee a man, a man He made thee. But if thou wouldst become a god, be obedient to Him who made thee, and transgress not now, in order that, having been found faithful in small things, thou mayst be trusted with great things.

"The Word of Him is alone of Him: wherefore he is God, being the substance of God. But the world is of nothing; therefore not God: it is also subject to dissolution, when He willeth who created it. But God the creator did not make evil. He made nothing which was not beautiful and good: for the Maker is good. But the man who was made was a free-willed creature, not possessing a ruling understanding, not governing all things by thought and authority and power, but servile and having all sorts of contraries in him. He, from being freewilled, generates evil,

* I had rectified already, in the German edition, the translation of this passage, which in the first English stood thus: "Him alone of all things he begat."—1854.

which become so by accident, being nothing if thou dost it not: for it is called evil from being willed and thought to be so; not being such from the beginning, but an afterbirth. Man being thus freewilled, a law was laid down by God; not without need. For if man had not the power to will and not to will, why should a law have been established? For a law will not be laid down for an irrational being, but a bridle and a whip; but for man, a command and a penalty, to do, or for not doing, what is ordered. For him law was established by just men of yore. In times nearer to us, a law was laid down full of gravity and justice, by the forementioned Moses, a devout and Godloving man. But all these things are overruled by the Word of God, the only-begotten child of the Father, the light-bringing voice anterior to the morning star. Afterwards there were just men, friends of God; these were called Prophets, because they foretold the future These had not the word (understanding) of one time only; but the voices of the events foretold through all ages showed themselves to them intelligibly. They foretold the future, not then alone when they gave answer to those who were present, but through all ages: because, in speaking of things past, they reminded humanity of them; in explaining the present, they persuaded men not to be careless; by foretelling the future, they rendered every one alarmed, seeing things predicted long beforehand, and looking forward to the future.

"Such, O ye men, is our faith, the faith of men who are not persuaded by vain sayings, who are not carried away by the impulses of our own hearts, nor seduced by the persuasiveness of eloquent speeches, but who are not disobedient to words spoken by divine power.

"These things God gave in charge to the Word. And the Word spake and uttered them, bringing man back by these very works from disobedience, not enslaving him through the force of necessity, but calling him to liberty of his own free accord. This Word the Father sent in after times, no longer to speak through a prophet: not wishing that he should be guessed at from obscure announcements, but should be made manifest to sight. Him, I say, he sent, that the world, seeing him, might revere him, not commanding them in the person of prophets, nor frightening the soul by an angel, but himself present and speaking to them. Him we have known to have taken his body from a virgin, and to have put on an old man through a new formation, having past in his life through every age, that he might become a law for every age, and might by his presence exhibit his own humanity as an aim for all men; and might prove by the same, that God has made nothing evil; and that man is freewilled, having the power both of willing and not willing, being able to do either. Him we know to have been a man of our own composition. For if he had not been of the same nature, in vain would he ordain that we are to imitate our master. For if that man were of another substance, how can he order me, who am born weak, to do like him? and how is he good and righteous? But that he might not be deemed other than we, he bore toil, and vouchsafed to hunger, and did not refuse to thirst, and rested in sleep, and did not resist suffering, and became obedient to death, and manifested his resurrection, offering up his own humanity in all this, as the first fruits, that thou, when thou art suffering, mayst not despair, but, acknowledging thyself a man, mayst thyself expect what the Father granted to him."

This then is, as it were, the second article of our author's creed, or rather his philosophical commentary on the prologue of the Gospel of St. John. I shall have to prove, with respect to this part, that it agrees with the system of Hippolytus, as we find it expressed in his other genuine writings; and, over and above this, I shall prove that it is entirely different from the system of him to whom the marginal note in our manuscript attributes the work now recovered. But I can do neither the one nor the other satisfactorily, without a collateral examination of Hippolytus' other works; and this will be the object of my next and concluding letter.

I must, therefore, confine myself here to a short analysis of the contents, as a preparatory step to the further inquiry.

This passage contains the author's theory on the Logos; which is interrupted in the middle by that on the origin of evil. The insertion of this second discussion is not very skilful: still the two points are intimately connected with each other, and with the whole theory of the creation, as they were also regarded in the various Gnostic systems. If God created evil, how can we combine this with the doctrine of the eternal divine Word, as being the full expression of God's nature and will? How can we avoid placing evil either in the Father, or in the Logos? Unquestionably (thinks our author) it must not be placed in either. His way to escape from the difficulty is this: — Evil exists only by accident, not originally. It exists, because man, being endowed with reason and with free will, necessarily had the power of doing what was forbidden; and evil came from his abuse of this liberty of action, which however was necessary for his being God's representative on earth, and destined to be elevated to the divine nature.

Having thus cleared the field for the eternal action of the Logos, he goes on defining it more accurately, evidently following closely the prologue. The Logos is to our author, as to the fathers of the second century, God's eternal consciousness of himself, or the objectiveness of his substance, which is reason and truth. He is therefore the Logos, in the twofold sense of the Greek word; as speech (λόγος=φωνή), that is to say, the objective manifestation of God, and as reason (λόγος=λογισμός), or God's essential consciousness. The Father, by the act of self-consciousness, generates the Logos; and, strictly speaking, the Logos, as the inward Word of God, inspires all the holy men who are called to become the teachers of mankind, and especially, though not exclusively, inspired Moses and the prophets.

Here it is clear how strongly our author is intent upon inculcating three very important truths. First, that the working of the Spirit of God,— for that, according to our author's more simple theory, is the working of the Logos before the Incarnation,—is not limited to the holy men of the Old Testament. He claims (as we have seen) for them the priority, but not the exclusive possession, of the Divine Spirit, although he does not expressly say, what Origen says most positively, that those persons must be of a very rude mind (ἀγροῖκοι), who would deny that the Spirit of God was working in the virtuous and holy men of the Gentiles, such as Socrates. Such being our author's opinion, it is also evident (and this is the second point) that the divine validity of the Law is not

founded on the external authority which imposed it, and on the curses attached to its non-performance, but on its inward correspondence with the will of God, and therefore with man's nature, reason. "Man," says our author, "is a rational being, and can only be brought to obedience by his free consent, founded upon conviction." Hippolytus, therefore, is not only a Rationalist, but, what is much stronger, he makes God himself the first Rationalist, as infusing his divine reason into the Logos, and through him into man. The obligation to obey the written Law, being thus founded upon its conformity to reason (divine and human, which are taken by our author to be one in essence), must therefore clearly cease, when something better and more perfect appears. Thus by this second proposition, no less than by the first, he prepares the way for his doctrine of the Incarnation.

The third proposition is no less remarkable; it is this:—The prophets are indeed called prophets from foretelling future events; and he enlarges upon this point more than upon the collateral endowments of the prophetic mind, because it had been denied by the Gnostics. But this is by no means the exclusive vocation of the prophets. God's eternal reason spoke through them quite as much in what they pronounced on the past, and on the events they themselves lived to see. He characterises their oracles on things past by saying, that they were to preserve great events in the memory of mankind. This cannot mean that they were merely to give chronological dates. The sense is, that they were to remind the human race of certain special facts as integral parts of the divine plan of the universal history of mankind, this history being the divine development and realisation in time of what was divinely beheld before all time in the Word. It is this prophetic treatment of the past, that elevates Joel, the oldest, and Jeremiah the latest, of the prophets of the independent Jewish state, above the kindred characters in the Hellenic world, such as Homer is compared with Joel, and Demosthenes compared with Jeremiah, more than any prediction of external future events can ever do. Indeed, their predictions treat outward events only as hieroglyphics of events in the kingdom of truth. It is the low, materialist, unbelieving, Jewish view, patched up in the seventeenth century by scholastics who were neither scholars nor independent philosophers, and held sacred by men destitute and afraid of the light and liberty of evangelical truth,—it is only this degraded and impotent view, along with great ignorance and an irrational system of interpretation, that could lose sight of the divine character of the prophets in their elevated, comforting, and faithful survey of the past or future destinies of mankind, as being one family in God, realising here upon earth, individually and nationally, the decrees of his eternal wisdom and love. In short, our author says in his language, what Frederic Schlegel said, when he designated the true historian as a prophet with his face turned backward.

They were also inspired, says our author, when they spoke of the persons and events of their own time, "exhorting men not to abandon themselves to negligence and levity (*μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν*)." It does not require much of a philosophical mind to perceive, that to recognise the men and events of one's time as what they really are, and what they signify, and thus to put the seal of history upon them (what the mystics call the *sig-*

natura), is as much an evidence of the knowledge of the future as any prediction, and as much a proof of an inspired insight into the past as any prophetic interpretation of the figures of men and events of bygone times. It follows, from this our author's view, that even those predictions were not an evidence, much less the highest, of inspired knowledge, so far as they simply foretold external facts. Hippolytus, like all ancient writers, believed undoubtedly that such foretelling power had also been displayed by other persons, and even by false prophets, but that the true prophets foresaw, in an event of which they spoke as coming, an integral part of the development of the kingdom of truth, justice, and blessedness, which is to be manifested among mankind, and by men, and therefore upon this earth.

Having thus explained his general view of the law and of the prophets, he passes to the second portion of his doctrine of the Logos, — his being embodied in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, the true and real man. It seems to me clear, that, in this section as well as in the first, our author intends to speak as popularly as he can, and to avoid as much as possible bringing forward his own speculative system. The fathers of that age evidently considered their speculations in the main as merely apologetic. They refuted, by reference to Scripture and constant tradition, the objections of unbelievers and the errors of the heretical philosophers. They deemed a doctrine heretical, either when it directly denied some facts related by the sacred records, or when it destroyed the meaning or authority of Scripture, and led to consequences incompatible with those first principles of Christianity engraved on the reason and conscience, which, consciously or unconsciously, are always appealed to as the highest and conclusive evidence. If, in doing so, they felt called upon to offer a solution of those philosophical or historical puzzles and riddles, which had (in most cases) given rise to the systems they opposed, they did this apologetically, in self-defence. But they by no means agreed in these attempts: nor did they assume, at that time, any authority for their system, but offered it, with as good arguments as they could urge, for a respectful and thoughtful examination, as not being in contradiction to the sacred records and the dictates of conscience and reason. We must therefore beware of supposing that, because our author does not enter into the well-known doctrinal controversies of his time, he had not his own opinions on the subjects of them. If we find them recorded in other writings of his, we have merely to prove that they are compatible with the view here so plainly stated, and that they rest upon the same grounds.

Having said thus much, I will now pass to the third and concluding part of our author's Confession of Faith, after I have given utterance to some reflections which this tenth book has awakened in my mind.

It is clear that the parts of the Confession of Faith hitherto examined are a philosophical explanation of the prologue of St. John's Gospel. Now, while it seems to me that this commentary is as intelligible as the text (although not so full), I have the feeling that many of my readers, divines themselves, will rather think I ought to say that the commentary is no less unintelligible than the text. These persons ought to be aware, that, in saying (or thinking) so, they place themselves on the side of the

infidels; for what is not intelligible is either untrue or useless; and no infidel ever said more against Christianity. I know full well that some will fling back this insinuation as an insult, and answer the attack by protesting their orthodoxy. I also know that they are ready to test this orthodoxy by an unqualified submission, either to the word of God, or to the orthodox formularies of the Ecumenic Councils, at least to those of the fourth and fifth centuries. But they must not take it ill if I reply, that in saying this they do not answer my argument, or extricate themselves out of their difficulties. For, if they fall back upon the word of God, they show very little respect for it by setting down its most sublime and important declarations as unintelligible to the human reason, which accepts the Scriptures as containing revelations of truth respecting divine things. It appears to me that divines, who profess a faith in something not intelligible, must have still less respect for the sacred records than the dissentients whose doctrines they most abhor. There is scarcely a more ungrammatical and false interpretation, than the old Unitarian translation of the last words of the first verse of the prologue, "And the Word was a God;" but at least this shows an endeavour to bring words which relate to the very substance of reason, into accordance with reason, as they conceived it; and they ought to have been met on this ground. As to a comparison of the apostles of this dry Protestant orthodoxy with the eminent leaders of the Gnostics in this respect, it would be ridiculous. Those men showed themselves full of intellectual and moral Christian earnestness in their speculations respecting this very prologue; whereas, if one reads all that the old Protestant schools have said on it during these 250 years, there is scarcely anything, philosophically speaking, but chaff to be found in it. The text is explained by theological terms and formularies, which at least must be taken to be conventional, till they are shown to be the necessary and only possible deductions from the sacred text. Now this has never been proved; and I have no hesitation in saying, that no honest and intelligent criticism can prove them to be sufficiently warranted, biblically or philosophically, for exclusive acceptance: nor are they strictly reconcilable with the true, genuine, uninterpolated writings of the fathers of the first, second, and third centuries. I speak advisedly; for I have read these writings with a sincere desire to understand and appreciate them; and, in judging them, I use nothing but the liberty, or rather I exercise the duty, of a Protestant Christian searching for truth. Those orthodox divines forget, what our excellent friend Maurice has, for many years, endeavoured, it appears in vain, to impress upon them, — that revelation reveals truth, but does not make truth, — that truth must be true in itself. Now, if true in itself, in its substance, not through any outward authority, revealed truth must be intelligible to reason. For reason is of the Divine substance, the image and reflection of the eternal, Divine reason, and therefore able to discover (as it is acknowledged to have done) the laws of the movements of the celestial bodies in space, and (as it must be allowed to have done to a certain degree) the laws of the human mind moving in time.

The same answer I must return to those who, seeing these difficulties, and despairing both of human reason and of the Scriptures, fly, in their materialist faithlessness, which makes them rebel against the God within

them and in the Scriptures, to the external authority of a set of priests claiming infallible authority for their decrees, — I care little whether from Rome, or from any other place. My first argument against their absurd sophism is this: Either Christianity is true; or it is not true. The Scriptures either contain the word of God to mankind; or they do not contain it. Christ either spoke the truth; or he did not speak it. Now if Christianity be not true (and the deepest scepticism stares at me in many of their writings), what authority in the world can make it true? But if it be true (as of course they ought to assume), it is true, because true in itself, and wants no authority whatever to make it true. But that is not all I have to say to them on this point. If what the Church asserts of Christ and Christinity is divinely true, and therefore true by its own divine substance, it is essential that this should not be conceived to be true through an authority placed between Scripture and the conscience.

No divine authority is given to any set of men to make truth for mankind. The supreme judge is the Spirit of the Church, that is to say, in the universal body of men professing Christ. The universal conscience is God's highest interpreter. If Christ speaks truth, his words must speak to the human reason and conscience, whenever and wherever they are preached: let them, therefore, be preached. If the Gospels contain inspired wisdom, they must themselves inspire with heavenly thoughts the conscientious inquirer and the serious thinker: let them, therefore, freely be made the object of inquiry and of thought. Scripture, to be believed true with a full conviction, must be at one with reason: let it, therefore, be treated rationally. By taking this course we shall not lose strength; but we shall gain a strength which no Church ever had. There is strength in Christian discipline, if freely accepted by those who are to submit to it: there is strength in spiritual authority, if freely acknowledged by those who care for Christ: there is strength unto death in the enthusiasm of an unenlightened people, if sincere, and connected with lofty moral ideas. But there is no strength to be compared with that of a faith which identifies moral and intellectual conviction with religious belief, with that of an authority instituted by such a faith, and of a Christian life based upon it, and striving to Christianise this world of ours, for which Christianity was proclaimed. Let those who are sincere, but timid, look into their conscience: and ask themselves whether their timidity proceeds from faith, or whether it does not rather betray a want of faith. Europe is in a critical state, politically, ecclesiastically, socially. Where is the power able to reclaim a world, which, if it be faithless, is become so under untenable and ineffective ordinances? which, if it is in a state of confusion, has become confused by those who have spiritually guided it? Armies may subdue liberty; but armies cannot conquer ideas: much less can Jesuits and Jesuitical principles restore religion, or superstition revive faith. I deny the prevalence of a destructive and irreligious spirit in the hearts of the immense majority of the people. I believe that the world wants not less, but more religion. But, however this be, I am firmly convinced that God governs the world, and that He governs it by the eternal ideas of truth and justice engraved on our conscience and reason; and I am sure that nations, who have conquered, or are conquering, civil liberty for themselves, will sooner or later as

certainly demand liberty of religious thought, and that those whose fathers have victoriously acquired religious liberty, will not fail to demand civil and political liberty also. With these ideas, and with the present irresistible power of communicating ideas, what can save us except religion, and therefore Christianity? But then it must be a Christianity based upon that which is eternally God's own, and is as indestructible and as invincible as He is himself: it must be based upon Reason and Conscience. I mean reason spontaneously embracing the faith in Christ, and Christian faith feeling itself at one with reason and with the history of the world. Civilised Europe, as it is at present, will fall; or it will be pacified by this liberty, this reason, this faith. To prove that the cause of Protestantism in the nineteenth century is identical with the cause of Christianity, it is only necessary to attend to this fact; that they both must sink and fall, until they stand upon this indestructible ground, which, in my inmost conviction, is the real, genuine, original ground upon which Christ placed it. Let us, then, give up all notions of finding any other basis, all attempts to prop up faith by effete forms and outward things: let us cease to combat reason, whenever it contradicts conventional forms and formularies. We must take the ground pointed out by the Gospel, as well as by the history of Christianity. We may then hope to realise what Christ died for, to see the Church fulfil the high destinies of Christianity, and God's will manifested by Christ to mankind, so as to make the kingdoms of this earth the kingdoms of the Most High. I am aware, my dear friend, that all this is only true of the true religion: nobody but a fanatic or an idiot can apply this test to any other. But here my dilemma returns: either Christianity is that true religion; or on what plea do you reason with us on Christianity, and lay down the law, as being infallible like God?

Taking this high ground, I hope I am truly thankful to find that there is visible and traceable in the history of Christianity the overruling power of the Divine Spirit. This spirit I believe to be infused into the universality of the human conscience, which is identical with the God-fearing and God-loving reason, and which answers in those sublime regions to what in things connected with the visible world is called common sense. This divine power of reason and conscience I find to have been so great, that it has overruled all the imperfections and errors both of ancient and modern communities and formularies. Any Protestant Christian, who, taking a Christian view of the world's history, and leading a Christian life, goes rationally and conscientiously through the history of Christianity, can feel himself in perfect communion with the Churches of the East and West, and see the working of the Spirit in scholastic, and even in Tridentine definitions, if he will only interpret the Scriptures honestly and according to the general rules of interpretation; if he take the writings of the fathers according to the spirit, as a limited part of the development of Christianity, and judge their speculations, not as aggressive dogmatism, but as philosophical explanations given in self-defence; and finally, if he consider the decrees and formularies of those Churches, not in the light of his own system, but as they were understood by the members of those Churches. I confess, that, as I prefer St. John's and St. Paul's speculative doctrines infinitely to those of the fathers of the

second and third centuries, so I prefer theirs considerably to the formulary of Nice, with the letter of which I cannot conscientiously find that they agree. Allowing this, I must see, in all the following definitions of the Councils, an element of imperfection, of defect, of error, which develops itself necessarily in the same ratio as the development goes on; just as the element of truth, which I find by the side of it, must manifest itself more and more, in the same degree as the true orginal groundwork is more consistently maintained against destructive efforts. And going patiently along with men like Neander and Dorner, through all the dark and darkening ages from the fourth to the seventh century, I arrive at the conclusion respecting the formularies concerning the divine and human nature and will, that even the later Councils would have been decidedly wrong, if they had laid down the contrary of what they maintain, which would have been what the heretics either said, or were (sometimes with evident injustice) supposed to have said. 'If there is any manifest proof of a divine ordinance of human destinies, it is the history of the Church. There were certainly many circumstances which wonderfully facilitated the spreading and the maintenance of Christianity. The ancient nationalities were worn out. Judaism had merged into Rabbinism; and the destruction of Jerusalem had extinguished the sanctuary, with which, since Ezra, the faith of the Jews had been identified. Heathenism had also lost its national basis and local faith: the unbelief of the Romans was grosser than that of the Greeks; so was their remaining superstition. The human mind was yearning after some high and restoring union and fusion of the different nationalities; and the idea of a common humanity and a common truth, born out of Christianity, was the fulfilment of the world's deepest longings. But then look at the difficulties. First, there was the decaying civilisation of an effete world; and on the other side the barbarism of a fresh and noble, but wholly undeveloped conquering race. There was no nation, no national life, the only sound supporters of a pure and hallowing religion: there was a general decay in literature, in learning, in philosophy: there was a universal despair as to the destinies of mankind. The world seemed to be actually governed, not by God, but by the devil. Then look to the inward difficulties. There was a very imperfect representation of the Christian Church in all the Councils, to begin with that of Nice,—a system excluding any action of the laity, which means the Christian people, and representing only a part even of the clergy. Then there were all the intrigues of Byzantine emperors and empresses, imperial aide-de-camps, and palace eunuchs. There were the passions and ambition of an uncontrolled clergy. There was the *odium theologicum* of the doctors. Finally, there was the rage of the ruling powers of the age for realising Christianity, not in social institutions, not in the duties and works of love, but almost exclusively in hierarchical discipline, and for making the sole test of communion with Christ and God consist in certain speculative formularies, which necessarily brought their antagonist principles, and therefore schism and persecution along with them. This rage was intimately connected with the despair of the human mind, and with the death of all nations, and of all national life. Debarred from such an existence,—the end for which man was created (because the only means of realising God's purpose with the world),—

having no fatherland to cling to, no national institutions to defend, all the leading Christian minds were seized with the appalling idea, that this world was drawing to its end, and shared, so far, the despairing feelings of the rest of mankind. They looked to another world with faith; but they did not feel a vocation to make this world itself, with its social and national institutions, the object of their Christian thoughts and efforts. Now the great miracle of the history of the last fifteen hundred years is, that the world was renewed notwithstanding all this, and that the fundamental records and ideas of Christianity have been saved, and, although very imperfectly, developed, and preserved for future development, in the whole of Christendom as it exists at present in the East and the West.

Against the pretension of those formularies to be rules of faith, I must move the saving clause of *quatenus concordant*, and that in a twofold manner. I must limit my assent to their clear concordance, not only with Scripture (which is the great Protestant principle), but also with the earlier fathers and decrees: for, in the sense of the ancient Churches, it is this continuity which gives them a claim to supreme authority, and invests them with the infallibility of the Church. Now this continuity, whatever be its value, does not exist, as to what the ancient Churches say or are supposed to say, except partially and imperfectly. Therefore, beginning from the formulary of Nice, all confessions of faith stand doubly upon sufferance, so soon as they aspire to supreme authority.

That limited truth which they possess is all they ought to aspire to, not only because they are merely true in a limited sense, but also because an unlimited authority attributed to them crushes the very element of life in them. I defy those who claim more, to show me any author of our time, whether Catholic or Protestant, who, being wedded to the letter of any formulary, has gone through this research, philosophically and historically, and has not evidently betrayed facts and reason, or been brought either to open scepticism, or else to that dry and unproductive outward formalism, which is only another form of scepticism. No Protestant in particular will ever arrive at that satisfactory result, which the history of the Church and of the world presents to me, and feel his mind settled both as a philosopher and a Christian, who takes his stand on the confused and idealess formalism of that age of despair and hypocrisy, the second part of the seventeenth, and the first part of the eighteenth century. If he can read the old fathers critically, and will be consistent, he will arrive at open unbelief. Let no one search, unless he be prepared to take the high ground of Christian life and liberty, and to apply historical criticism to the facts, and independent speculation to the ideas, of Christianity. But above all let him be honest and true. Whoever makes a bargain with his reason and conscience, will bruise and twist them, and lose all power of conviction and of faith. This is true, not only individually, but also nationally.

As to those who love servitude, and fancy they can avert scepticism by authority, and to those who show their Christian charity by priestly anathemas, their learning by ignoring facts, and their wisdom by superseding Christian wisdom with arbitrary decisions and dictates, let me say to them with Christian frankness, what Hippolytus says to the Quartodecimans. If they will take the formularies of the Councils and of the Church as a

law binding upon them, let them show reason why they do not take them all,—not only all the formularies, past, present, and future, but also the other ordinances which the same Councils, with the same authority, have laid upon mankind. Hippolytus' argument holds good against them: if they are bound by any part of the law, as such, they are bound by the whole. As to ourselves, my dearest friend, let us thank God that we are not thus bound; and let us live, and, if necessary, die, for the precious liberty of the children of God!

III.

Conclusion. Address to all Men to fulfil their divine Destiny.

"Such is the true doctrine about the Deity, O ye men, Hellenes and Barbarians, Chaldæans and Assyrians, Egyptians and Libyans, Indians and Ethiopians, Celts, and ye captains, the Latins*, and all ye who dwell in Europe, Asia, and Libya, to whom I am become a counsellor, being a benevolent disciple of the benevolent Logos, in order that, flocking to us, ye may be taught by us, who is the true God, and what is well-ordered workmanship, and may not attend to the sophisms of artful reasonings, nor to the vain promises of delusive heretics, but to the grave simplicity of unadorned truth. By this knowledge ye will escape the approaching threat of the fire of judgment, and the dark lightless eye of Tartarus, never illumined by the voice of the Logos, and the ebullitions of the overflowing lake of hellish fire, and the ever fixed, threatening eye of the avenging angels of Tartarus, and the worm which winds itself without rest round the foaming body to feed upon it. This thou wilt escape, having been taught to know the true God; and thou wilt have an immortal body, together with an imperishable soul, and wilt receive the kingdom of Heaven: having lived on earth, and having known the heavenly King, thou wilt be a companion of God, and a fellow-heir with Christ, not subject to lust, or passions, or sickness. For thou hast become God. For whatever hardships thou hadst to suffer when a man, He gave them to thee because thou wast a man; but that which is proper to God, God has declared that he will give thee because thou art deified, being born again an immortal. This is the meaning of *Know thyself*, to know God who has made thee. For to know oneself becomes him who is called by God, to be known by him.

"Therefore, O men, persist not in your enmity; and doubt not that you will exist again. For Christ is he, whom the God of all has ordered to wash away the sins of mankind, renewing the old man, having called him his image from the beginning typically, showing forth his love to thee. If thou art obedient to his solemn behests, and becomest a good follower of him who is good, thou wilt become like him, honoured by him. For

* This is a piece of learning and a speech of his own. For in the "Chronicle" Hippolytus says (sect. ii. p. 50.), "Romani qui et Latini." Perhaps he had an apocalyptical reason for this, considering *Latinus*, as Irenæus did, to be the word signified by the secret number 666, as denoting the pagan Roman power. Indeed I find he adopts this interpretation from his master in his treatise about Antichrist (Opp. i. p. 25.).

God acts the beggar towards thee, and having made thee God to his glory." . . . . . .

Now before I say a word on this third part of the exposition of the true faith by Hippolytus, let me request you to direct your attention to the state of our manuscript.

You will have perceived that our text ends abruptly, in the midst of a sentence, with rather startling words: "God acts the beggar towards thee, and having made thee God to his glory" * . . .

Certainly the book did not end here, nor with this period. So solemn an address could never come to a close without the doxology, which terminates the "Treatise on the Universe" (Opp. i. 222.). How then can a book of such length and labour, the work of his life, have ended without it? But, moreover, must it not have had a solemn conclusion, worthy of what precedes? The whole winding up, the real conclusion, is wanting. We have, at the utmost, come to the closing sentence of what I have called the third article of the author's Confession of Faith: no further, if so far.

Herein I am sure, my dear friend, you go along with me. But will you not think me too bold, or too fanciful, if I assert, that Providence has most probably preserved for us the real conclusion? and that the chasm, between the end of our text and the beginning of the fragment I allude to, is perhaps not very great?

I am sure you will at least listen patiently to my reasons for what appears so strange a conjecture.

You recollect the very beautiful and justly admired second fragment, which in our editions of Justin's works is given as the end of that patristic gem, the "Epistle to Diognetus." This epistle is certainly the work of a cotemporary of Justin the martyr: and Hefele has very properly received it into his collection of the Apostolic Fathers. You will also be aware, that, though the second fragment appears as the conclusion of that epistle in the only MS. we possess, most critics have believed it to be the end of some lost work of antiquity. The manuscript says itself, the original which the scribe copied had here a chasm (ἐγκοπή). How many words or sheets had fallen out, he evidently did not know. I cannot here state all the reasons which have induced me to believe that this fragment does not belong to the letter to Diognetus. In the edition which I have prepared of this relic, I believe I have proved that the letter to Diognetus is the lost early letter of Marcion, of which Tertullian speaks as being Catholic, but that we possess only the first half of it; and that the second fragment, that which has an end, but no beginning, must be by another author. That letter is addressed to a Gentile who had put some curious philosophical questions to the writer respecting Christianity and the Christians: and it is evidently written immediately after the great Jewish rebellion under Hadrian. Indeed it is highly probable that the Diognetus addressed in that letter is no other

* Our learned editor assures us that what follow next are astrological absurdities. These absurdities, we must suppose, occupy the whole of folio 136., for it is only on folio 137. that the passage about the antiquity of Jewish wisdom begins, which the editor has judiciously inserted in its proper place, after 132.

than Diognetus the philosopher, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, of whom that good emperor speaks so feelingly and gratefully in his memoirs.

The second fragment on the other hand addresses, not one, but many: the author speaks as a teacher of the Gentiles, being himself a disciple of the man-loving Word. He speaks of his great labour and knowledge, which out of love he had communicated to his fellow-creatures: and he expresses his firm belief, that the Word will settle all difficulties about "times," and that the Lord's Passover will progress in order. He then concludes with a solemn doxology.

But hear his own words: *

"I do not preach strange things; nor am I irrationally zealous; but, having been a disciple of the Apostles, I am become a teacher of the Gentiles, imparting that which has been delivered to the worthy disciples of truth. For how should he who has been rightly taught, and been beloved by the Word, not strive to learn clearly what the Word has manifested to His disciples? For to them the word revealed himself when He appeared, speaking openly, not recognised by the unbelieving, but published by his disciples, who, having been accounted faithful by Him, understood the mysteries of the Father. For this reason the Father sent the Word, that he might appear to the world; and He, though rejected by the Jewish people, was preached by the apostles, and believed in by the nations. This is He who was from the beginning, who appeared as new and is found to be old, and who, ever young, is begotten in the hearts of believers. This is He who has ever been, and to-day is accounted a Son, by whom the Church is enriched, and that simple grace is made abounding in the believers, which vouchsafes understanding, which manifests the mysteries of God, which announces the times, which rejoices over the faithful, which is given to those who seek it, who do not break their sworn faith, nor overstep the boundaries set by their fathers. Then the fear of the law is sung, and the grace of the prophets is understood, and the faith of the Gospels is established, and the tradition of the Apostles is preserved, and the Church leaps for joy. If thou dost not grieve this grace, thou wilt come to know that which the Word preaches, by those whom He chooses, when He will. For whatever we are moved, by the will of the Word commanding us, to announce to you, with labour and out of love, we become to you messengers of the things which have been revealed to us. If you read and hear these things with diligence, you will know what God vouchsafes to those who rightly love him, and you will become a paradise of delight, raising in yourselves a tree all fruitful and flourishing, adorned with manifold fruits. For in this garden are planted the tree of knowledge, and the tree of life. But it is not the tree of knowledge that kills: it is disobedience that kills. For it is not written without a meaning, that God in the beginning planted the tree of knowledge and the tree of life in the midst of Paradise, typifying the life through knowledge. Our first parents, not using that knowledge rightly, through the seductions of the serpent, have been deprived (of life). For

* In the first edition of these Letters I had printed also the Greek text, which I have now given in the First Volume of the Analecta, and therefore omit here. — 1854.

there is neither life without knowledge; nor is there abiding knowledge without true life; wherefore they were planted beside each other. And because the Apostle saw this power, and wished to blame knowledge when applied to life, without the command of truth, he says: "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth." For he who imagines that he knows any thing, without that true knowledge, which receives witness from the life, is ignorant, and is seduced by the serpent, not having loved to live. But he who has learned knowledge with fear, and seeks life, plants in hope, waiting for the fruit. May, therefore, thy heart be knowledge, and may true wisdom be vouchsafed to thee as life! If thou bearest the tree of that wisdom, and lovest its fruit, thou wilt ever eat that which abounds before God, which the serpent does not touch; and Eve will not come near to seduce thee; nor will she be defiled, but will be trusted as a virgin. And salvation is made manifest, and the Apostles have got understanding, and the Lord's Passover advances, and His flocks are gathered in, and all that is not well ordered is harmonised, and to teach the faithful is the delight of the Word, by whom praise is given to the Father, to whom be glory for ever and ever: Amen."

I will sum up my argument in a few words.

We want an end for our great work in ten books, a winding-up worthy of the grand subject, of the author's high standing and pretensions, and with the solemnity of a concluding address. Now we find such a concluding fragment, which wants a beginning and an author. Whether we consider its contents, or its style, if it is not, it might very well be, the close of our work.

The author of the fragment takes the same ground as ours. He calls himself a disciple of the Logos, and a teacher of the Gentiles; so does Hippolytus. He preaches the Logos as the all-inspiring principle; so does Hippolytus. He attributes this Spirit to the Church, that is to say, to the community of the faithful disciples of the apostles: so does Hippolytus. The working of that Spirit, infused into the community of Christians, will lead to harmony and concord respecting faith, worship, times of festivals. All this is just what Hippolytus lived and wrote for, as our next letter will prove still more closely, which will also afford us ample opportunity of showing in detail the unity, not of doctrine only, but also of style and language, between our book and the fragment.

Now, before I proceed to this last inquiry, shall I, my dear friend—I believe I must—say something in defence of our author, to those who may be inclined to fly off directly, and to despair of his orthodoxy, or to deny the authenticity of our book, on account of certain expressions, in the third and concluding part of his Confession of Faith, which to some people in our time may sound as pantheistic, if not atheistic? It appears to me that the orthodoxy of such people respecting the Spirit is as idealess and dead as respecting the Logos and the Son. They have just as much cause for being alarmed by this third article on account of what they call Pantheism, as by the second on account of a supposed incorrect Trinitarianism. If they will read any philosophical father of the first centuries, even Athanasius himself, they will be shocked by expressions respecting the nature and intelligence of man very much like these; expressions cer-

tainly abhorrent from the terminology of Paley and Burnet, as much as from the language of the Roman Catechism, but not at all, that I can see, from the words of St. Paul and St. John, nay of Christ himself. What can they find stronger than St. Paul's saying, "In Him we live, and move, and have our being," or than Christ's repeated declarations respecting the identity of the human and Divine nature? Before they identify Christianity with a bare theism, let them look at what it has produced among those who know nothing better;—a maimed Judaic Mohammedanism, a system impotent to connect God with his own manifestation, a system which gives us an extramundane God, with a godless world and nature, which leaves man, God's image, in a position irreconcilable with Christ's most solemn words and promises, and which degrades Revelation itself to an outward communication, which, as one of their apostles said, might (for aught he could see) have been vouchsafed just as well to a dog, if it had so pleased God. So much for theism and the theistical criticism upon our author's concluding sentences. As to the authenticity of such expressions, we shall presently have more of Hippolytus' pantheism, if pantheism it be. In the mean time I remain,

Your faithful friend,

BUNSEN.

FIFTH LETTER.

HIPPOLYTUS' LIFE AND WRITINGS, AND THE THEOLOGICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL CHARACTER OF HIS AGE.

Carlton Terrace, 27th June, 1851.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I AM sure you have been wondering why, in proving that Origen is not the author of our work, I have not availed myself of an argument which has forced itself upon us in almost every section of this remarkable document—I mean the impossibility that such a book should have been written at Alexandria, or by an Alexandrian scholar who had merely passed a short time at Rome, as a visitor in the time of Zephyrinus. How could Origen, in his literary seclusion, have known all that passed many years later in the bosom of the College of Cardinals, or the Roman presbytery, as it was then called? all the ecclesiastical *coteries* and chit-chat of Rome? How should he know, or what would he care, that such and such a Christian banker in Victor's time, who was dead when young Origen came to Rome, lived in the quarter called *Piscina publica?* How could he know what Alcibiades the Assyrian talked at Rome under Callistus about the Elchasaite impostures? or so many other things and facts with which his genuine writings show no acquaintance?

I can assure you, that I feel the force of this argument very strongly. I even hope to extend it much further, and to establish in this letter that, above all, Origen never could have written the Confession of Faith which we have just read; for the simple reason that his own Confession of Faith is based upon a different system, and bears a decidedly different character, even in language, style, and in its theological terms. In short, I am convinced that every thing in our book points, not only to the West, but to Rome itself, and that, if the ancient authorities did not tell us that Hippolytus wrote a book with the same identical title, and if we did not learn from Photius that it contained exactly what we have found in all its details, we must have come to the conclusion that Hippolytus wrote it,—supposing it granted that Hippolytus was a Roman.

But this is precisely the point which I am obliged to prove first. Everybody had indeed thought so, till, in the seventeenth century, the French ecclesiastical writer, Le Moyne, not knowing how to reconcile earlier and later titles given to Hippolytus in the traditions about his martyrdom, took up the unfortunate notion that the *Portus Romanus* (or rather *Portus urbis Romæ*) mentioned as his bishopric, was the *Portus Romanus* (or *Romanorum*) in Arabia, now called Aden. Did not Eusebius mention Hippolytus along with Beryllus of Bostra, which is in Arabia? Tillemont Le Nain felt himself in a similar embarrassment, but was content to say that the title of Bishop of Portus might be an invention. The only

reason he gave for this sweeping sentence was, that there is a great confusion about the said Hippolytus, and that wise men of his Church found that, to do justice to all the traditions, two Hippolytuses were not enough, and that there must have been three. On the other hand, good honest Ruinart declared very judiciously he saw no necessity either for two or for three; and although there were no genuine "Acta Martyrii" of Hippolytus, bishop of Portus, near Ostia, whose death Prudentius had sung, his celebrated hymn upon this martyr was as good as other "Acts."

Unhappily this did not satisfy Cave, the canon of Windsor, when in his elaborate literary ecclesiastical history, he came to treat of Hippolytus, in a very learned, but infelicitous and uncritical article. Questioning many points which are well established, and rejecting the very best evidence (as Dodwell is so apt to do), he not only embraces Le Moyne's opinion, but goes so far as to say that there are only two points on which he has no doubt: first, that Hippolytus was a bishop in Arabia; and, secondly, that he was a native of that country. Yet it is not difficult to show that Le Moyne's conjecture as to the first point is not only groundless, but involves impossibilities, and that the second assumption is purely gratuitous, and contradicted by the most positive evidence.

Leaving the dead to bury their dead, and the critics of that school to explain misunderstandings and fables as they like, I will place the whole inquiry upon the solid basis of authentic facts and clear evidence.

Eusebius (H. Eccl. vi. 20.), having arrived at the times of Zephyrinus, or the beginning of the third century, says, that at that period flourished some distinguished ecclesiastical authors; and he then names "Beryllus of Bostra in Arabia, and Hippolytus, who also was the chief of some other church," which may designate a single town, as well as a whole diocese in the common sense.

You see immediately how slender the ground would be for making Hippolytus an Arabian bishop, because he lived at the same time with, and is here mentioned immediately after, Beryllus, who was a bishop in that country. Supposing we knew nothing about his native country, and were to be guided by probabilities, it must appear the most unlikely thing in the world, that two out of the three most prominent ecclesiastical authors in Christendom at a given period (Caius the presbyter is the third), should both be bishops in Arabia. Nor is it difficult to explain how it happened that, if (as we shall see presently) Hippolytus was bishop of the Harbour of Rome, Eusebius should either not know, or not understand it. First, Eusebius was entirely a man of the East; and his literary knowledge of the Western Church in the second and third centuries is notoriously most defective. In the second place, the title of Bishop of the Harbour of Rome must have appeared rather apocryphal to an Eastern writer in Constantine's time, who knew something of the power and influence of "the bishop of old Rome." He had before him a correct list of those bishops of Rome; and no Hippolytus was among them: and what could a separate bishop of the "Harbour of Rome" mean? I have no doubt, Eusebius found in his authorities about Hippolytus,—for I do not suspect him of having read his works,—what we find, that he was a bishop of that harbour; but he thought it a mistake, a blunder, a false writing, and therefore expressed himself guardedly.

But is it not strange, that Jerome, in his short treatise on the illustrious ecclesiastical writers in early times, should repeat these very words of Eusebius, adding, "the name of the town (of which Hippolytus was bishop) I could not learn"? This may sound as a very high authority in the ears of those who have never read Jerome's historical writings critically, in particular that treatise of his, which, on the whole, is little more than an extract from Eusebius, just as his "Chronicle" is a translation from that of Eusebius. Jerome was not a man of research: as a good Roman (although by birth a Dalmatian), he made inquiries only for immediate practical purposes; and, as a very pugnacious and not very good-humoured theological writer, he cared little for such historical information about old times as he did not particularly like. The doctrines of the fathers of the second and early part of the third century were not to his taste: but he takes care not to attack them: on the contrary, he defends and uses them against the heretics of his time, and against his opponents. I have no doubt, he could easily have found out what place Eusebius meant, as Hippolytus' diocese and residence; for in this article he quotes some works of Hippolytus, not mentioned by Eusebius. But why should he take the trouble? Hippolytus' violent attack upon Callistus, as not only a liar and a scoundrel, but as a heretic, was a disagreeable subject. The phrase above quoted means therefore simply, *Non mi ricordo.*

At all events, it is clear that neither in Eusebius, nor in Jerome, is there the slightest indication of their having taken Hippolytus for an Arab and an Arabian bishop. They say they do not know where he was bishop; but that a bishop he was, and a very eminent ecclesiastical writer of his time.

Of the Byzantine writers, beginning with the seventh century, we have the following evidence as to Hippolytus having been Bishop of Portus, the Harbour of Rome. The Chronicon Paschale, which, among other quotations of undoubted authenticity, as that from the treatise of the learned Alexandrian bishop Peter (who suffered martyrdom about 311). respecting the celebration of Easter, and that from Athanasius, also gives quotations from Hippolytus, as we have shown, from our own book (p. 107.).* Hippolytus is here designated "Bishop of the so-called Portus, near Rome."

Anastasius, the Roman presbyter (about the year 650), the learned chronicler of his Church, and who knew and used the old fathers, calls Hippolytus "the bishop of Portus, that is, of the Harbour of Rome" (Fabr. i. 213.). Nicephorus the Constantinopolitan (about 830), in his "Chronography," calls him "a Roman historiographer," evidently with allusion to our work. The learned Syncellus (about 880), mentions Hippolytus in his "Chronicle," at the proper place, under Callistus (p. 358.), and calls him most correctly "Saint Hippolytus, the philosoper, bishop of Portus, which is near Rome." The Byzantine historiographer, Nicephorus, son of Callistus (about the year 1320), who treats very accurately of Hippolytus, calls him "a Roman bishop," which, though inaccurate,

* Or from the first less comprehensive Treatise, Hippolytus wrote on the same subject.—1854.

is easily reducible to the exact truth, and to his usual designation among the later Greek writers, who also give him the epithet of Papa (which means bishop), or Nonnus (which signifies the same, or an abbot).*

Against all this evidence is to be put a barbarous title, placed over a quotation from Hippolytus, ascribed to pope Gelasius, in a collection of testimonies about the two natures in Christ.† The passage quoted is indeed found in Hippolytus' treatise against the heresy of Noetus; and pope Gelasius (about 492) may have quoted it. But the title which this quotation bears in the MS. is evidently not by Gelasius, but by a barbarous hand, as the wording shows:—"Hippolyti episcopi et martyris Arabum metropolis in Memoria hæresium." There is neither grammar nor sense in these words.‡ The passage is not in "Memoria hæresium,"

* Döllinger pretends that Nonnus cannot signify Bishop, and says it occurs first in Jerome, who uses it as synonymous with "chaste." The fact is, that Jerome in his spirited letter to Eustochium (xxii. 16.) speaks of the pretended holiness of some females who were called "Castæ et Nonnæ;" which, on the contrary, proves that the two words do not mean the same. Indeed, how should they? Nonnus, Nonna, comes from *Νάννος*; *νάννος, νάννη*, uncle, aunt; and its Italian form (nonno, nonna,) is used to designate grandfather and grandmother. It appears even to occur in an ancient inscription, in the sense of nurse (nutrix). The leading idea is a reverential expression for an elder relative. The rule of St. Benedict, therefore, enjoins to the younger brethren to call their "Priores" "Nonnos quod intelligitur paterna reverentia." Ducange gives more examples of this use throughout the latter centuries, in this sense and in the later one, as equivalent with Dominus, "Lord." It does, therefore, not signify specially an Abbott, as Ducange also expressly observes; but it is given to an Abbott, and it may have been given to a Bishop of the apostolical age. The upshot of the whole, therefore, is this: Hippolytus became early, among Byzantine writers, a mythical person, a man of the apostolical age, an eloquent and religious writer, a martyr, a first bishop "of the Harbour of Rome," then, shorter and more poetical, "of Rome." What should they call such a man more naturally than what we call him, "a Father?" for both Papa and Nonnus mean essentially this. As to the marvellous Döllingerian myth of Hippolytus, the Antipope of Calistus, I have given a full account of this unexpected discovery in the Appendix to my Picture of Hippolytus.—1854.

† Bibl. Patr. tom. viii. ed. Lugdun.; Fabricii Hippol. i. 225.

‡ Döllinger thinks the barbarous separation of "*episcopi*" and "*Arabum metropolis*" is not too bad Latin for a pope of the end of the fifth century: I confess what I have read of him in Mansi makes me still believe that he wrote a well stylicised Latin, rhetorical, but not at all barbarous. But the best is that Döllinger finds in these words an argument against my assumption of Hippolytus having been Bishop of Portus, but not at all against his own, that he was Bishop of Rome. Galasius, then, according to him, might ignore that Hippolytus was one of his predecessors; but if he had been Bishop of Portus, how could he have helped knowing it? The Bostra blunder, arising from the accidental juxtaposition in Eusebius of Hippolytus and Beryllus, Bishop of Bostra in Arabie, goes on in the East by the side of another blunder which originally was nothing but an inaccurate designation given to Hippolytus by calling him Bishop of Rome instead of Bishop of the Harbour. This disjunction we find in the following authors (Döll. p. 91. sq.):

1. Presbyter Eustratius of Constantinople, in 582, a man of no eminent authority, quotes a passage out of the Book on Daniel by Hippolytus, the Martyr, and Bishop of Rome (Fabric. Hipp. ii, 32.)
2. Leontius of Constantinople, and Anastasius Sinaita, of the beginning of the seventh century.
3. Germanus of Constantinople, beginning of the eighth.

which ought to mean our great work: but as it exists in the special treatise against Noetus, we may suppose that this was the work which the barbarous copyist found mentioned. "Arabum metropolis" is an unfortunate basis to build a conjecture upon; for it originated, like many others, in a misinterpretation of the passage in Eusebius' "Ecclesiastical History," which we have already examined.

I may therefore safely sum up the evidence by saying, no ancient author makes Hippolytus an Arabian bishop; and all who name any place of his residence make him a Roman, bishop of the Harbour of Rome called Portus, opposite to Ostia.

It requires a special knowledge of the confusion which began in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and of the ignorance which prevails in many places at present respecting the earliest history of Episcopacy, and of the Church of Rome in particular, to understand how there can be anything surprising in the circumstance, that a Roman clergyman under Severus and Alexander could be called a presbyter, as a member of the clergy of the city of Rome, and could at the same time have the charge of the Church at Portus, for which there was no other title than the old one of bishop. For such was the title of every man who "presided over the congregation" in any city,—at Ostia, at Tusculum, in the other suburban cities. And what is rather curious, these cities have bishops now, as members of the presbytery of the city of Rome, with the body of certain presbyters and deacons of which they form the governing clerical board of the Church of Rome. The relation of those suburban bishops to the bishop of Rome must, in a certain degree, have been analogous to that which, in later times, existed between the suffragan bishops and the metropolitan; but we know nothing whatever of the particulars. That a place like Portus must have had its own bishop, cannot of course be doubted, as even much smaller towns had their bishop: their city was called their diocese, or their *parœcia*, and the members of their congregation or church their *plebs;* from which word, in later times, was derived the Italian word *pievano*, or parish priest. But in those times there existed no *parœciæ* in the sense of *parishes*, which is a corruption of that word There can therefore be no difficulty on this point; and he who wishes to know more of it need only read his Bingham, and the authorities there collected.* The city of Rome made an exception as to parishes: for, as

4. John of Damascus in his Eclogæ (about 730).
5. Georgius Syncellus (end of ninth century), in his Chronicon, *when treating* of the year of the birth of our Lord (p. 315 P.), names, among other writers, "the blessed Apostle and Archbishop of Rome Hippolytus, and sainted Martyr."

We have seen above, that, in its proper place, Hippolytus is designated by him as "Bishop of Portus, which is near Rome." Here, then, we have the direct proof in favour of our explanation: one and the same writer calls him Bishop of Portus, near Rome, and in a rhetorical passage he calls him Archbishop of Rome, which is still less inaccurate than the name of Apostle. Nor does Syncellus (or indeed any one else) give his name in the list of the Popes of Rome, although he does give the name of Antipopes. Such being the nature of the evidence, of what use can it be to quote seriously later Byzantine writers who go on in that strain?

I say nothing of the utter absurdity of that hypothesis itself.—1854.

* Origg. Eccl. lib. II. c. xii. t. i. p. 171. sqq. First Carthaginian Council (of

it was not thought convenient to have two bishops in the same town (although Linus and Cletus had been co-bishops, according to the best authorities), there were fixed local centres from the earliest times for the Christian work and administration; and I have proved elsewhere that they were connected with the Regionarian divisions of the city. After Constantine these divisions had their churches, called *Tituli* or *Cardines:* from which latter term the title *Cardinalis* for a parish priest is derived, a word which we know from the time of Gregory the First, about 600. That these primitive parish priests formed the governing clerical body of Rome, together with the Regionarian deacons, established for the service of the Christian poor and widows, is generally acknowledged: and there can scarcely be a doubt that the suburban bishops were connected with that body as assistants of the metropolitan. We know their modern constitution (since the eleventh century)*, by which the seven suburban bishops were declared the regular assistants of the pope, as "Cardinales Episcopi,"—a constitution unintelligible, if it did not rest upon their primitive connection with Rome; for Ostia and Portus were at that time miserable places, and had been so for centuries. This accounts also for the maintenance of the title of Bishop of Portus (Episcopus Portuensis), which is always given to one of the most eminent ecclesiastics of Rome. Now this title, Episcopus Portuensis, is that given to Hippolytus by the most ancient authorities, including Prudentius, as we shall see. The basilica of Saint Hippolytus at Portus is mentioned, as an object of solicitude and respect, in the lives of Leo III. and Leo IV., who, in the eighth and ninth centuries, restored and adorned it.† There is still the episcopal palace in the Porto of this day; and a tower near Fiumicino, on the spot where the branch of the Tiber is traversed, is called Torre di Sant' Ippolito.

His statue gives him the same title. This monument, I have said elsewhere, cannot have been erected on the spot where it was found before the time of Constantine, who, as well as Galla Placidia, under Theodosius the Great, erected sanctuaries and buildings in the old Christian cemetery on the Via Tiburtina, in a spot called *Ager Veranus.*‡ But certainly it could not be later than the sixth century, from the form of the letters in the inscription. Now this monument was found, as I have stated already in the first letter, just 300 years ago, in the spot which Prudentius has so graphically described in his (XI.) hymn on Saint Hippolytus; a hymn

256), Can. 117.: "Petilianus episcopus dixit, *in una plebe* Januarii collegæ nostri præsentis, in una diœcesi, quatuor sint constituti contra ipsum." In the third Carthaginian Council (397): "*plebes* . . . quæ episcopum nunquam habuerunt . . . accipiunt *rectores*, hoc est, *episcopos*." Nicephorus, v. 15., of Hippolytus: ἑτέρας παροικίας πρωεστώς, instead of the ἐκκλησίας of Eusebius.

* Van Espen, Jus Eccles. Univ. t. i. tit. 22. § 14.

† Liber Pontificalis, in Vita Leonis III.: "Leo III. fecit in basilica beati Hippolyti martyris in civitate Portuensi vestes," etc. In Vita Leonis IV.: "Leo IV. in ecclesia beati Hippolyti martyris quæ ponitur in insula Portuensi," etc.

‡ But it certainly may have been erected originally elsewhere, at Portus itself most likely, in his life-time, during the exile, or immediately after his death. Winkelmann thinks it worthy of the age of Alexander Severus. Döllinger makes besides the very judicious observation, that as the Paschal Cycle goes only from 222 to 333, it is not likely that it should have been erected at a later period.

written in the time of Theodosius and Honorius, and of which I shall presently say more. It is here only necessary to mention, that Prudentius calls his residence "Portus, at the mouth of the Tiber." The statue found in that place represents a Christian bishop sitting on his *cathedra*.* He is identified as Hippolytus, first, by the representation of the Paschal Cycle, beginning with Alexander Severus, mentioned as his invention by Eusebius, and by almost all the authors who speak of him; and, secondly, by the titles of many of the works which the same authors ascribe to him. Ideler†, with his usual good sense and judgment, says, the paschal table there represented necessarily implies that Hippolytus was a man of the West, and not an Arab; for it is entirely different from the Alexandrian Paschal Cycle used in the East. Besides, the two Latin letters, SS (that is, Bissextus), used in the midst of a Greek inscription, prove the man a Latin.‡ We may therefore say that this statue, found in the very same ancient Christian cemetery, which was visited and described under Theodosius as the place of rest of Hippolytus, the martyr and bishop, if it represents Hippolytus, as every body agrees, represents a Latin, and therefore the man of the Harbour of Rome.

As to the age of Hippolytus, there are one uniform tradition and one uniform testimony. He is reported to have lived under bishop Zephyrinus and Alexander Severus, at the beginning of the third century: his statue confirms this; and in the ten books which we have examined, he calls "his own time" the period from the end of Victor till after Callistus' death (ix. 1.). This book was evidently written after Callistus' death, which took place in 222, and therefore in the first year of Alexander Severus. In this book he quotes several other writings of his; he speaks of long and renewed researches; he appears during that whole period as a man of weight in the presbytery. All these circumstances, as well as the distance from Victor's death (198, the sixth year of Septimius Severus) to that of Callistus (about 222), which he speaks of as a cotemporary, prove that that our book was written by an old man. The time of Commodus (188 to 192) is familiar to him, with all particulars of the palace and of the presbytery.

It remains to be examined, when and where he suffered martyrdom. The chroniclers who mention his martyrdom place it under Alexander Severus. This, speaking literally, must be erroneous; for the Christians were singularly favoured and prosperous under that emperor. But in the very year of the death of Alexander Severus (235), the persecution of Maximin the Thracian began; and the authentic lists of bishops of the Church of Rome, written under Liberius, state that, under the consuls of that year, Severus and Quintianus, bishop Pontianus and "Hippolytus the presbyter" were "transported to Sardinia, the unwholesome island."

* I never thought I should be compelled to insist on this point. But some of my critics having passed over this circumstance with an ease not justified certainly by erudition. I challenge any one to give an instance of any ecclesiastic, except a bishop, ever having sat on a cathedra, that is to say, a raised arm-chair, such as there are still found in the ancient Egyptian Basilicas at Rome. A cathedra is for an ecclesiastic in the ancient Church fully as much an indication of the episcopal dignity as now the mitre and the crosier or ring.—*1854.*

† Handbuch der Chronologie, ii. 213. sqq.

‡ See Franz, Elementa Epigraphices Græcæ, p. 351.

As this point is of great importance for the historical criticism of the account given by Prudentius respecting the martyrdom of Hippolytus, I will insert below the original text of the "Catalogus Liberianus," compared with the most authentic (not yet published) text of the "Liber Pontificalis," from the Neapolitan MS. discovered by Pertz, — a specimen of the criticism on the most ancient annals of the Church of Rome, which I have prepared. I add the corresponding two most authentic texts of the second recension, the "Catalogus Felicianus," and the Veronese text of the "Catalogus Paulinus." *

It is scarcely doubtful that this presbyter is our celebrated author. For, as we have seen, every one of the six or seven suburban bishops was member of the presbytery of the Church of Rome, and therefore, in a very succinct, summary list, such as that catalogue is, might be called a presbyter. Besides, after Maximin's persecution, there is none before that of Decius in 250, in which nobody says that Hippolytus suffered; nor do any of his writings point to the time after Alexander Severus. We may therefore set it down as a well attested fact, that Hippolytus suffered martyrdom under Maximin, in the first year of his reign, 236 of our era, or at all events before its close in 238. It is not surprising that we hear no further particulars about Hippolytus, if he died in that persecution: for we have scarcely any details about it.

* *Catalogus Liberianus*, sect. iv.

PONTIANUS, annis quinque, mensibus duobus, diebus septem. Fuit temporibus Alexandri a consulatu Pompeiani et Peligniani. Eo tempore Nepotianus (l. Pontianus) episcopus et Hippolytus presbyter exules sunt deportati in insulam nocivam Sardiniam Severo et Quintiano consulibus. In eadem insula discinctus est iv. kalendas Octobris, et loco ejus ordinatus est Anteros xi. kalendas Decembris consulibus suprascriptis.

Catalogus Felicianus, sect. vi.

PONTIANUS, natione Romanus ex patre Calpurnio, sedit an. viii. mens. v. dies ii. Martyrio coronatur temporibus Alexandri (sedit) a consulatu Pompeiani et Peliniani. Eodem tempore Pontianus episcopus et Hippolytus presbyter exilio sunt deputati ab Alexandro in Sardiniam insulam Bucinam, Severo et Quintiano consulibus. In eadem insula maceratus et afflictus fustibus, defunctus est iii. kal. Nov. Hic fecit ordinationes duas, presbyteros v. diaconos v. episcopos per loca vi. Quem B. Fabianus adduxit navigio et sepelivit in cœmeterio Calisti via Appia, die depositionis ejus ix. kal. Decembris.

Liber Pontificalis, cod. Neapol. sect. vii.

PONTIANUS sedit an. viii. menses v. dies ii. fuit autem temporibus Alexandria consulatu Pompeiani et Peliniani . . . in eandem insulam defunctus est iii. kal. Novembris et in ejus locum ordinatus est Antheros xi. kal. Decemb. . . Qui etiam sepultus est in cymiterio Calisti via Appia et cessavit episcopatum d. x.

Catalogus Paulinus, cod. Veron. sect. viii.

PONTIANUS, natione Romanus, patre Calpurnio, sedit annos v. menses ii. dies xxii. Martyrio coronatur. Hic fuit temporibus Alexandri a consulatu Pompejani et Peliniani. Eo tempore Pontianus episcopus et Hippolytus presbyter exilio sunt deportati ab Alexandro in Sardiniam insulam Bucinam, Severo et Quintiano consulibus: ibique maceratus fustibus, defunctus est vi. kal. Novembris. Hic fecit ordinationes ii. presbyteros vi. diaconos v. episcopos vii. quem beatus Fabianus adduxit et sepelivit in cœmeterio Catacumbarum. Cessavit episcopatus dies x.

(On the expression Cœmeterium Catacumbarum, instead of Cœmeterium Calisti, compare Roestell's remarks in the Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, tom. i. p. 374.)

Starting from this safe ground which we have gained, we can easily separate the historical from the mythical part of Prudentius' account of Hippolytus' martyrdom.

Prudentius found his "Memoria," or chapel, in the catacombs of an ancient cemetery. He calls the place (213, 214.) a spacious cavern (specus), although too small for the people who on the festal day of the place came to visit it:

> "Angustum tantis illud specus esse catervis
> Haud dubium est, ampla fauce licet pateat."

There can be no doubt about the site; for he says that by the side of this underground sanctuary was the great church in honour of Rome's protomartyr, S. Laurentius (215. sqq.), of which he gives a description, and an accurate and historical one, as my article on this basilica in the "Description of Rome" has shown.* I have proved there that what he saw is the splendid church which now takes the place of the apsis, and belongs to the fourth century. By the side of this basilica the ruins of a church of St. Hippolytus were still visible in the seventeenth century. On this spot the episcopal monument of Hippolytus was found in 1551. I have proved in the "Description of Rome" that this was the place of the old Christian catacombs, called "in Agro Verano," a locality on the ancient Tiburtine road. That Hippolytus' remains were deposited here, is attested by an authority greater, as well as more ancient, than that of the Spanish poet. The "Calendarium Liberianum," of the year 352, has the following article on the anniversary festival of St. Hippolytus:

> IDIB. AUG. HIPPOLYTI IN VIA TIBURTINA.

This indeed is the only authentic day connected with the history and memory of Hippolytus. Prudentius also says:

> "Si bene commemini, colit hunc pulcherrima Roma
> Idibus Augusti, mensis ut ipsa vocat."

We are therefore on historical ground, as far as the locality goes, where the remains of Hippolytus were deposited. But Prudentius also knows, that his residence was at the mouth of the Tiber, and at Portus (now Porto) itself:

> "Tyrrheni ad litoris oram,
> Quæque loca æquoreus proxima Portus habet."

He further knows that he had a flock, and therefore was at the head of an independent congregation or church, which, at that time, as we have seen, always had a bishop as rector. Speaking of the venerable martyr, he says:

> "*Plebis* amore *suæ* multis comitantibus ibat."

We have already seen that *plebs* is the term of the age for the people of a city, forming a diocese, and having a bishop at their head.

* Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, vol. ii. p. 329. sq., iii. C. p. 312—327. (Church of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura.)

That Portus became a bishopric, distinct from the neighbouring and almost adjacent one of Ostia, may easily be accounted for by its importance and peculiar character, as being, since Trajan's time at least, the real harbour of Rome, and the place of abode for all the foreigners whom commerce and trade brought across the sea to the banks of the Tiber.

But there are, certainly, circumstances which we must regard as a poetical amplification of popular tales. As mythical we must consider the very rhetorical and far-fetched story, that the wicked prefect, hearing his name was Hippolytus, ordered him to be torn in pieces by horses, as Hippolytus was of old; which does not prevent the cruel heathens around from stabbing him into the bargain. Still such was the accredited legend even in the time of Theodosius. Prudentius found it painted on the wall of the sanctuary of Hippolytus, by the side of the basilica of St. Laurentius. Indeed it is quite clear that his rhetorical account is taken from this remarkable picture, which at all events represented the saint's body as carried away by furious horses, and the remains collected by the faithful. (123—174.)

Exemplar sceleris paries habet illitus, in quo
Multicolor fucus digerit omne nefas.
Picta super tumulum species liquidis viget umbris,
Effigians tracti membra cruenta viri.
Rorantes saxorum apices vidi, optime Papa,
Purpureasque notas vepribus impositas.
Docta manus virides imitando effingere dumos
Luserat e minio russeolam saniem.
Cernere erat, ruptis compagibus ordine nullo
Membra per incertos sparsa jacere situs.
Addiderat caros, gressu lacrymisque sequentes,
Devia qua fractum semita monstrat iter.
Mœrore attoniti, atque oculis rimantibus ibant:
Implebantque sinus visceribus laceris.
Ille caput niveum complecturi ac reverendam
Canitiem molli confovet in gremio.
Hic humeros, truncasque manus, et brachia, et ulnas,
Et genua, et crurum fragmina nuda legit.
Palliolis etiam bibulæ siccantur arenæ,
Ne quis in infecto pulvere ros maneat.
Si quis et in sudibus recalenti aspergine sanguis
Insidet, hunc omnem spongia pressa rapit.
Nec jam densa sacro quidquam de corpore silva
Obtinet, aut plenis fraudat ab exsequiis.
Cumque recensitis constaret partibus ille
Corporis integri qui fuerat numerus:
Nec purgata aliquid deberent avia toto
Ex homine, extersis frondibus et scopulis:
Metando eligitur tumulo locus: Ostia linquunt:
Roma placet, sanctos quæ teneat cineres.
Haud procul extremo culta ad pomœria vallo
Mersa latebrosis crypta patet foveis.
Hujus in occultum gradibus via prona reflexis
Ire per anfractus luce latente docet.
Primas namque fores summo tenus intrat hiatu,
Illustratque dies limina vestibuli.
Inde ubi progressu facili nigrescere visa est
Nox obscura, loci per specus ambiguum;

Occurrunt cæsis immissa foramina tectis,
Quæ jaciant claros antra super radios.
Quamlibet ancipites texant hinc inde recessus
Arta sub umbrosis atria porticibus:
Attamen excisi subter cava viscera montis
Crebra terebrato fornice lux penetrat.
Sic datur absentis per subterranea solis
Cernere fulgorem, luminibusque frui.
Talibus Hippolyti corpus mandatur opertis,
Propter ubi apposita est ara dicata Deo. 170
Illa sacramenti donatrix mensa, eademque
Custos fida sui martyris apposita,
Servat ad æterni spem Judicis ossa sepulcro;
Pascit item sanctis Tibricolas dapibus.

Besides that picture, Prudentius found a tradition, according to which the venerable martyr had at one time followed a doctrine disapproved by the bishop of Rome, but died professing the Catholic truth and his attachment to the Cathedra Petri. This account must have been true, so far at least as the first part is concerned; but it certainly is inaccurate. The indication of the time is not correct, although it points clearly enough to the historical truth. The poet says:

Invenio Hippolytum, qui quondam schisma Novati
Presbyter attigerat, nostra sequenda negans.

Now Hippolytus is never brought into contact with Novatianism; and even when he wrote that book, in which he refers to many other preceding works, Novatus was not above the horizon. Hippolytus' historical horizon closes with the Callistian branch of Noetianism. Novatus' heresy cannot be placed earlier than 245; the year which Epiphanius, in a very loose manner, gives as that of Noetus and Noetianism, directly against all historical evidence. But Novatianism, which followed upon Noetianism had the same rigorous tendency (though more strongly brought out), which was advocated and urged against Noetianism by Hippolytus. In speaking somewhat inaccurately of Hippolytus' controversy with the Bishop of Rome, one might designate him as a friend of Novatianism. Of course Callistus rose, with the reaction of the Church against this heresy; and blame remained attached to the previous opinions of the martyr. In the course of the fourth century, those petty school-quarrels lost their interest, and those unedifying family scandals were studiously covered with a veil. Who would speak, at Rome, of Callistians? and how few, out of Rome, knew that nickname? What is, therefore, more natural than that Prudentius (or the popular tradition before him) should make the violent opposer of a bishop of Rome, who would not act upon the rigour lately exacted by Novatus, a cotemporary and friend of this heretic?

But if it is contrary to the rules of sound criticism to maintain the exact historical truth of such details, in an account by a Spanish poet, like Prudentius, it would be still more uncritical to consider, for that reason, the whole account as mythical, in spite of such historical evidence in its favour. The story could never have orignated, unless there was historical truth at the bottom: who otherwise, under Theodosius, would relate so disagreeable a fact? especially when recommending the saint (as Prudentius does) to the devotion and invocation of his orthodox diocesan, Valerian, bishop of

Cæsaraugusta (Saragoza), a historical person, known to have sat in a Spanish council in 381? Besides we now know there was good reason for the Roman hierarcy to disavow the doctrines professed by Hippolytus in his dispute with the bishop of Rome, and at the same time to connect his heterodoxy with Novatianism, rather than with a system once patronized by two successive bishops.

Thus, by separating the two elements in Prudentius' account, we find every statement cleared up as to Hippolytus' country and station. As to the time of his martydom, the question is, whether and how we can reconcile the fact of his transportation to Sardinia, at the very beginning of the reign of Maximin, with the account of his bloody martydom. Maximin seems to have intended to remove from Rome all the friends of Alexander, whose household consisted in great part of Christians. This having been accomplished by the banishment of the bishop of Rome and of Hippolytus, it is not likely that he should afterwards have added the sentence of death to that of deportation. Besides if there is any truth in the story which Prudentius, in the reign of Theodosius, found painted on the wall of the chapel erected over by the side of the tomb of Hippolytus in the catacombs, Portus, not Sardinia, must have been the scene of his martyrdom. Now it is very difficult to believe, that this account is without any foundation, as the person and his place of abode are so entirely historical. But I do not see why Hippolytus may not have been permitted to return, after the death of Pontianus in September, 236, and then, continuing his zealous activity at Portus and at Rome, have been sentenced to death for new offences. In this way there is no contradiction between the two stories; and the origin of the representation on the wall of his chapel, at farthest about 150 years later, is accounted for. Nobody reports that Hippolytus suffered martyrdom under Decius (249 — 251), which in itself would be most improbable, as we have not the slightest trace of his having lived till that time. As to the story of the martyrs at the mouth of the Tiger under Glaudius Gothicus (268 — 270), the date is as mythical for a man who calls the end of the second century his own time, as the whole nature of those fabulous "Acts," which were published at Rome towards the end of the last century, in a work of which I shall soon have to speak.*

The next question is the date of the removal of the remains of Hippolytus to that ancient Christian cemetery, near the resting-place of the Western protomartyr, St. Laurence, where Prudentius saw his sanctuary. Now if that removal took place (as is very probable) in the time of Constantine, we may safely affirm that about the same period, certainly not much later, the statue was erected to him, which we now admire in the Vatican Library. It may be still earlier; it cannot be later than the sixth century†. This statue therefore is older than the famous bronze statue of St. Peter, in the basilica of St. Peter's at Rome, which

* Ideler, Handbuch, ii. p. 214. no. 4. The title of the work is, "Acta Martyrum ad Ostia Tiberina sub Claudio Gothico, ex MS. codice regiæ bibliothecæ Taurinensis." Romæ, 1795, fol.

† I have, in a preceding note, expressly said that there is no reason to prevent its having been erected at Portus during his own life-time or immediately afterwards and the statue bears, as Winkelmann says, the character of that time.— 1854.

is a Byzantine work of the sixth century, and necessarily an entirely ideal statue. Thus, in the statue of Hippolytus, we have the most ancient Christian portrait of a historical person, a very respectable work of ancient art, and a venerable Christian monument, representing the most eminent writer of the Roman Church in his time. But it also preserves two valuable records of antiquity, — the Paschal Cycle, and a list of the martyr's writings, both engraved on the episcopal chair on which Hippolytus is seated.

As to the Paschal table, I must refer to Ideler's excellent and conclusive examination* for the proofs of its being a very imperfect contrivance. Although calculated for a period of 112 years (7 times 16), it is so faulty, that it must have been abandoned very soon. This imperfection is not surprising at Rome. At the time when the Greeks understood the art of making very accurate sundials, and even astronomical calculations, the Romans very confidently (and, I doubt not, very pompously) erected their trophy, the Syracusan dial, upon the Comitium, without the slightest notion that the united omnipotence of the senate and people of Rome could not make a dial transplanted to another meridian do its duty. If then, in the age of Alexander Severus, amidst the gradual decay of science and literature and art, which stares us in the face at every step in that period, Hippolytus tried courageously, but failed, we can only say that (in spite of his Greek ancestors, and his character as an apostle of the Gentiles), he was a true Roman.

So much for the Easter table of Hippolytus. But we have more to say about his writings. We have to examine the list on the monument, along with the catalogue which ancient writers give of his works, and with the quotations occurring in the "Catenæ Patrum" and similar Greek compilations. We have besides to inquire, how far we find in them the spirit and language of Hippolytus, the presbyter of the Roman Church, the bishop of the Roman harbour at Portus, the martyr under Maximin, and the writer of the work "On all the Heresies," now before us. In doing so, I hope I shall be able to vindicate the genuineness of some of the works of Hippolytus already known, as well as to give additional proofs of his having been the author of the book on the heresies. I hope also to gather some characteristic features for the picture of his character and of his age, which is to conclude my letter.

I shall divide the works of Hippolytus into four classes, — polemical, doctrinal, chronological, exegetical. My quotations will refer to the two folio volumes of Fabricius (Hamburg, 1716), the only edition of this neglected author to be had single. Gallandi's edition, in the second volume of his "Bibliotheca Patrum" (Venet. 1760, fol. tom. ii. p. xliv—xlix. and 411—530.), is a better arranged reprint of Fabricius' most clumsy and ill-digested book, and contains occasionally the correction of a misprint, and even one new fragment, but no collation of manuscripts, and no original criticism worth naming. It is, like the rest of the work, a compilation, in the conventional manner of the seventeenth century,— great in small things, tolerable in those points which are of some relative importance, perfectly insufficient, and often decidedly absurd in the most important. Since Gallandi, nothing has been done for the text of Hip-

* Handbuch, ii. p. 222. sq.

polytus as a whole. Interesting new materials, however, have been collected by the indefatigable Cardinal Angelo Mai, to whom the literary world owes a lasting gratitude. As these new fragments are dispersed in the volumes of the vast Collectio Vaticana, I shall treat of them in an Appendix. But I have here to mention some fragments contained in a book which I was unable to find in the British Museum, and the knowledge of which I owe, like that of so many other rare works, to your incomparable library, my dearest friend: I mean the "Acta Martyrum sub Claudio Gothico" (Rom. 1795, fol.).

The anonymous author (Episcopus Cyrenensis, a bishop *in partibus infidelium*, and, according to Mai, Monsignore de Magistris) takes these "Acta Martyrum," of course, to be genuine, although they had long been condemned by all critics of note; and consequently he assumes Hippolytus to have suffered martyrdom about 265 or 268. But this is the most venial of his fancies. He invents a whole life of St. Hippolytus, based upon conjectures which have not the slightest foundation, criticising Cave and even French writers all the time with considerable learning for their uncritical assertions and suppositions, But the most shameless part of this fiction is, that he regularly quotes parts of the text of Epiphanius, as the words of Hippolytus, assuming that he copied Hippolytus literally in his article on Marcion (Hær. xlii.), and in all those about heresies on which Hippolytus had written or might have written. This book is a good specimen of that monstrous sort of lying literature, where truth is trodden under foot, in order to enthrone old fictions and impostures, aggravated and multiplied. It is in a laborious and learned manner, what those works on the life of St. Philumena are in an humbler way. In them, as you know, a life is constructed out of the inscriptions on three bricks, exhibiting her name, with the palm-twig and the anchor, those well-known Christian symbols. Christian remains were found in my time in the catacombs at Rome, with a vial, containing what is called blood, but what in fact is the deposit of the wine used at the communion, in a *loculus* or excavation, the mouth of which was shut up by those three bricks. These remains having been said and attested to work miracles, books were written (I possess two) relating that Philumena, now the favourite female saint of the South of Europe, then the daughter of a king of Greece in the time of Maxentius, was taken prisoner with her father after his defeat by the Roman emperor near the shore of the Adriatic. Maxentius (the story goes on) proposed to marry her, being enraptured by her beauty, but, when she refused him, ordered her to be drowned with an anchor tied to her body. So much for the name and the anchor. The anchor having, of course, done its duty by swimming upon the surface of the sea like a cork, the tyrant ordered the saint to be beheaded, which was done accordingly: thereupon her remains were deposited in the catacombs, after some drops of her blood had been preserved in the vial. Here you have the utmost made of three bricks and a vial.

This is a brutish kind of imposture, amid the noonlight of publicity in Europe: but have we not had just as impudent lies in France under Charles X. (remember the letter of the Virgin Mary to the French nation); and are we not sure of having others of the same sort before the end of 1852? Now the method of the anonymous bishop, the author of

your book, is not substantially different, and, indeed only an exaggeration of that employed in the great reactionary assault of false learning upon such truth as is thought dangerous. It is even more dishonest: for it induces the reader, for a while at least, to believe that there is some reason for what is assumed; whereas there is none, no more than for the story concocted out of the three bricks.[1]

I beg your pardon, my dear friend, for this digression; but it is really time that we should guard aganst a new rococo edition of this hypocritical method of mixing up history and fable, issuing from Paris, in which the old fable reappears, seasoned with romantic poetry and some speculative phrases stolen from Görres, the father of these hybrid compositions which defy truth and confound the conscience. And where are the learned men among the clergy of France, who can moderate and repress such attempts? Where is a Ruinart? Where is a Bossuet? And Letronne is dead!

To return to the new materials which this bishop *in partibus infidelium* has been brought together, he refers to his *schedæ* for more than he communicates; and much of that may be a mere fiction: but he gives (p. xliv. ex cod. MSS.) a different recension of the passage in the book on Antichrist respecting Dan. vii. 7. (the kingdom of iron), and a more complete Greek text of the commentary on the Psalms. I shall note in the proper places whatever I think worthy of remark in this folio of 500 pages.

A.

HIPPOLYTUS' POLEMICAL WORKS

I. Κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος.

Against all the Heresies; or, *Refutation of all the Heresies*

Ten books: of which the first four give an outline of those speculative systems of the old philosophers, from which the heretics of the first and second centuries had mostly taken their speculative ideas; principally, therefore, of the writings on physical philosophy, and whatever refers to cosmogonic constructions. Of these four books we already possessed the first among Origen's works; and we find that a great part of the fourth, with the middle of which our manuscript begins, is extracted from Sextus Empiricus' work against the mathematical (or dogmatical) philosophers. Sextus Empiricus was an older cotemporary of Hippolytus, and wrote under Commodus. As he was a Gentile writer, Hippolytus took out what he could use, in order to give the Christian reader the requisite materials without the necessity of recurring to a heathen writer. The first book is not extracted from any work that we know. Diogenes of Laerte's book cannot have been published till after Hippolytus' death. At all events, the extracts which Hippolytus gives in the course of the later books, as well as in the first, from the works of the Greek philosophers, leave no doubt as to his having studied ancient philosophy at its sources. These first four books were probably distinguished afterwards

from the rest as "The Philosophumena," a name Hippolytus gives himself to that introductory part.* In judging of the title of the whole work, we must not forget that αἵρεσις in good Greek is the proper term for a philosophical school. The tenth book might seem to contain, in the form of an epitome, the earlier, succinct treatise of Hippolytus on the same subject, to which he alludes in the first. †

We have established that the book treats, as Photius says, of exactly thirty-two heresies; and we have also shown that the method of enumerating them was not so much simply chronological, as genealogical. Having gone through all the details of each article, which have any bearing on this subject, I will now render the truth of my assertions evident by two tables. The first will exhibit a summary view of the series of heresies contained in the "Great Refutation," compared with that in the tenth book; the second table will show their genealogical and chronological order.

I.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE THIRTY-TWO HERESIES IN THE "REFUTATION," ACCORDING TO BOOKS V. TO IX., WITH THOSE IN THE TENTH BOOK.

BOOKS V. to IX.	BOOK X.
A. *The Sects of the Ophites.*	
Book V.	
I. *Naussênes* (Ophites) calling themselves Gnostics: pp. 94—123.	I. *Naassênes:* p. 314. 1—15.
II. *Peratæ* (Eubœans? Transcendentals? or Hebrews = from Heber?): pp. 123—138.	II. *Peratæ:* pp. 315. 16—316. 48.
III. *Sethians:* pp. 138—147.	III. *Sethians:* pp. 316. 49—318. 20.
IV. *Justinians* (from Justinus the Gnostic): pp. 148—159	
B. *Simon and Valentinus, and the dualistic Valentinians.*	
Book VI.	
V. *Simon.* the Gittean: pp. 161—176.	IV. *Simon:* pp. 318. 21—319. 50.
VI. *Valentinus:* pp. 177—198.	V. *Valentinus* and his school: pp. 319. 51—320. 73.
VII. *Secundus:* p. 198. 8 lines, Iren.	
VIII. *Epiphanes:* pp. 198—199. 9 lines, Iren. Other Valentinians, 8 lines, Iren.	
IX. *Ptolemæus:* p. 199. 16 lines, Iren.	
X. *Colarbasus* (left out in our text).	
XI. *Marcus:* pp. 200—221. Iren.	

* The passage in which this designation (the only one that ought to be used) of the word Philosophumena occurs, is Refut. vi. 8.: Ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἔκκειται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς Φιλοσοφουμένοις ἢ δόξα Ἡρακλείτου, ἀλλά γε δοκεῖ προσαναπαραχθῆναι καὶ νῦν. The passage referred to by Hippolytus is in the first book of the Philosophumena (p. 10. Mill.).—1854.

† I give up this conjecture, as it is so much more probable that the succinct treatise was a separate Syntagma.—1854.

Basilides and the Basilidian Gnostics, Marcion and the Marcionists, the Ebionites, Theodotians, and Nicolaites.	
Book VII.	
XII. *Basilides:* pp. 225—244. (His son *Isidorus:* p. 230.)	VI. *Basilides:* pp. 320. 74—322. 33.
XIII. *Saturnilus:* pp. 244—246. Iren.	VII. *Justinus:* pp. 322. 34—324. 33.
XIV. *Marcion*, pp. 246—253.	
XV. *Prepon:* p. 253.	
XVI. *Carpocrates:* pp. 255—256. Iren.	
XVII. *Cerinthus:* pp. 256, 257. Iren.	
XVIII. *The Ebionites:* p. 257. 11 lines, Iren.	
XIX. *Theodotus* of Byzantium: pp. 257, 258.	
XX. *a. Theodotus* the Trapezite.	
b. Theodotus the *Melchisedekite:* p. 258. 8 lines.	
XXI. *Nicolaus* and the Nicolaitans: p. 258. 8 lines, Iren.	
XXII. *Cerdo:* p. 259. 8 lines, Iren.	
XXIII. *Apelles:* pp. 259, 260.	
D. *The Docetæ, Monoimus, the Montanists, and their cotemporaries.*	VIII. The *Docetæ:* pp. 324. 75—325. 11.
Book VIII.	IX. *Monoimus:* pp. 325. 12—326. 38.
XXIV. *The Docetæ:* pp. 261—268.	X. *Tatianus:* p. 326. 39—44.
XXV. *Monoimus:* pp. 269—273.	XI. *Cerdo* } pp. 326. 45—
XXVI. *Tatian:* p. 273. 4 lines, Iren.	XII. *Marcion.* } —327. 66.
XXVII. *Hermogenes:* pp. 273, 274.	XIII. *Apelles:* pp. 327. 67—81.
XXVIII. The *Quartodecimans:* pp. 274, 275. 15 lines.	XIV. *Cerinthus:* pp. 327. 82—328 96.
XXIX. The *Montanists:* pp. 275, 276. 27 lines.	XV. The *Ebionites:* p. 328. 98—1.
XXX. The *Encratites:* p. 276. Iren.	XVI. *Theodotus* of Byzantium: p. 328. 2—13.
	XVII. The *Melchisedekites:* pp. 328. 14—329. 18.
E. *The Noetians and Elchasaites: Appendix about the Jewish Sects.*	XVIII. The *Montanists* (Phrygians): p. 329. 19—33.
Book IX.	
XXXI. The *Noetians* (Callistians): pp. 279—292.	XIX. The *Noetians*, (Callistians): pp. 329. 34—330. 60.
XXXII. The *Elchasaites:* pp. 292—296.	XX. *Hermogenes:* p. 330. 61—64.
	XXI. The *Elchasaites:* pp. 330. 65—331. 78.

II.

Genealogical and Chronological Table of the Thirty-two Heresies.

I shall give the chronological and synchronistic dates according to my "Chronological Tables from St. Peter to Origen." I have divided these

tables into epochs according to the ages succeeding each other in the series of the seven generations of men, which occupy the time from St. Peter to the death of Origen: a period of 225 years (from Pentecost 29 of our era, to 254), which in fact represents seven ages, or seven generations of mankind. I have chosen this form of marking the epochs for two reasons. First, I believe that, by a universal law, all religions develope themselves primarily according to the succession of individual lives, both in the traditions respecting facts, and in the form of the ideas connected with them. In the second place, I find that, in the history of Christianity, this development by natural ages extends to seven generations, taking a generation, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, to denote a space of about the third part of a century. I consider this division therefore as the most natural, and the leading individualities of each age as the safest landmarks for the history of that first great period of our ecclesiastical history. Down to the death of Origen, there is a marked epoch in every generation. After that time an entirely new law of development begins, no longer according to the leading individualities, but according to that development, of which the elements are the masses, and the ages periods of national life.

The epochs or ages, according to my tables, are the following: —

The first age. (29 to 65: Nero.)	*The age of St. Peter and St. Paul,* 29 to 70; or from Peter and James to Peter and Paul: from the first Pentecost to the death of the two leading apostles (65), and the destruction of Jerusalem (70).
The second age. (66 to 100: Domitian.)	*The age of St. John and of Clemens,* from 71 to 100: the last apostle (†98) and the first historical bishop (Clemens, from 78 to 86, or to the 5th year of Domitian).
The third age. (101 to 128: Trajan and Hadrian.)	*The age of Ignatius and Basilides:* Ignatius under Trajan (†108): and the first apologists and Basilides under Hadrian. Growing consciousness of the Christian sacrifice as the act of redeemed humanity, and growing idea of episcopacy as the representation of the free individual conscience, by the side of the collective conscience of the elders and of that of the congregation.
The fourth age. (129 to 162: Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.)	*The age of Polycarp and Justin, and of Valentinus and Marcion.* Settling of the Canon. Gnostic philosophy, and Christian literature. *Hyginus* (128—131) and *Pius* (132—149).
The fifth age. (163 to198: Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Elagabalus and Septim. Severus.)	*The age of Irenæus, Victor, and Tertullian,* in the West, and of *Theodotus, Pantænus and Clemens,* in the East; or the end of dualism, and the beginning of Catholic science. *Anicetus* (152—163), *Soter* (164—187), *Victor* (188—198). Montanism begins about 157.
The sixth age. (199 to 230: Severus, Caracalla, and Alexander Severus.)	*The age of Hippolytus,* or triumph of Catholic science and the hierarchy. Hippolytus' earlier writings. *Zephyrinus* (200—218), *Callistus* (219—222), and *Urbanus* (223—230).
The seventh age. (231 to 254: Maximinus, Gordianus, Philippus Arabs, Decius, Gallus, Valerianus.)	*The age of Origen,* or last attempt to reconcile scriptural Catholic science and the ecclesiastical system. Hippolytus' later writings. *Pontianus* (231—235). *Fabianus* (236—250), and *Cornelius* (251—253).

According to this frame the thirty-two heresies range thus in the history of the Church:—

THE SECTS AND THEIR WORKS.	THEIR PLACE IN HISTORY.
	Section I. *Gnostic Sects.*
The Ophites. I.—IV. The Gospel of St James—Psalms — Προάστειον — Paraphrasis Seth — Baruch.	Origin in the Johannean age, before the Gospel of St. John was written between 70 and 99.
Simon and his school (Menander). V. Ἡ μεγάλη ἀπόφασις.	Simon belongs to the first age (27 to 65). Menander taught his doctrine at Antioch, in the second age.
Valentinus. VI. Extracts (from the Sophia?)	Valentinus taught towards the end of the third, Ignatian, and the first part of the fourth, his own age.
The School of Valentinus, with the exception of Theodotus: or the dualistic Valentinians.	
Secundus. VII. Epiphanes. VIII. Ptolemæus. IX. Colarbasus. X. Marcus. XI.	Valentinians of the fourth and fifth, or Irenæan age. (157—187.)
The Basilidian School.	
Basilides. XII. Extracts. Isidorus, Basilides' son. XII. Saturnilus. XIII.	Basilides taught in the third, Ignatian, age, about 120 or 130. Saturnilus in the same, and in the fourth, or Valentinian age.
The Marcionites.	
Marcion. XIV. Ἀντιπαραθέσεις.	Marcion at Rome; fourth age, about 130 to 150.
Prepon. XIV.	Prepon; fifth age, about 160.
The Sects which acknowledged one God and Creator of all, but maintained that Jesus had been a simple man.	Section II. *Ebionitic and mixed Sects.*
	A. *Ebionitic Sects.*
The Carpocratians. XVI. Cerinthus. XVII. The Ebionites. XVIII.	The second or Johannean age, as to the beginning of these sects.
	B. *Mixed Sects of Gnostic and Ebionitic principles.*
Theodotus and the Theodotians. XIX. XX.	Theodotus of Byzantium, in the fifth, or Irenæan age. (Victor.)
These Sects were influenced by Nicolaus, father of the	
Nicolaites. XXI. Cerdo. XXII.	Cerdo taught at Rome about 132 (fourth age), and had influence upon Marcion.
Apelles. XXIII. Extracts.	Apelles, disciple of Marcion, fifth, or Irenæan age.

The Docetæ. XXIV. Extracts. Monoimus. XXV. Ep. ad Theophrast. Tatian. XXVI. Hermogenes. XXVII. Extracts.	The fifth, or Irenæan age.
Sects orthodox both as to God and to Christ, but with some error in other points.	Section III. *Ecclesiastical Sects.*
The Quartodecimans. XXVIII. The Montanists. XXIX. The Encratites. XXX.	The fifth age.
The Noetians (Callistians). XXXI. Extracts.	The Noetians, fifth age, the Callistians, sixth age.
The Elchasaites. XXXII. Extracts.	The Elchasaites, the sixth age.

It results from this list, that the work proceeds on the whole chronologically; but that Hippolytus has combined this method with the genealogical. He gives first the Gnostic, and then the Ebionitic systems, which indeed is the only reasonable division of the old sects. The third section comprises the sects, orthodox both as to the Father and the Son. In each of these sections the order is chronological. Thus Hippolytus takes first all the Ophitic sects, then Simonism, then Valentinus and all purely dualistic Valentinians. Having gone through all of them, he takes up Basilides, an author rather older than Valentinus, but whose disciples were much influenced by Valentinianism. After having treated of the Basilidians, he proceeds to Marcion, whose system partakes somewhat of both Valentinus and Basilides. One would have supposed that the article on Cerdo, who taught at Rome before Marcion, would have preceded, and that on Apelles, Marcion's disciple, would have immediately followed that on his master. Indeed, this is the arrangement chosen in the tenth book: its having been abandoned for that in our "Great Refutation," proves that the author must have had systematic reasons for the change. The article on Cerdo, according to the chronological principle, precedes that on Apelles: but both are discussed only after all the Ebionitic systems have been treated. This seems to me a ground to assume, that there was a mixture of Ebionitism in these two Marcionites, as one of whom Cerdo may be considered, on account of his connection with Marcion, the man of his age. This brings us to the twenty-third heresy.

From XXIV. to XXVII. we have sects which evidently were tainted with Valentinianism, but started from points different from Valentinus and from each other. They seem to be in the right chronological order relatively to one another.

The third class of the sects which rose before Hippolytus' time, were three immediately preceding him. The Montanists are the second of the three: their beginning cannot be placed earlier than 157, nor later than 167: they belong, therefore, to the fifth or Victorian age; and we have no reason to doubt that the two others did so likewise.

Then came the sects of his time, that is to say, of the sixth age in their chronological order. For the Elchasaites appeared only (at least on the Roman horizon) after Callistus, as bishop, had established the school of Noetus as his own.

In these thirty-two articles we have extracts from fifteen works at least, of which seven have titles: all unknown. The tenth book is that earlier succinct treatise which is mentioned in the first book. It comprises twenty-one heresies: the beginning and end are the same as in our work.

Dr. Bernays, of the University of Bonn, the ornament of the philological school of Ritschl, at my desire, in a critical letter addressed to me, has treated this point, together with others, which his profound knowledge of Heraclitus and of the ancient writers, and his ingenious sagacity generally, have suggested to him. I am sure when you read it you will be delighted with the critical talent and judgment displayed in this *Epistola Critica*.

Before I proceed to the review of the other polemical writings of Hippolytus, let me recapitulate the titles of his own writings, to which he refers in the course of the "Refutation."

1. Other books (ἕτεραι βίβλοι) of a chronographic nature; for in them he had given the names of the seventy-two nations (ἔθνη): x. 30. p. 331.

2. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας: x. 32. p. 334.

3. Μικρὸς λαβύρινθος.

I have treated of the last two in my preceding letters, and shall return to all three in this review of his works.

The result, then, of an impartial criticism of the works attributed to Hippolytus seems to be, that, with the exception of the apocryphal works, recognised as such by the fathers of historical criticism in the last centuries, all the others are of undoubted genuineness. They unite external and internal evidence in a greater degree than most of the writings of the earlier fathers. The external evidence of the writers on ecclesiastical history is in many cases supported by a record engraved upon an official monument, representing Hippolytus seated as a bishop upon his cathedra. The internal is an unmistakable identity of style and of thought in all, and in many of them a striking reference to the age in which the author lived. Even the smaller fragments receive a new light and a fresh interest from the discovery of the "Great Refutation;" and this work again could be proved to be by Hippolytus, from the many points of coincidence in its style and contents with his other writings and fragments, if it did not carry sufficient proofs of its authenticity in itself.

I shall take this opportunity of submitting to you a few observations on the idea of a new edition of the works of Hippolytus, which is now become indispensable.

The edition of Fabricius, reproduced with slight variations by Gallandi, is not only incomplete, but ill digested and scarce. The text of the "Refutation" is scarcely readable, and, in all respects, in its first childhood. Until corrected by an able scholar of the critical school, the fragments contained in it will be unintelligible for the greater part, as were those restored by Schneidewin and Boeckh. I have before me emendations by Dr. Bernays, which prove to me not only that they can be restored, but that there are other ancient fragments not found out by the editor.

The edition which ought now to be prepared should consist of two volumes. The first would contain the text of the "Refutation," esta-

blished upon a collation of the Paris manuscript; the second would unite all the other works, with the spurious ones as an appendix.

The materials for this second volume are principally in the noble libraries of Paris, Rome, and Turin. We owe to the learned editor of the "Refutation," M. E. Miller, the long wished for "Catalogue of the Escurial Manuscripts;" I am afraid that they will not help us much.*

Let us hope, my dear friend, that the generosity and zeal of the Clarendon Press will not allow this opportunity to pass for superseding the edition of 1851 by a more complete one next year.

I have established above, upon the evidence of Photius, and of Hippolytus himself, that the author of the treatise on the "Cause of the Universe" is also the author of the book called "The Little Labyrinth." I shall now proceed to a more accurate examination of this book, of which we have important fragments.

II. Ὁ μικρὸς Λαβύρινθος or, Κατὰ τῆς Ἀρτέμωνος αἱρέσεως λόγος. *The Little Labyrinth;* or, *Treatise against the Heresy of Artemo.*

The second title is given by Photius (c. 48.), who believes Caius the presbyter to be the author, and evidently takes it to be a different work from the "Little Labyrinth." But, as the subject of the "Little Labyrinth" is stated by all the authors to be the refutation of this very sect, and since Eusebius (H. E. v. 28.) quotes passages from it as against that heresy, it is clear that both are titles of one and the same work. Eusebius evidently did not know the author. The book appeared after the "Treatise on the Cause of the Universe," for the authorship of this book was recognised in the "Little Labyrinth," as Photius relates.† The doubts respecting the author of this treatise, and the obscurity in which Hippolytus' life and writings were purposely involved, explain the confusion.

* The "Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escurial, par E. Miller" (Par. 1848, 8vo.), contains the following indications respecting Hippolytus:—

P. 315. Cod. 169.: Hippolyte sur la fin du monde.

466. Cod. 511. fol 145—158.: Hippolyte περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου, publié par Fabricius.

474. Cod. 524. fol. 85—89.: Homélie sur la fin du monde et sur l'Antichriste, par St. Hippolyte.

523. Marcellini vel Hippolyti sive potius incerti Epitome temporum ab orbe condito usque ad annum vicesimum Heraclii imperatoris cum consulatibus et indictionibus et aliis cognitione dignis.

361. Cod. 445.: Extrait de la Chronique d'Hippolyte sur la Vierge Marie. [See p. 495. cod. 570.]

404. Cod. 504. No. 7.: Extrait théologique tiré des Pères tel que Diodore, Hippolyte, Severin, etc.

491. Cod. 564. fol. 90, 91.: Extrait de la Chronique de St. Hippolyte incip. Ἰάκωβος ὁ γενόμενος.

492. Cod. 564. fol. 206—215.: Extrait de la Chronique de St. Hippolyte le Thébain sur les disciples du Seigneur.

495. Cod. 570. fol. 127–132.: Extrait de la Chronique de St. Hippolyte sur la Vierge. Fabric. B. G. vii. 187.

513. Titulus catenæ in Proverbia Salomonis, Proverbiorum liber et in eum catenæ sanctorum patrum Basilii, Hippolyti papæ Romani, Origenis, etc.

† I have in this sentence corrected a mistake respecting the relative age of these two works.—1854.

Routh (Reliq. Sacr. ii. 129—134. 141—157.), has, with his usual judgment and learning, illustrated the three fragments which Eusebius has given us, and is evidently inclined to pronounce it a work of Hippolytus.* Those fragments concern the heresy of the school of the first and second Theodotus at Rome. As writers of that sect, besides Theodotus—undoubtedly the elder, or great Theodotus—they name Asclepiades, Hermophilus, and Apollonides. The name of Artemo does not occur in those fragments. It is true, Eusebius says, the book was written against the Artemonic heresy; but this does not prove that Artemo lived and taught at Rome in the time of Alexander Severus. In the first of these fragments Hippolytus treats of the assertion of the Theodotians, that Zephyrinus had adulterated the doctrine of the Church of Rome. To this he replies, first, that Scripture, the primitive Christian psalms and hymns, and the ecclesiastical writers, from Clemens the Roman to Irenæus, were witnesses against them: and secondly, that, if Victor, as they asserted, had maintained the true doctrine, he was the bishop who had excluded Theodotus, the father and chief of their sect, and that he had done so for his having taught that Christ was a simple man. He confirms this assertion in the second fragment, by the history of Natalius (perhaps the Cæcilius Natalis in the dialogue of Minucius Felix), "who became a public confessor of the truth (ὁμολογήτης) not long ago, indeed in our own time." Asclepiades and the second Theodotus, both disciples of the elder Theodotus, seduced him to become their bishop, with a salary of 150 denarii (*7l.* 10*s.*) a month. Now what happened? Something, says the author, which might have made an impression even on Sodom and Gomorrah. Angels of the Lord came one night and beat him, rather unmercifully; which so affected him, that he ran in sackcloth and ashes to Zephyrinus, and on his knees besought, not only the bishop, but the clergy and laity, displaying the stripes of the lashes, to show him mercy and forgiveness. He was received with some difficulty into the Church.

In the third fragment the author says, these heretics were given to speculation, and studied geometry much, admiring Euclid, Aristotle, and Theophrastus, and almost worshipping Galen, who died only about the year 200; but made light of the Scriptures, declaring some of them to be spurious, and changing — or, as they said, correcting — the text of others without the authority of ancient manuscripts: he adds, that some even rejected the Old Testament altogether.

This statement has been made by the Tubingen school the basis of what I must call a novel. The church of Rome is said to have ignored the Gospel of St. John, and repudiated the doctrine of the Logos, till the end of Victor's episcopate (198 after Christ); an incredible assertion, which they endeavoured to strengthen by the gratuitous, and utterly untenable proposition, or rather fiction, that the primitive Roman congregation consisted almost exclusively of Jewish and Judaising Christians.

Neander has refuted this assertion, and shown how little the fragments of the "Little Labyrinth" warrant the system built upon them. But he admits that there is something to be explained, — that some fact is referred to not known to us, and which must have happened under Zephyrinus. (Kircheng. i. 997.)

* I have given the text in the Analecta I. in its place.—1854.

This a bright example, how the finding out of what we do not know is the first step to the discovery of the truth.

The explanation of that unintelligible assertion is now before us: for we know the fact implied in the account.

Zephyrinus found in his Church, as the prevalent doctrinal tendency, that Monotheism which we call Monarchianism. The distinction between the Father and the Son was very marked, the monotheistic principle being concentrated in the Father. The Eastern distinctions between the Word and the Son, and between Jesus and the Christ, were rather kept in the background as useless or dangerous. But as Rome could not cease to be the centre of the world, so it became that of Christendom. All new theories were sooner or later discussed there by their authors, or by a disciple; and generally they were repudiated and rejected, as they seemed to endanger the general ecclesiastical system. It was therefore really an important change, when Zephyrinus inclined to the Noetian speculations, which we know he did at the instigation of Callistus. We see also that the author of the "Labyrinth" does not contradict the assertion of the Theodotians. In this respect he turns the tables upon them, by asking how Victor could have favoured them, if he expelled Theodotus from the Roman congregation.

Thus the unknown fact implied in the accounts, and which Neander sought after, is given to us, and the whole most satisfactorily explained.

But, my dearest friend, may we not say also we have here another proof of the hollowness of the Tubingen novel? The formula of Callistus is sufficient to prove this. It is, as we have seen, essentially that of Noetus: and the system of Noetus presupposes the whole development of the struggle against Gnosticism, which began before the death of St. John, and was afterwards carried on by the Catholic Church under the banner of the doctrine of the Logos. All that there is of truth and reality in the account of the struggle between Judaising Petrinism and rationalising Paulinism, was well established by the great critical school in which Schleiermacher and Neander, Nitzsch and Rothe, are so eminent: what has been added by the new school has no truth in it. It runs against the first principles of historical criticism, both as to chronology and as to internal considerations.

As to the authorship of this remarkable work, the author of our great work on the heresies says that he is the writer of the "Treatise on the Universe." This also settles the question respecting the relative dates of the "Little Labyrinth" and the "Refutation." The three works were written in the following succession: —

First, the treatise on the "Cause of the Universe," to which the author of the "Labyrinth" as well as of the "Refutation" refers as his:

Secondly, the "Little Labyrinth," the author of which said that he wrote the "Cause of the Universe":

Thirdly, the "Refutation" itself, which we know to be the work of Hippolytus, and in which the authorship of the "Cause of the Universe" is acknowledged.

Now the writer of the "Little Labyrinth" speaks of the times of Zephyrinus as of his own, only just past. It must therefore have been written either under Callistus, or Urbanus, the bishop in the time of Alexander

Severus. The first is evidently impossible, if one considers the author's position in regard to Callistus; nor would he have spoken of Zephyrinus "as not long ago." Everything, therefore, induces us to believe that the "Little Labyrinth" was written under Urbanus (223—230). For the "Refutation" must have been composed after Callistus, because he is treated as one belonging to history (see in particular ch. x.), but certainly still under Alexander Severus, after whose death in 235 Hippolytus was immediately banished. The title is strangely supposed to refer to the entangling of the heretics by reasoning: it evidently alludes to their errors, which entangle the mind of the simple Christian, and out of which a sound refutation disentangles him. Thus our author says in the opening of the tenth book: "The labyrinth of the heresies has not been broken through by force, but opened solely by argumentation through the power of truth."*

III. Πρὸς Νοητόν.

Against Noctus.

The Greek text is printed, in the edition of Fabricius, t. ii. p. 5. sqq., from a Vatican manuscript (compare i. p. 233.). In this MS. the work bears the title (evidently framed by a copyist): Ὁμιλία Ἱππολύτου εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν Νοητοῦ τινός. And the Latin translation of Turrianus is inscribed: "Homilia de Deo trino et uno, et de mysterio incarnationis, contra hæresin Noeti." Both are evidently later designations. But the book is a homily, or a sermon, whether really preached, or written in that form. The conjecture of Fabricius, that it was a part of the lost work on the heresies, is now untenable. But I hope to show that the Confession of Faith contained in this treatise is so like the one with which our work concludes, that the juxtaposition of the two would by itself prove the identity of the author. I give this juxtaposition without any other comment. The parallelism of both is naturally limited to what I have called the first and second articles of Hippolytus' Confession: for the treatise against Noetus was particularly directed to the point of the Incarnation (the second article): and we must not forget that the conclusion of the book on all the heresies is principally intended to excite men to become godly and godlike.

The exposition of those two articles comprises half of the whole homily (ch. 9. to the end). It is impossible not to recognise in the preacher the same author who wrote our work. Of course the style is more rhetorical, the exposition broader, and the whole is directed against one point, the Noetian heresy; whereas the writer of our work had to compress his thoughts on the subject into as few words as possible, and had to direct his energy towards encouraging men to accept the divine wisdom and love offered to them in Christ, and to become like God, as Jesus had been.

There is even, if I am not mistaken, in a passage of our homily, a decided allusion to the injustice of Zephyrinus and Callistus, of having called him publicly a ditheist. Treating of the relation of the Logos to the Father, according to St. John's first verse, the author says (ch. 14.):

* Τὸν λαβύρινθον τῶν αἱρέσεων οὐ βίᾳ διαῤῥήξαντες, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ ἐλέγχῳ ἀληθείας δυνάμει διαλύσαντες.

"If then the Word is with God, being God, why then (some one might say) dost thou speak of two Gods? As to myself, *I do not speak of two Gods*, but merely of One: only I establish two persons (*πρόσωπα*), and as the third (not person, but simply number three), the Incarnation (*οἰκονομία*), the grace of the Holy Spirit." *

I will merely add that the very introduction of both the Confessions of Faith is strikingly alike: —

Against all the Heresies: beginning of book x.	Against Noetus, i. 8.
Τὸν λαβύρινθον τῶν αἱρέσεων οὐ βίᾳ διαῤῥήξαντες ἀλλὰ μόνῳ ἐλέγχῳ, ἀληθείας δυνάμει διαλύσαντες, πρόσιμεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπόδειξιν· τότε γὰρ τῆς πλάνης ἔντεχνα σοφίσματα ἀσύστατα φανερωθήσεται ἐπεὶ ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ὅρος ἐπιδειχθῇ, etc.	Ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἤδη καὶ ὁ Νοητὸς ἀνατέτραπται, ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπόδειξιν, ἵνα συστήσωμεν τὴν ἀληθείαν.

I will now give the text, omitting what is not essential, and premising only that I do not think there is more than one interpolation in the text of the treatise against Noetus. I mean the passage in chap. 14., where the introduction of the Holy Spirit not only disturbs the whole connection of ideas, but puts Hippolytus in opposition with himself, by making him call the Holy Spirit the third person (*πρόσωπον*). I have therefore marked these words as spurious, by placing them between asterisks.

Refutation.	Against Noetus,
X. 32. Θεὸς εἷς ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μόνος καὶ ἁπάντων ποιητὴς καὶ κύριος, σύγχρονον ἔσχεν οὐδέν, οὐ χάος ἄπειρον, οὐχ ὕδωρ ἀμέτρητον ἢ γῆν στερρὰν, οὐκ ἀέρα πύκνον, οὐ πῦρ θερμὸν, οὐ πνεῦμα λεπτὸν, οὐκ οὐρανοῦ μεγάλου κυανέαν μορφήν· ἀλλ' ἦν εἷς μόνος ἑαυτῷ, ὃς θελήσας ἐποίησε τὰ ὄντα οὐκ ὄντα πρότερον, πλὴν ὅτε ἠθέλησε ποιεῖν ὡς ἔμπειρος ὢν τῶν ἐσομένων.	(c. 9.) Εἷς Θεὸς, ὃν οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἐπιγινώσκομεν, ἀδελφοί, ἢ (ἐκ) τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν . . . . .
33. Οὗτος οὖν μόνος καὶ κατὰ πάντων Θεὸς, Λόγον πρῶτον ἐννοηθεὶς ἀπογεννᾷ οὐ λόγον, ὡς φωνὴν, ἀλλ' ἐνδιάθετον τοῦ παντὸς λογισμόν. Τοῦτον μόνον ἐξ ὄντων ἐγέννα· τὸ γὰρ ὂν αὐτὸς ὁ Πατὴρ ἦν, ἐξ οὗ τὸ γεννηθῆναι αἴτιον τοῖς γι-	(c. 10.) Θεὸς μόνος ὑπάρχων καὶ μηδὲν ἔχων ἑαυτῷ σύγχρονον, ἐβουλήθη κόσμον κτίσαι. Ὁ κόσμον ἐννοηθεὶς, θελήσας τε καὶ φθεγξάμενος ἐποίησεν, ᾧ παραυτίκα παρέστη τὸ γενόμενον ὡς ἠθέλησεν. αὐταρκὲς οὖν ἡμῖν ἐστι μόνον

* The expression *οἰκονομία* is difficult to translate. See the passages in Suicer. He gives an instance of *οἰκονομία* applying specifically to the manifestation of the Holy Spirit. It here applies equally to the Incarnation of the Eternal Word in Christ, and to the action of the Holy Spirit upon the believers, in the Church. The fundamental idea of *οἰκονομία* is always the divine dispensation of God's saving grace amongst mankind.—1854.

νομένοις. Λόγος ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ φέρων τὸ θέλειν τοῦ γεγεννηκότος, οὐκ ἄπειρος τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐννοίας· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ γεννήσαντος προελθεῖν, πρωτότοκος τούτου γενόμενος φωνὴ (t. φωνὴν)*, ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰς ἐν τῷ πατρικῷ ἐννοηθείσας ἰδέας, ὅθεν κελεύοντος Πατρὸς γίνεσθαι κόσμον τὸ κατὰ ἐν Λόγος ἀπετελεῖτο ἀρέσκων Θεῷ.

Ὅσα ἠθέλησεν, ἐποίει ὁ Θεός.

Τούτου ὁ Λόγος μόνος ἐξ αὐτοῦ· διὸ καὶ Θεὸς, οὐσία ὑπάρχων Θεοῦ. Ὁ δὲ κόσμος ἐξ οὐδενός· διὸ οὐ Θεός· οὗτος ἐπιδέχεται καὶ λύσιν, ὅτε βούλεται ὁ κτίσας. . . . . .

Νόμος ὡρίσθη διὰ δικαίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπάνωθεν. Ἔγγιον ἡμῶν διὰ τοῦ προειρημένου Μωϋσέως, ἀνδρὸς εὐλαβοῦς καὶ θεοφιλοῦς, νόμος ὡρίζετο πλήρης σεμνότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης. Τὰ δὴ πάντα διοικεῖ ὁ Λόγος, ὁ Θεοῦ, ὁ πρωτόγονος Πατρὸς παῖς, ἡ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου φωσφόρος φωνή. Ἔπειτα δίκαιοι ἄνδρες γεγένηνται φίλοι Θεοῦ· οὗτοι προφῆται κέκληνται διὰ τὸ προφαίνειν τὰ μέλλοντα. . . .

εἰδέναι ὅτι σύγχρονον Θεοῦ οὐδὲν πλὴν αὐτὸς ἦν, αὐτὸς καὶ μόνος ὢν πολὺς ἦν, οὔτε γὰρ ἄλογος οὔτε ἄσοφος, οὔτε ἀδύνατος, οὔτε ἀβούλευτος ἦν, πάντα καὶ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ, αὐτὸς καὶ ἦν τὸ πᾶν. ὅτε ἠθέλησεν, καθὼς ἠθέλησεν, ἔδειξε τὸν Λόγον αὐτοῦ καιροῖς ὡρισμένοις παρ' αὐτῷ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν.

Ὅτε μὲν θέλει ποιεῖ, ὅτε δὲ ἐνθυμεῖται τελεῖ, ὅτε δὲ φθέγγεται δεικνύει, ὅτε πλάσσει σοφίζεται. πάντα γὰρ τὰ γενόμενα διὰ λόγου καὶ σοφίας τεχνάζεται, λογῳ μὲν κτίζων, σοφίᾳ δὲ κοσμῶν. Ἐποίησεν οὖν ὡς ἠθέλησεν, Θεὸς γὰρ ἦν . . .

Τῶν δὲ γινομένων ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σύμβουλον καὶ ἐργάτην ἐγέννᾳ Λόγον, ὃν Λόγον ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀόρατόν τε ὄντα τῷ κτιζομένῳ κόσμῳ ὁρατὸν ποιεῖ, προτέραν φωνὴν φθεγγόμενος, καὶ φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς γεννῶν, προῆκεν τῇ κτίσει Κύριον, τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν, αὐτῷ μόνῳ πρότερον ὁρατὸν ὑπάρχοντα τῷ δὲ γινομένῳ κόσμῳ ἀόρατον ὄντα, ὁρατὸν ποιεῖ, ὅπως διὰ τοῦ φανῆναι ἰδὼν ὁ κόσμος σωθῆναι δυνηθῇ· (11.) καὶ οὕτως παρίστατο αὐτῷ ἕτερος. Ἕτερον δὲ λέγων οὐ δύο Θεοὺς λέγω, ἀλλ' ὡς φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, ἢ ὡς ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς, ἢ ὡς ἀκτῖνα ἀπὸ ἡλίου. Δύναμις γὰρ μία ἡ ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς, τὸ δὲ πᾶν Πατὴρ, ἐξ οὗ δύναμις Λόγος. οὗτος δὲ Νοῦς, ὃς προβὰς ἐν κόσμῳ ἐδείκνυτο παῖς Θεοῦ. Πάντα τοίνυν δι' αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνος ἐκ Πατρός.

Οὗτος δὲ ἔδωκεν νόμον καὶ προφήτας, καὶ δοὺς διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἠνάγκασεν τούτους φθέγξασθαι, ὅπως τῆς πατρῴας δυνάμεως τὴν ἀποπνοίαν λαβόντες τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς καταγγείλωσιν.

(12.) Ἐν τούτοις τοίνυν πολιτευόμενος ὁ Λογος ἐφθέγγετο περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἤδη γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κῆρυξ ἐγένετο, δεικνύων μέλλοντα Λόγον φαίνεσθαι ἐν ἀνθρώποις. . . . . .

* The parallel passages in the treatise against Noetus confirm this emendation. That φωνὴ and πρωτότοκος belong together, may be seen from the parallel words (chap. x.), προτέραν φωνὴν φθεγγόμενος. But there is also a parallel expression in the Refutation itself (x. 33. p. 336.), ὁ Λόγος ὁ Θεοῦ ὁ πρωτόγονος πατρὸς παῖς, ἡ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου φωσφόρος φωνή.

(14.) Εἰ δὲ οὖν ὁ Λόγος πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, Θεὸς ὢν, τί οὖν (φήσειεν ἄν τις) δύο λέγεις Θεούς (t. οὖν φήσειεν ἄν τις δύο λέγειν Θεούς); δύο μὲν οὐκ ἐρῶ Θεοὺς ἀλλ' ἓνα, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, οἰκονομίαν δὲ τρίτην, τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Πατὴρ μὲν γὰρ εἷς, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Υἱός· τὸ δὲ τρίτον τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Πατὴρ ἐντέλλεται, Λόγος ἀποτελεῖ, Υἱὸς δὲ δείκνυται δι' οὗ Πατὴρ πιστεύεται. Οἰκονομίας συμφωνία συνάγεται εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, εἷς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Θεός. Ὁ γὰρ κελεύων Πατήρ, ὁ δὲ ὑπακούων Υἱὸς, τὸ δὲ συνεπίζον ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Ὁ ὢν Πατὴρ ἐπὶ πάντων, ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς διὰ πάντων, τὸ δὲ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐν πᾶσιν. Ἄλλως τε ἕνα Θεὸν νομίσαι μὴ δυνάμεθα, ἐὰν μὴ ὄντως Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι πιστεύσωμεν. Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν γὰρ δόξασαν Πατέρα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ηὐχαρίστησαν, Υἱὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν. Μαθηταὶ ἐπέγνωσαν Υἱὸν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, δι' ὃ καὶ ἠρνήσαντο.

He then quotes different passages; amongst others John xvi. 28:—

Λέγει γὰρ οὕτως· Ἐγὼ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐξῆλθον, καὶ ἥκω. Τί δέ ἐστιν τὸ ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ Λόγος; Τί δὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννηθὲν, ἀλλ' ἢ Πνεῦμα, πουτέστιν ὁ Λόγος;

(17.) Πιστεύσωμεν οὖν, μακάριοι ἀδελφοὶ, κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ὅτι Θεὸς λόγος ἀπ' οὐρανῶν κατῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον Μαρίαν, ἵνα σαρκωθεὶς ἐξ αὐτῆς, λαβὼν δὲ καὶ ψυχὴν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, λογικὴν δὲ λέγω, γεγονὼς πάντα ὅσα ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, ἐκτὸς ἁμαρτίας, σώσῃ τὸν πεπτωκότα, καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ἀνθρώποις παράσχῃ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Ἐν πᾶσιν οὖν ἀποδέδεικται ἡμῖν πῆς ἀληθείας λόγος, ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Πατὴρ, οὗ πάρεστι Λόγος, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν. ὃν ὑστέροις καιροῖς, καθὼς εἴπαμεν ἀνωτέρω, ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Πατὴρ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων. Οὗτος διὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν ἐκηρύχθη παρεσόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον .... Οὗτος προελθὼν εἰς κόσμον Θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη, ἄνθρωπος τέλειος προελθών· οὐ

Ὁ δὲ Λόγος ἐφθέγγετο, δι' αὐτῶν τῶν λόγων (t. λέγων δι' αὐτῶν) ἐπιστρέφων τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ παρακοῆς, οὐ βίᾳ ἀνάγκης δουλαγωγῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἑκουσίῳ, προαιρέσει καλῶν. Τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον ἐν ὑστέροις [καιροῖς] ἀπέστελλεν ὁ Πατὴρ οὐκέτι διὰ προφήτου λαλεῖν, οὐ σκοτεινῶς κηρυσσόμενον ὑπονοεῖσθαι θέλων, ἀλλ' αὐτοφεὶ φανερωθῆναι· τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον [ἀπέστελλεν] (t. τοῦτον λέγων), ἵνα κόσμος ὁρῶν ὑσωπηθῇ οὐκ ἐντελλόμενον διὰ προσώπου προφητῶν, οὐδὲ δι' ἀγγέλου φοβοῦντα ψυχὴν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν παρόντα τὸν λελαληκότα.

Τοῦτον ἔγνωμεν ἐκ παρθένου σῶμα ἀνειληφότα καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον διὰ καινῆς πλάσεως πεφορηκότα, ἐν βίῳ διὰ πάσης ἡλικίας ἐλθόντα, ἵνα πάσῃ

ἡλικίᾳ αὐτὸς νόμος γενηθῇ καὶ σκοπὸν τὸν ἴδιον ἄνθρωπον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιδείξῃ παρὼν*, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐλέγξῃ ὅτι μηδὲν ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς πονηρόν. . . .

Ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἕτερος παρ' ἡμᾶς νομισθῇ, καὶ κάματον ὑπέμεινε, καὶ πεινῆν ἠθέλησε, καὶ διψῆν οὐκ ἠρνήσατο, καὶ ὕπνῳ ἠρέμησε, καὶ πάθει οὐκ ἀντεῖπε, καὶ θανάτῳ ὑπήκουσε, καὶ ἀνάστασιν ἐφανέρωσεν, ἀπαρξάμενος ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις τὸν ἴδιον ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα σὺ πάσχων μὴ ἀθυμῇς, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον σεαυτὸν ὁμολογῶν, προσδοκᾷς (t. προσδοκῶν) καὶ σὺ ὃ τούτῳ Πατὴρ παρέσχεν (t. τοῦτῳ παρέσχες).

γὰρ κατὰ φαντασίαν ἢ τροπὴν, ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος.

(18.) Οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ ἀπαναίνεται ἐνδεικνύμενος Θεὸς ὤν, ὅτε πεινᾷ καὶ κοπιᾷ, καὶ καμνὼν διψᾷ, καὶ δειλιῶν φεύγει, καὶ προσευχόμενος λυπεῖται, καὶ ἐπὶ προσκεφάλαιον καθεύδει ὁ ἄϋπνον ἔχων τὴν φύσιν ὡς Θεὸς, καὶ ποτηρίου πάθος παραιτεῖται ὁ διὰ τοῦτο παραγεγονὼς ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ ἀγωνιῶν ἱδροῖ, καὶ ὑπ' ἀγγέλου ἐνδυναμοῦται ὁ ἐνδυναμῶν τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας καὶ θανάτου καταφρονεῖν ἔργῳ διδάξας· καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰούδα παραδίδοται ὁ γινώσκων τὸν Ἰούδαν τίς ἐστιν· καὶ ἀτιμάζεται ὑπὸ Καιάφα, ὁ πρότερον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἱερατευόμενος ὡς Θεός· καὶ ὑπὸ Ἡρῴδου ἐξουθενεῖται ὁ μέλλων κρίναι πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, καὶ μαστίζεται ὑπὸ Πιλάτου ὁ τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἀναδεξάμενος· καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν παίζεται ᾧ παρεστήκουσι χίλιαι χιλιάδες καὶ μυρίαι μυριάδες ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων· καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ξύλῳ προσπήγνυται, ὁ πήξας ὡς καμάραν τὸν οὐρανόν· καὶ πρὸς Πατέρα βοῶν παρατίθεται τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ ἀχώριστος τοῦ Πατρός· καὶ κλίνων κεφαλὴν ἐκπνεῖ ὁ εἰπὰς, ἐξουσίαν ἔχω θεῖναι τὴν ψυχήν μου, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω πάλιν λαβεῖν αὐτήν. Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐκνικᾶτο ὑπὸ θανάτου, ὡς ζωὴ, εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ τίθημι αὐτήν· καὶ πλευρὰν λόγχῃ νύσσεται, ὁ τὴν ζωὴν πᾶσιν χαριζόμενος· καὶ σινδόνι ἐλισσόμενος ἐν μνημείῳ τίθεται ὁ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐγείρων· καὶ τριήμερος ὑπὸ Πατρὸς ἀνίσταται, αὐτὸς ὢν ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωή.

This last antithesis of the evidence of the human and of the divine

* Our author has in these words imitated the beautiful passage in Irenæus, ii. 39. (ed. Potter, p. 161.): "Ideo per omnem venit ætatem, et infantibus infans factus, sanctificans infantes: in parvulis parvulus, sanctificans hanc ipsam habentes ætatem, simul et exemplum illis pietatis effectus, et justitiæ et subjectionis: in juvenibus juvenis, exemplum juvenibus fiens, et sanctificans Domino. Sic et senior in senioribus, ut sit perfectus magister in omnibus, non solum secundum expositionem veritatis, sed et secundum ætatem, sanctificans simul et seniores, exemplum ipsis quoque fiens." But Hippolytus has kept clear from the hasty conclusion at which Irenæus arrives, that Jesus must have lived to his fiftieth year.

nature in Christ's life was manifestly a favourite theme with Hippolytus: for we shall find it in a third undoubtedly genuine writing of his.

Taking the whole together, I maintain that only one and the same author could, in two writings, having a different character and aim, express himself so similarly as to observe throughout the same succession of thoughts in the argument and the exposition. This will become still more evident, if we consider the way in which the same subject is treated by Origen. The only writer who agrees with the view of Hippolytus on the relation of the Logos to the Son, and of both to the Father and to the Spirit, is Tertullian: but nobody could attribute our work, or that against Noetus, to him. As regards the countryman and cotemporary of Hippolytus, Caius the presbyter, we have no authority for ascribing to him either of these writings, or any doctrinal and speculative treatise whatever. His fragments indicate a mind more directed to philological and historical criticism: of polemical writings by him we know only one, that against the Montanists. Both Hippolytus and Caius being disciples of Irenæus, and both being members of the Church of Rome, it might be supposed that their theological systems would be much alike: but their tendencies and their points of view were evidently very different.

Origen and Hippolytus, on the other hand, have many points in common as doctrinal writers. They both had a decided speculative bent; both searched deeply in the Scriptures; and both had a fanciful turn in speculating, as well as in interpreting. Having said thus much, I will add, that there were no two writers more different, nor two systems more divergent, at that time, in the Catholic Church. But I must refrain here from entering into this discussion, because its proper place will come when we have finished our rapid critical review of the remaining writings and fragments of Hippolytus.

If any one wishes to see the philosophical arguments in the homily against Noetus fully and lucidly discussed, I would refer him to Dorner's article on the Noetian heresy, in his "History of the Doctrine respecting the Person of Christ," i. 532—536. Dorner is the only one of our critical school who has done justice to Hippolytus generally, and in particular to this homily, and to the book we shall next have to speak of. And I believe the greatest triumph of Dorner's criticism on the Noetian heresy and on our homily to be, that it has anticipated the clearer and more scientific exposition of the doctrines of Hippolytus, which has now come to light with our work. There is nothing essential to be added from this to the picture he has drawn from his incomplete materials.

As to the relative date of the two writings, I conceive that our work is decidedly a later, as well as a more solid, production. The object of the treatise is Noetus himself, which must at least mean the earliest form of Noetianism: the book against the heresies treats of the last stage of Noetianism under Callistus, as head of the school. I believe the reverse to be the case respecting the following polemical work.

IV. Κατὰ Βήρωνος καὶ ἡλικιωτῶν τινῶν* αἱρετικῶν περὶ θεολογίας (καὶ σαρκώσεως). (Fabric. i. 225.)

Against Vero and some cotemporary Heretics about Theology (and the Incarnation).

I believe the original title to have been Λόγος θεολογίας, or περὶ θεολογίας: for thus it is quoted in the Lateran Council of 649. (Consultatio V^a. See Fabric. ii. 45.)

The external evidence for the genuineness of the eight extracts preserved to us is very great, that of Anastasius the Roman presbyter, a very learned man, who was himself present at the Lateran Council in 649. And I have no hesitation in adding, the internal is fully equal to it. † Sand having expressed his doubts about the authenticity, Bull defended it with his usual learning: so did C. A. Salig. ‡ In our times Haenell § has attacked the genuineness of these extracts of Anastasius with some ingenuity: but Dorner's refutation ‖ is so complete, and the style of the philosophical passages is so like what we find in the newly discovered work, that it seems unnecessary to say a word here about it. In referring to Dorner's great work, I think it right to say, that, although it is his individual merit to have rescued Hippolytus from the neglect into which his writings had fallen, in consequence of the doubts spread respecting his person, the method of his admirable work must be considered as merely a fair specimen of the German school. I mean first his historical method, that of interpreting every passage in connection with the whole range of the author's ideas, and every writer as a portion of his age, to be understood from the language and ideas of his time. The isolated discussion of single passages is equally inadequate to give the reader a certainty as to their sense, or a clear image of the writer and of the age in which he lived and wrote. Dorner's book must also be considered as a specimen of the German method, in the speculative spirit which distinguishes it from similar inquiries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Without being at home in the region of speculation, and conversant with the method of speculative philosophy, nobody can understand the metaphysical controversies of that time, or do justice to the writers of the first three centuries. Nay, nobody can understand the first three verses of St. John's Gospel, without being at home in those regions of thought, to which the questions respecting the Logos belong. I hope I may say so without any disrespect to that truly learned and

* MS.: καὶ Ἡλικὸς τῶν αἱρ. Cod. Colbert.: καὶ Ἡλικιῶτος τῶν αἱρ. Fabric.: καὶ ἡλικιωτῶν αἱρ. The passage, p. 225., Βήρων γάρ τις ἐναγχος μεθ' ἑτέρων τινῶν, τὴν Βαλεντίνου φαντασίαν ἀφέντες χείρονι κακῷ κατεπάρησαν λέγοντες . . ., is conclusive for the emendation. Comp. Bibl. Pat. Max. iii. 264. This work began with an allusion to the liturgical cherubic hymn: Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβαὼθ ἀσιγήτῳ φωνῇ βοῶντα Σεραφίμ (t. τὰ Σερ.) τὸν Θεὸν δοξάζουσι.

† The only interpolation is the title given to the Virgin Mary (fr. viii.: Fabr. i. 230.), ἐκ τῆς παναγίας ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, the Shiboleth of the fifth century. But such an insertion of "the full title" by the copyist proves nothing against the authenticity of the work.

‡ De Eutychianismo ante Eutych. 1723.

§ De Hippolyto Episcopo. 1828.

‖ pp. 536—548.

acute divine, Bishop Bull: but certainly he was no speculative philosopher; nor is his method a truly historical one. He often makes assertions also which have no foundation; as, for instance, that Hippolytus was a disciple of Clemens of Alexandria. Bull asserts, that all ancient authors say so, whereas nobody says so. Bossuet has praised and thanked him for his book: I do not think he would have done so, had bishop Bull adopted a truly historical and philosophical method. Referring therefore entirely to Dorner's representation of the real state and of all the depths of the controversy, I wish only to call your attention to a striking passage in the isolated fragment of the treatise against Vero, in the "Acts of the Lateran Council." It says, "God has the power of willing, not of not-willing: for that would belong to a changeable and a choosing being. It is God's eternal will that establishes what is called into being; and the same will preserves what has been called into being."* This is nothing but the ontological substruction of the theory about man's free will, which we meet with in the second article of our author's Confession of Faith.

You will also observe a striking internal analogy between the polemics of the treatise against the confusion (*σύγκρισις*) of substances, and the argument against Callistus' quasi-Patripassianism.

Certainly the treatise in question seems to have been the most metaphysical production of Hippolytus, to judge from the extracts; I also believe it to be one of his latest. His expressions about Vero † show that he was a contemporary: probably he lived under Alexander Severus; and his school only became known to Hippolytus after he had written his work against all the heresies. For there is not a word about this heresy in our book; yet, to judge from the author's constant practice, he would at least have referred to this treatise, if it had existed when he wrote his summary. Nor can I believe it to have formed part of our great work in its completeness: it is much too detailed for our composition.

V. Πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, or Ἀποδεικτικὴ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους.

Demonstrative Address to the Jews.

(Fabr. ii. p. 2—5. Cf. i. 218. sq.)

Our fragment of the Greek text of this work, from a Vatican manuscript communicated to Fabricius by Montfaucon, exhibits to us the fragment of a regular treatise, although in the form of a Homily. This was probably the first work mentioned on the cathedra of Hippolytus, as we shall see presently. The author quotes (c. ix.) the Book of Wisdom (Σοφία) as a prophetic work of Solomon; which is a novelty, as the ancient fathers gave the name of Sophia to the Proverbs; and which proves that he had not the slightest notion of the characteristics of the style and ideas of Solomon's age. I cannot say much more for his Davidic interpretation of

* Fabric. ii. 45.: Τὸ θέλειν ἔχει ὁ Θεὸς, οὐ τὸ μὴ θέλειν. Τρεπτὸν γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ προαιρετόν· ἀϊδίῳ γὰρ θελήματι Θεοῦ ἕπεται τὰ γινόμενα ᾧ καὶ γενόμενα μένει σωζόμενα.

† Beron must, from the analogy of Balentinus, represent the Latin Vero, which we know as a name by a Christian inscription (Boldetti, Osserv. ii. 13. p. 487), "Aurelius Berun." The writing Βαλεντῖνος is that of the MS., not of Hippolytus. Thus in our own MS., the Ebionites are called in one passage, Ἐβιωνῖται, in another Εὐιαιωναῖοι.

the 69th Psalm, of which Calvin had a very correct idea*, when he said, that it represented the lot of the just and the faithful.

The anonymous author of the "Acta Martyrum" gives, in appendix III. (pp. 449—488.), the text of an old Latin translation of a considerable part of the fragment preserved to us in Greek. He had discovered it among the spurious works ascribed to Cyprian. The title is "Demonstratio adversus Judæos." It begins exactly with the first words of our Greek fragment, which cannot have been the opening of the address, but was probably the beginning of the peroration. The Greek text forms the first two chapters of this very remarkable fragment. What follows (ch. 3—7. pp. 452. b.—458.) is far more interesting than the part preserved in the Greek text. The author no longer appeals to sacred texts of their prophets: he speaks to their hearts, he appeals to the Spirit in them. "The eye of the mind," he says, "is the Spirit; through Him things spiritual are seen: if, therefore, you are spiritual, you understand heavenly things. For like knows (understands) what is like to it." These words may be considered as the theme of the whole. Hence we see that we have not an attack upon the Jews in this treatise, but an address to them, an appeal to their conscience and intellect. The character of the treatise is that of an eloquent writer, who had studied Plato, and who had not only a deep Christian intelligence, but also a heart full of Christ, and of love to his brethren.

VI. Πρὸς Ἕλληνας λόγος, or κατὰ Πλάτωνος: or Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας (or οὐσίας), or Περὶ τοῦ παντός.

Address to the Hellenes, or *to Plato:* or *On the Cause* (or *substance*) *of the Universe*, or *On the Universe.*†

(Fabr. i. p. 220. sqq.)

On the title and the authorship of this treatise, mentioned also on the cathedra, I have said enough in my fourth letter (p. 400—403.). To me the most remarkable part of the concluding fragment preserved to us is the graphic description of Hades. Hippolytus had no more authority or materials for writing this as a piece of revelation or divine history than we have: as to materials, he may perhaps have used the Apocalypse of Peter. But he evidently intends, in this piece of rhetorical description, to emulate the celebrated myth, which in the Gorgias we find placed in the mouth of Socrates, respecting the judgment and the state of the soul after death. Nor do I think, that it ever entered the mind of Hippolytus to attribute any authority to his rhapsody. But in process of time some of his phrases got into the liturgies of both Churches, and were then canonized by those who canonized liturgies and rubrics.‡ Hippolytus

* Hengstenberg's Psalmen, Ps. lxix.

† Now printed in the Analecta with the new fragment furnished by the Cod. Barocc.—1854.

‡ Take this instance: Μία εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον κάθοδος, οὗ τῇ πύλῃ ἐφεστῶτα ἀρχάγγελον ἅμα στρατιᾷ ἐπιστεύκαμεν· ἣν πύλην διελθόντες οἱ καταγόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τεταγμένων ἀγγέλων οὐ μιᾷ ὁδῷ πορεύονται· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι εἰς δεξιὰ φωταγωγούμενοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστώτων κατὰ τόπον ἀγγέλων ὑμνούμενοι ἄγονται εἰς χωρίον φωτεινόν. Then follows about the bosom of Abraham, &c. Compare with this the liturgical prayer in the Apostolic Constit. viii. 41.: Ἀγγέλους εὐγενεῖς παράστησον

dreamt of no such thing: for the Gentile tales he substituted a Christian tale, founded on some symbolical expressions in the parables and the Apocalypse, or on certain phrases in some apocryphal work, availing himself also judiciously of a beautiful line in Pindar or in Plato. Why should he not do so? Was it his fault that later dark ages misunderstood such innocent poetry?

Jerome quotes this work, as "Contra Gentes" (Ep. LXX. ad Magnum), Gallandi (in the Preface, t. ii. p. xlvii.) gives a fragment overlooked by Fabricius. It has been preserved by Philoponus (De Mundi Creat. iii. 16.). It is curious enough, as a new proof how much Hippolytus was bent upon physical philosophy.*

As this work is quoted in the treatise on the Heresies, so he quotes in it (p. 222.) earlier doctrinal works, where he had treated more accurately on the person of Christ.

The concluding doxology is simple and apostolic.†

VII. *Special polemical Writings against Heretics.*

In the introduction to the article against Marcus, Hippolytus refers to a book of his against the Sorcerers.‡ One might suppose at first sight, that the exposure of the scandalous juggling tricks which some heretics practised in the East, and even in the West, was contained in a special work. But he only alludes to the fourth book of our "Refutation." I will only say here, that those tricks certainly were not of Christian invention, but practised, not only by the Egyptians, but also by the Greeks. This is proved among other things by the remarkable treatise on Pneumatics by Hero of Alexandria§, critically edited and strikingly illustrated this very year by Mr. Bennet Woodcroft, Professor of Machinery in the London University College. Some of the very ingenious mechanical tricks here explained refer to altars and temples, and can scarcely have been invented for private amusement.‖

αὐτῷ καὶ ἀτάταξον ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ κολπῷ τῶν πατριαρχῶν. Similar phrases are found very early in the formularies of the Greek and Western Churches.

* Τὸ οὖν, Γενηθήτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ ὕδατος, οὐ μεταξὺ λέγει τοῦ κάτω ὕδατος τὴν τοῦ στερεώματος γενέσθαι φύσιν, ὡς Ἰώσηπος ὁ Ἑβραῖος ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας συγγράμματι βούλεται· εἰς τρία, λέγων, διηρῆσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ μὲν τρίτον αὐτοῦ εἰς γένεσιν συμπαγῆναι τοῦ στερεώματος· τὸ δὲ τριτον ἐναπομεῖναι κάτω· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τρίτον ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις εἰς ὕψος συνανακουφισθῆναι τῷ στερεώματι. Ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις means in the rainy austral regions. The text has: ἐν τοῖς νώτοις, which is unintelligible. Gallandi of course takes care not to touch this nonsense at all. He translates, "per rarefactionem una cum firmamento elevatum," instead of "in regionibus pluviosis in altitudinem firmamenti tollitur."

† . . . ὕσα δ Θεὸς ἑτοίμασε τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

‡ IV. p. 200. 50.: Τὰ δὲ δυνάμενα τοῦτο παρασχεῖν φάρμακα ἐν τῇ κατὰ μάγων βίβλῳ προείπομεν ἐκθέμενοι. 201. 66.: Καὶ τούτου (Μάρκου) τὴν τέχνην ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ βίβλῳ ἐξεθέμεθα. Indeed we read the passage, IV. p. 66. 7. Compare 75. 49.

§ The Pneumatics of Hero of Alexandria. Translated by Mr. J. G. Greenwood, and edited by Bennet Woodcroft, 1851. He places Hero about 150 B. C.: at all events he cannot be later than about a hundred years before our era.

‖ Thus: *f. i.* 11. Libations on an altar produced by fire; ii. 21. A sacrificial vessel, which flows only when money is introduced; ii. 17. Sounds produced on the opening of a temple door.

We have indeed the titles of other polemical writings of Hippolytus against heretical teachers and sects, but without quotations from them, and therefore are unable to say whether they formed part of the general work against the Heresies, now recovered, or were independent special treatises or homilies. At all events they prove that Hippolytus was considered as the great controversial writer and defender of the Catholic faith in the Western Church of his time. Thus Hippolytus Πρὸς Νικολαΐτας (Fabric. i. p. 223.) is quoted, without any further indication of the contents. Our article on this sect is meagre enough to render it probable that its author wrote a fuller one on the subject: only he does not refer to it. This may be considered as an additional proof, that the article is amongst those of which we possess only an extract. Besides, I believe his special treatises were all directed against errors prevalent in his own time.

He might therefore easily write such a treatise against Marcion. Hippolytus Πρὸς Μαρκίωνα is cited by Jerome and by Nicephorus (Fabric. i. p. 222.). The latter calls it a controversial writing (ἀντιῤῥητικὸν πρὸς Μαρκίωνα). As he does not notice that "On Good, and the Origin of Evil," mentioned on the cathedra, this may perhaps be the same. Syncellus says, Hippolytus wrote against Marcion and the other heretics, which also seems to point to a particular treatise.

In Hebed Jesu's catalogue of Chaldee divinity books (Fabr. i. p. 222.), a treatise of Hippolytus *against Caius* is mentioned. Fabricius conjectures that this must have been a writing against the *Caïanites* (Καϊανῶν) mentioned by some texts.* ·

B.

DOCTRINAL WRITINGS.

Under this head I range such theological works as have no polemical titles, or contain, so far as our fragments go, no controversial reasoning.

I. Περὶ Ἀντιχρίστου.

Against Antichrist.

The existence of such a treatise by Hippolytus was known from the ancient authors, who give us a list of his works,—especially from Jerome.

* See my Note at the end of the eighth book of Hippolytus, where our MS. reads quite correctly, Καϊνῶν (lib. viii. c. 20. p. 277.). As to Fabricius, I had said that I adopted his conjecture: I have given it up since, because wherever Caianites occurs, Cainites is the true reading (Iran. i. c. 35., Epiph. Haer. xviii., Theodor. i. 15. compared with c. 1.), as the reference to Cain as one of the reprobates proves. Döllinger (c. 15.) is quite right in saying that there exists no heretical Caius. It does not follow hence that Hippolytus wrote a book against his cotemporary (and copresbyter at Rome?) Caius; for the existence of that book rests upon the sole authority of Hebed Jesu. It is, however, not impossible that in his treatise on the Apocalypse he defended this book against Caius who impugned its authenticity. Besides, if he had written a book against the Cainites, the only sect which could be thought of if Caius were a corruption, he would probably have mentioned it when he apologises for not entering into the discussion of their tenets.—1854.

But a work in the form of a homily, published in 1556 by a Parisian canon, Johannes Picus, in Greek and Latin, proved soon to be one of the many forgeries which owe their origin to the fourth or fifth century; and, with the exception of Baronius, no man of note was taken in by it.* The genuine work of Hippolytus was first edited in the year 1661, from two French manuscripts, by Marquard Gudius, a young divine of Holstein. Combefisius in 1672 added a Latin translation (Fabr. i. p. 4. sqq.). It is addressed to a friend and brother, Theophilus, and bears the characteristics of Hippolytus' style†, but, compared with his other writings, would seem to show a more youthful and timid mind. Still he refers in this treatise to what he had said before in other writings respecting the person of Christ. This composition is of no more value as interpretation, than any of its successors in the apocalyptic way down to our days. His calculations, based upon Daniel and the Apocalypse, are quite as absurd as those which we have been doomed to see printed (and praised and believed) in our days. He makes out that Antichrist will come 500 years after Christ, from the tribe of Dan, and rebuild the Jewish temple at Jerusalem. He quotes some apocryphal works, besides the canonical writings, and, above all, the Apocalypse, which, on this occasion, he expressly declares to be by St. John. But, with all these faults, there are some luminous thoughts in the book. What an intelligence is there in his interpretation of the woman in the Apocalypse with the twelve stars, standing upon the moon (chap. xii. 1. sqq.), compared with that given by the medieval fathers, who see in her the Virgin Mary! and what deep theology, compared with the commentators of the old Protestant school! Hippolytus says (p. 30.): "The woman is the Church; the twelve stars are the Twelve Apostles, her founders; and the child she brings forth is Christ, whom she continually gives birth to." It is remarkable, that this last idea is expressed in almost the same words, only more concisely, in the fragment which I believe to be the conclusion of our work.‡

Some writers have conceived, that Hippolytus alludes, in his interpretations of the ten horns of the fourth beast in Daniel, to some great convulsion of the empire in his time; but this opinion seems to me entirely unfounded. All I can find in those passages, as indicative of the time in which they were written (§ 28, 29.), is the existence of a very strong, iron, military government; and this seems to point to the time when the power of Septimius Severus was firmly established, after fierce contests and sanguinary battles. The rest relates to things to come, to the last age of the world, which he thought about three centuries distant.

* Fabric. Append. ad I. i. p. 2. sqq.

† Compare p. 4., Τοῦτο σοι ἐφόδιον ἐν τῷ νῦν βίῳ ἀκίνδυνον ἥτω, with the same expression in the Procem. adv. Hær.; p. 5.: Πρόκειται τῷ μὲν λέγοντι τὸ ἀκίνδυνον ἐξειπεῖν, with Adv. Hær. ix. p. 288. 82.; ib.: Ὁ τοῦ Θέου παῖς instead of υἱὸς, of Christ, in the 10th book, and elsewhere in other writings of Hippolytus. The exclamation μὴ πλανῶ, ix. p. 336. 18., occurs p. 5. The expression τὰ τοῦ λόγου μυστήρια, and the Doxology, are found in the concluding fragment of the "Epistle to Diognetus," which I have claimed for Hippolytus.

‡ Ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα κράζει, . . . ὅτι οὐ παύσεται ἡ ἐκκλησία γεννῶσα ἐκ καρδίας τὸν Λόγον, τὸν ἐν κόσμῳ ὑπ' ἀπίστων διωκόμενον . . . . Ἐπουράνιός ἐστι βασιλεὺς καὶ οὐκ ἐπίγειος ὁ δι' αὐτῆς ἀεὶ γεννώμενος. The words in the fragment, printed as the conclusion of the "Epistle to Diognetus," are: ὁ πάντοτε νέος ἐν ἁγίων καρδίαις γεννώμενος.

As we possess this treatise complete, we may assert positively that Hippolytus has not pointed by a single word in it to the time when he wrote it. This much only may be conjectured, that it must have been written after the tenth year of Septimius Severus. This was the year in which, according to the interpretation of Judas, the world was to perish; and we learn from Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. vi. 7.) that Judas' prophecy spread a great terror among the Christians, their minds being powerfully seized by the foreboding of imminent persecutions. Now this fright must have ceased when Hippolytus wrote; for there is not an allusion to it from beginning to end.

II. Περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις.

The Apostolic Tradition respecting the Gifts of the Holy Spirit (on the cathedra).

I hope to prove in another place that this book is not entirely lost, but preserved in two corrupted extracts; in some Ethiopic Canons, and in the older text of a part of the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions. The saying of Jerome (Ep. 28. ad Lucin. Fabr. i. p. 259.), that Hippolytus had written on the questions whether Christians ought to fast on the Sabbath, and communicate every day, refers to this book of his.*

III. Περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως.

On God, and on the Resurrection of the Flesh.

The title of a lost doctrinal work, named on the cathedra.

IV. Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ καὶ πόθεν τὸ κακόν.

On Good and the Origin of Evil.

Likewise on the cathedra: perhaps a work against Marcion.

V. Προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Σεβηρεῖναν.

Hortatory Sermon to Severina.

Likewise on the cathedra. This is undoubtedly the letter which, Theodoret says, Hippolytus addressed to a certain princess (Βασιλίδα). This is not an expression for the empress (Sebaste); nor is Severina the name of an empress of his time.†

Of this epistle Theodoret has preserved two fragments (Fabr. i. p. 92 *.), both on Christ's resurrection, as a commentary upon 1 Cor. xv. 20. 23. The phraseology is strikingly analogous to a passage in the "Confession of Faith."‡

* See Introduction to the Apostolical Canons and Constitutions, printed at the end of the Analecta, and Dr. Boetticher's Preface to the Constitutions, and the text of the eighth book itself.—1854.

† I had added the conjecture that she was a daughter of Alexander Severus. Döllinger's supposition that it was Julia Aquilia Severa, second wife of Elagabalus (Ekhel, Doctr. Num. vii. 20.), is certainly the true one: we know of no daughter of Severus, and he married only in 229.—1854.

‡ Ὡς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος σάρκα λαβών: compare with x. 338. 78., ἴσμεν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς φυράμα-ος γεγονότα. Again, ἀπαρχὴν ποιούμενος τῆς τῶν δικαίων σαρκός: compared with ἀπαρξάμενος ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις τὸν ἴδιον ἄνθρωπον (ib. i. 86.).

VI. *Doctrinal festal Homilies.*

To the same class of purely doctrinal works seem also to belong the *festal sermons* quoted by different authors, such as

1. Λόγος εἰς τὰ ἅγια Θεοφάνεια, *A (baptismal) Sermon on Epiphany.* (Fabr. i. p. 261.) The text was given by Fabricius from a MS. in the library of Thomas Gale, sent to him from England. Many of its thoughts and expressions remind us of our work. Thus (c. vii. p. 263.), "The beloved generates love, and the immaterial light the inaccessible light," and "Christ has become manifest, his appearance was not a semblance" (ἐπεφάνη, οὐκ ἐφάνη). This phrase expresses most happily the controversy with the Gnostics. The startling, seemingly pantheistic expressions in the last article of Hippolytus' "Confession" have here their full match in the words (p. 264. c. viii.), "If, then, man has become immortal, he will also be God."* The saying (p. 264.), "that the Holy Spirit is the water which waters Paradise," reminds us of the mystic expression, in what, I believe, formed the conclusion of our work, the fragment commonly assigned to the "Epistle to Diognetus," where the heart of the faithful is taken as the field in which the two trees of Paradise grow.

2. A similar homily of Hippolytus on *Easter*, was known (εἰς τὸ πάσχα ἐξήγησις. Fabr. i. p. 281.). The "Acts of the Lateran Council of 640" quote a passage from it (Fabr. ii. p. 45.).

3. The same is probably the case with the Sermons on the Distribution of the Talents, and on the Two Thieves (Fabr. i. p. 281.).

4. Perhaps, also, the two beautiful anecdotes of the Corinthian Virgin, and of the youth Palladius, were related in one of these homilies. (Fabr. i. p. 283. sq.)

C.

HISTORICAL WORKS.

I. Χρονικῶν.

(Cathedra.) *The (Book, or Books of the) Chronicles.*

About the same time with Julius Africanus, or twenty years later at the utmost, Hippolytus undertook a chronographic work. Eusebius mentions it. According to his rather confused account, it went down to the first year of Alexander Severus. Hippolytus refers to this work in the tenth book, on which occasion I spoke on its subject, as it is preserved in a Latin translation of the time of Charlemagne. (Fabr. i. 46—59.) Dodwell conjectures, that the Byzantine monk, Anianus (under Theodosius), had used Hippolytus' chronography for his chronology of the Roman bishops down to Pontianus, and that Maximus the Confessor having copied him, Syncellus adopted this list. All this is mere conjecture, though Syncellus' chronology of the early Roman bishops certainly differs from that of Eusebius. I believe that a fresh and impartial

* Εἰ οὖν ἀθάνατος γέγονεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἔσται καὶ Θεός.

examination of the unsettled question respecting the history and the succession of the Roman bishops before Sylvester, and more particularly before Cornelius, will prove that the catalogue of the Roman bishops given by Hippolytus (which, as is credibly recorded, formed part of his "Chronicle,") made an epoch in this matter. The catalogue of Hippolytus must originally have ended with Callistus; for the end of Callistus coincides with the accession of Alexander Severus, with the first year of whom his list of emperors concluded. But it may in subsequent editions have been carried down to Pontianus, with whom Hippolytus was transported to Sardinia. Now it can scarcely be accidental that the most ancient list which has come down to us, of the year 354, the "Catalogus Liberianus," also called "Bucherianus," has an unmistakeable line of demarcation at the beginning of Pontianus. The method adopted down to Urbanus, the predecessor of Pontianus, differs decidedly from that employed subsequently. My belief therefore is, that this first part is extracted from the work of Hippolytus. I have further proofs of this assertion in my possession; and I shall give account of them whenever I publish my "Restoration of the Succession of the Roman bishops before the time of Cornelius" (written in 1847): a question now of particular importance, in consequence of the abuse made by Schwegler, and others of the Tubingen school, of the present uncertainty of some dates. It must be confessed, that, having been treated uncritically by Baronius, and not settled by Pagi, this question has been involved in confusion by Dodwell and Vignolles. I have endeavoured to establish a safer method of inquiry, with the help of new documents; and I hope that my investigation, as it has been impartial, has not been altogether unsuccessful: I am sure it entirely demolishes the fabulous chronology of Tubingen.*

But our Latin text seems to be only an abstract or an introduction. Hippolytus' original work must have been more like a chronological canon, with historical notes. We have a fragment of the Greek text of this nature (Fabr. App. p. 41.) quoted by Cedrenus, and relating that, under Nero, John the apostle was recalled from Patmos to Ephesus.

The "Chronicle" of Hippolytus became, like the Apostolic Tradition, a fruitful source of forgeries. To these belong: "The Holy Hippolytus on the Twelve Apostles," "On the Seventy Disciples, with their Names." (See, on both, Fabr. i. p. 53. sqq.) I regard the "Chronicle of Hippolytus the Theban," and that personage himself, as merely part of those forgeries. (Fabr. append. to vol. i. pp. 43—50.)

II. Ἀπόδειξις χρόνων τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ τὰ ἐν πίνακι.

Demonstration of the Time of Easter according to the Table.

This is the title of Hippolytus' book on the celebration of Easter mentioned on the cathedra.

* Mommsen, in his excellent critical "Essay on the Chronography of the year 354" (1850), has perfectly established the truth of Ducange's conjecture, that this list of the Roman bishops is taken from the work of Hippolytus (pp. 594—598. 673—644.).

D.

EXEGETICAL WORKS.

I. (Ὠδαί) Εἰς πάσας τὰς γραφάς.

On all the Holy Scriptures (Cathedra).

We read now ὠδαί, songs, connected with what follows, which is absurd. For Hippolytus wrote commentaries on the Scriptures, in the forms of *homilies*, but not of odes or hymns. But ὠδαί may be taken by itself, and there is nothing more to be said about them, for none are preserved or quoted. If not, we must suppose that the stone-mason engraved ὠδαί, instead of an abbreviation of ὁμιλίαι, for which word there is no place.*

There are besides mentioned on the cathedra the following exegetical works, to which we shall have to refer in their proper places: —

(Διήγησις) Εἰς ψαλμούς: evidently commentaries on the Psalms; — (Εἰς τὴν) Ἐγγαστρίμυθον: *On the Witch of Endor*;—and Ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Εὐαγγελίου καὶ Ἀποκαλύψεως: *On the Gospel according to John, and the Apocalypse.* This title seems to indicate, that the book was written as an explanation of the origin and date, perhaps in defence against an attack, or in rectification of a vulgar error.

II. *On the Historical Works of the Old Testament.*

As to the extent of the exegetical compositions of Hippolytus, the ncient authors declare, that Hippolytus wrote commentaries on most works of the Old, and on some of the New, Testament.

On the Hexaemeron, or the Six Days of the Creation. Extracts in Jerome, Ep. cxxv. ad Damasum (Fabr. i. p. 266.); J. Damascen. Parall. opp. ii. 787. (Fabr. i. p. 7.)

On the Pentateuch. Extracts in Fabr. ii. p. 22. sqq.

On the Prophets; in particular on Ezekiel and Daniel.

On the Book of Samuel. Fragment Εἰς τὸν Ἐλκάναν καὶ τὴν Ἄνναν (Fabr. i. p. 267.). Εἰς τὴν ἐγγαστρίμυθον (Cathedra. Jerome: De Saule et Pythonissa. Fabric. l. l.).

On the Book of Kings; the history of Hezekiah's miracle, which he explains by imagining a parallel to the Amphitryonic night, — a day of thirty-two hours instead of twenty-four (Greek text. Fabr. ii. p. 31.).

III. *On the Psalms and the Songs of the Old Testament.*

The first work mentioned of this class is that on the Psalms. Nicephorus quotes the διήγησις εἰς τοὺς ψαλμούς (Fabr. i. p. 267.). He has preserved the beginning of the work. Theodoret quotes a passage from it (Fabr. i. p. 268.), graphically describing the signs both of true humanity and of true divinity in the history of Christ's life, exactly like the passage (although differing in words) in the work against Noetus, on which I have commented above.

Here also we owe to the Roman prelate a considerable addition to the

* I have modified here the original sentence, which substituted ὁμιλίαι for ὠδαί. The common interpretation, ὠδαὶ εἰς πάσας τ. γρ., is and remains untenable. — 1854.

fragments printed by Fabricius and Gallandi. He has given in the appendix (II. 439—448.), the complete text of the introduction to the commentary, of which we had only the first period. This text is found according to him in two manuscripts, one in the library of the Minerva at Rome (Casanatensis, O. I. a.), and the other the Vatican codex (1759). In the latter the text is mutilated at the beginning.

The fragment bears the title: Ἱππολύτου τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης Ὑπόθεσις διηγήσεως εἰς τοὺς Ψαλμούς. It is of great interest, for various reasons. First, for the knowledge of Hippolytus' real style. We discover here the clear and lucid method of discussion, and the easy exposition of the subject, which we generally find in Hippolytus, wherever the text is not corrupted. It treats on the authors of the Psalms, their relative age, and original division, the mode of performance, and the difference between Psalms, and Songs or Odes (ᾠδαί). According to him the Psalter contains both Psalms, performed by the musical instrument (nabla, the psalterium) alone, and Odes, where the voice answered the instrument. Both kinds were mixed, so that we have Psalms of Odes, and Odes of Psalms. This, of course, is a mistake: but Hippolytus is right in distinguishing the two leading elements in the sacred lyrics; the Psalm, which is the Semitic element, advancing by hemistichs, of which the second is, as it were, the echo of the first; and the Hymn, or the Japhetic element, then existing only in the imperfect Greek form, as an Ode, but which a hundred years later developed itself into the Latin Hymn, through Ambrose, at Milan.

The most remarkable passage is the following; because it shows how far the fathers were from that superstition which seems to have crept into the minds even of some learned and eminent men in this country, who write on the Psalms as if it were part and parcel of orthodoxy to believe that all of them are by David, and that they were composed by him (or at the utmost by him and his friends) for the use of the congregation, as an official hymn-book; whereas such an opinion is nothing but a proof of ignorance, and, in divines, of a contempt for truth and learning.

The words are these:—After having said, that the Jews called the Psalter Sephra Thelim (Sepher Tehillim, the Book of Songs), without any name of an author, Hippolytus adds: "The reason thereof is this, that the compositions were not written by one; but Esdras collected those of several authors, as the traditions inform us, in the time after the Captivity when he united the Psalms of different writers, or rather Songs in general (λόγους); for they are not all Psalms. In consequence, some of them have the name of David prefixed to them, some that of Solomon, others that of Asaph. There are also some by Jeduthun (Ἰδιθούμ), and besides some by the sons of Korah, also by Moses. Now the compositions of all these men collected together will not be called the Psalms of David alone by any one who understands the matter."

The text is very readable: in the first period some inaccuracies in our ordinary text are corrected.

His description of the nabla as having the sounding-brass above, is the source of St. Augustin's account (Winer, R. L. ii. 125.).

Connected with this commentary on the Psalms, was that on the Songs of the Old Testament. Nicephorus quotes the commentary upon the

"ἄσματα," in the plural. Eusebius, in his list, mentions that on the Song, of Solomon (of which we have a fragment, Fabr. i. p. 278.). This therefore was only a part. One of the other Canticles was the μεγάλη ᾠδή. which, our prelate justly observes (Acta Mart. p. 101.), cannot mean, as Fabricius supposes, the 119th Psalm, but is the proper term for the Song of Moses. The fragment quoted by Theodoret (Fabr. 269.) belongs therefore to this work, and not to that on the Psalms.

IV. *On the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.*

On the Proverbs. (Fabr. i. p. 269., and Mai, Collectio Vatic. ii. 223., who gives the Greek text of a fragment known substantially in a Latin translation.) There is also a fragment of Hippolytus on Proverbs i. 9. in Fabr. i. p. 282., misplaced by the editor.

On Ecclesiastes. Fabr. i. p. 270.

V. *On the Prophets.*

On the Prophet Isaiah. Fabr. i. p. 271.

On the Prophet Ezekiel. Fabr. i. p. 271. (named by Syncellus, p. 358.)

On the Prophet Daniel. Fabr. i. p. 271. (named by Theodoret, and by Photius, c. 203.). Jerome says, Hippolytus' historical explanation of the seventy weeks did not tally with history and chronology. Fabr. i. p. 272. We have a genuine fragment of this explanation in Fabr. i. p. 278. on Daniel's Life and Time.

On the Prophet Zechariah. Fabr. i. p. 279.

VI. *On the New Testament.*

As to the New Testament, we have mention of a Commentary on St. Matthew, and on the Gospel and Apocalypse of St. John.*

No doubt, the greater number of the fragments of these exegetical works preserved to us are childish. What other word shall I use for such interpretations as that "Isaac bears the image of God the Father; Rebecca of the Holy Spirit; Esau of the devil; Jacob of the Church and of Christ?" That Jacob grew old, means the consummation of the world. Rebecca, that is to say, Patience, gave intelligence to Isaac of the brothers' dispositions. These are some specimens given by Jerome. But I do not believe that in these fragments we have a fair specimen of the value of the works as a whole. We see now, by the new fragments published in the "Acta Martyrum," that the quotations do not give the most sensible part, the historical illustrations, and the truly philosophical,

* The Syriac MSS. discovered in the Libyan Desert and explored by Cureton contain, as my excellent friend has kindly communicated to me, quotations (of slight importance) from the following works of Hippolytus:

"Apostolical Collections." "Commentary on Daniel." 'Commentary on the Psalms." "Sermon on the Resurrection." "Sermon on the Epiphany."

The only interesting article is the first. It may be the genuine text of what we knew only as a forgery, under the title of the "Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions," and then perhaps only a part of the book mentioned on the cathedra, that is, the "Apostolical Tradition on the Gifts of the Holy Spirit."

though perhaps incorrectly expressed thoughts. Still even our old fragments, in the midst of fanciful allegories, show a deep mind and a free and honest inquirer.

I will here insert a restoration of the catalogue of Hippolytus' writings on his cathedra, to show that it is far from giving a complete list of them. I am enabled, through Dr. Brunn, of the Archæological Institute at Rome, to give the text more correctly than that printed by Gruter and Fabricius. The corners of the back of the cathedra are edged off, so as to form two planes of breadth sufficient for eighteen letters. The list is on one of these planes; and there never was an inscription on the other.

Πρὸς τοῦς 'ΙουδαΙΟΥC

περὶ τῆς κοσμογοΝΙΑC

διήγησις εἰς ψΑΛΜΟΥC

εἰς τὴν ἐγΓΑCΤΡΙΜΥΘΟΝ

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩ
ΑΝΗΝ (sic)
ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟ
ΚΑΛΥΨΕΩC

ΠΕΡΙ ΧΑΡΙCΜΑΤΩΝ
ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΙΚΗ ΠΑΡΑΔΟ
CIC
ΧΡΟΝΙΚΩΝ

ΠΡΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΑ

ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟC ΠΑΤΩΝΑ (sic)

Η ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟ

ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΤΙΚΟC ΠΡΟCCΕ
ΒΗΡΕΙΝΑΝ

ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙC ΧΡΟΝΩΝ
ΤΟΥ ΠΑCΧΑ

ΚΑΤΑ (τὰ) ΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΙΝΑΚΙ

ωΔΑΙΙC (l. ὠδαὶ εἰς) ΠΑCΑC ΤΑCΡΑ
ΦΑ

ΠΕΡΙ $\overline{\text{ΘΥ}}$ ΚΑΙ CΑΡΚΟC
ΑΝΑCΤΑCΕΩC
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΠΟΘΕΝ (τὸ) ΚΑΚΟΝ.

The work on the heresies, quoted by almost all the authors, is not in this list; nor are other works equally well attested. It may have been intended to give the titles of only some of Hippolytus' books. If the statue is of his life-time, it may be anterior to his writing that work. If the statue was originally erected where it was found it wants no further explanation why, in the time of Constantine or Theodosius that work was not selected among those commemorated on a statue.

I will conclude this review of the works of Hippolytus with two tables of the lists exhibited by Eusebius, Jerome, and Nicephorus, comparing them first among themselves, and then with that on the cathedra. I give first that of Eusebius: whatever Nicephorus has, is marked with an asterisk: the order is the same: the few words added by Nicephorus are also marked. Then follow, in the same column, those works which Nicephorus gives besides; they are one and all taken from Jerome, whose list I give in the second column, marking with Italics what he has in common with Eusebius. The list of Syncellus forms the third column.

The result is simply this: Jerome has copied Eusebius, but added some more titles of exegetical works; for that was the strong side in his erudition. Nicephorus has copied both. Syncellus has evidently made an extract from the older authors. Finally, the list on the cathedra is not intended to give all the works of Hippolytus, but only a selection, those most approved.

I.

The Lists of Eusebius, Jerome, and Nicephorus compared.

Euseb. vi. 22.	Hieronymus.	Syncellus.
(Niceph. *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 31.)	*De viris illustr.* c. 61.	*Ad annum* 215, p. 358.
*Τὸ περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα σύγγραμμα.	Rationem *Paschæ* tempor. umque canones usque ad 1. a. Alex Imp. sedecim annorum circuitus.	
*Εἰς τὴν ἑξαήμερον.	*In Hexaemeron.*	Εἰς τὴν ἑξαήμερον.
*Εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἑξαήμερον.	In Exodum. *In Canticum Canticorum. In Genesin.* In Zachariam. *De Psalmis.* In Esaiam. De Daniele. De Apocalypsi. De Proverbiis. De Ecclesiaste. De Saul et Pythonissa.	Εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἑξαήμερον. Εἰς πολλὰ τῶν προφητῶν μάλιστα εἰς Ἰεζεκιὴλ καὶ Δανιήλ.
* Πρὸς Μαρκίωνα. (Niceph. Ἀντιῤῥητικὸν πρὸς Μαρκίωνα.)		Εἰς τὰ ἄσματα.
* Εἰς τὸ Ἆσμα.		Εἰς πολλὰς παντοίας παλαιὰς καὶ νέας γραφὰς, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὴν ἐν Πάτμῳ τοῦ Θεολόγου Ἀποκάλυψιν.
* Εἰς μέρη τοῦ Ἰεζεκιήλ.		
	De Antichristo.	
	De Resurrectione.	
	Contra Marcionem.	
* Περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα.	*De Pascha.*	
*Πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις. (Niceph. βιωφελέστατον.)	Adversus omnes hæreses.	Πρὸς Μαρκίωνα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αἱρέσεις.
"πλεῖστά τε ἄλλα παρὰ πολλοῖς ἂν εὕροις σωζόμενα."	Προσομιλίαν de laude Domini Salvatoris in qua præsente Origene se loqui in ecclesia significat.	Τὸν ἑξαιδέκατον ἐτηρικὸν τοῦ Πάσχα κανόνα.

Nicephorus adds to the Eusebian list the following works:—

Περὶ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Ἀντιχριστοῦ.

Περὶ ἀναστάσεως· καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα· εἰς Ζαχαρίαν· περὶ Ψαλμῶν· εἰς τὸν Ἐσαΐαν· εἰς τὸν Δανιήλ· περὶ Ἀποκαλύψεως· περὶ παροιμιῶν· περὶ Σαοὺλ καὶ Πυθῶνος· περὶ ἐπαίνων τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐν οἷς παρόντος Ὠριγένους ὡμίλησεν.

II.

THE LIST ON THE CATHEDRA, COMPARED WITH THE AUTHORS AND OUR FRAGMENTS.

Πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους.	Fragment.
Περὶ τῆς κοσμογονίας.	? In Hexaemeron. E. H. S. Fr.
Διήγησις εἰς Ψαλμούς.	Euseb. Hieron. Fragments.
Εἰς τὴν ἐγγαστρίμυθον.	Hieron. (De Saul et Pythonissa.)
Ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως.	Hieron.
Περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις.	Referred to by Jerome.
Χρονικῶν.	Euseb. Latin translation.
Πρὸς Ἕλληνας, καὶ πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἢ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντός.	Fragment.
Προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Σεβηρείναν.	Fragments.
Ἀπόδειξις χρόνων τοῦ Πάσχα.	Euseb. Hieron.
Ὠδαί.	Syncel. Hieron.
Εἰς πασὰς τὰς γράφας.	
Περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως.	
Περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ποθὲν τὸ κακόν.	(? Euseb. and Hieron. Adv. Marcionem.)

Having thus briefly laid before you all the materials necessary for judging of the authenticity of the traditions respecting the life, the age, and the writings of Hippolytus, I will endeavour to draw the outlines of a picture of his character and of that of his time.

I begin with his doctrinal works as the most important: and I believe I cannot introduce this delicate subject better than by giving a translation of the passage in Dorner's work on the Person of Christ*, in which this philosophical divine sums up his exposition of the systems of the leading Christian philosophers of that age, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen, respecting the Logos and the Sonship.

"If we cast a glance upon the development of the ecclesiastical dogma at this remarkable stage (the middle of the third century), and upon the three principal characters who appear on the side of the Church, we fin that since the end of the second century it was generally understood that one could not stop at the literal sense of the Logos. For otherwise the distinct hypostasis (personification) of the Logos would not be firmly established, as God himself is Reason (Logos). From this time forth, after the precedent of Tertullian, the watchword becomes '*the Son.*' It is now said by Hippolytus, that the Son is *out of* the Logos, that the Logos is the spiritual substance of God, or the Father himself, and that, so far from being the Son himself, the Logos logically precedes the Son: a proposition which is still further developed by Origen. A large part of the first volume of Origen's 'Commentaries on St. John,' where he represents the ἀρχή of St. John (in which the Logos was μονογενὴς, or the Son) as the divine σοφία, that is, the νοῦς or λόγος of God himself, out of

* Vol. i. p. 693.

which the Son is said to be and to proceed, is intended to carry out the same idea. Thus, by the word 'Son,' a greater distinction was made between the substance and the personality of the second hypostasis; and under the term 'Sonship' was understood originally (by Tertullian and Hippolytus) not the substance, but only the personality of the Son. It followed of itself, that while and because the substance of the second hypostasis is eternal, the personality was not regarded as eternal. The temporal distinction (diremption) was also intended to assist the perception and the fixation of the difference between the eternal substance, which is not yet distinct from the Father, and the personality. Tertullian, for instance, in his clumsy method of reasoning, was not able to master this difference, except by fixing it temporally. Doubtless the new watchword 'the Son' was also a temptation to consider the Sonship as not eternal: at least it may readily be understood, that Clemens of Alexandria and Irenæus (with the latter, of whom the critical treatment of the dogma of the Logos begins), as they dwelt chiefly on the word Logos, must have found it easier and more indispensable to assert the eternity of the Divine wisdom and Reason (that is, of the Son, in their sense), than those who started from the word *Son*. As it lay very near to this latter view, to mix up the Son with finiteness, a combination which brought Tertullian to the verge of Patripassianism, and also placed him in contradiction to himself, since the Son was to spring out of the eternal substance of God, Hippolytus endeavoured to remove this difficulty, by strictly distinguishing God, as the only Infinite, the Super-infinite One, from the world; but by his determinism the world, and even the humanity of Christ, were divested of personality; and he is obliged to subject the hypostatic existence of the Son to the omnipotent will of God. It is true, that he turns his glance back from the personality of the Son, which comes forth a little later, to His eternal substance; and he tries to draw lines of connection between the two, speaking of the eternal predestination of the personality of the Son. But the Son, it is manifest, is only placed hereby in still more dependence on the omnipotent will of God; and he considers that eternal substance merely as belonging to the Father, and as communicated by him, in accordance with his will and decree, to his hypostatic Son. Origen is the first who rose decidedly above this difficulty. He discerned the contradiction lying in the supposition of a hypostasis, which does not come forth till afterwards, and yet possesses the eternal divine substance, and is asserted not to be a creature. Hence he tries to reconcile the eternity of the divine substance, and the genesis of the personality of the Son, by the dogma of the *eternal*, that is, of the eternally proceeding *generation* of the Son by the Father. But while his predecessors had said much of the will of the Father, so as to place the Son on a level with the creatures, in a manner contrary to their purpose, Origen, in whose system the will acts such an important part, has not been quite able to avoid this; only he has represented the Son as the hypostatic will of the Father, which proceeded out of His Wisdom or Spirit (νοῦς = λόγος). In this way Origen brings the dogmas of Tertullian and Hippolytus, in concordance with the eternal generation of the Son, to a conclusion. But, in doing so, he places himself at the same time in a strong realistic opposition to the men of the second century, who had

regarded the Son more ideally as the Divine Reason and Wisdom, or at the utmost as the Divine Purpose, which of itself is creative."

As to the place which Hippolytus occupies in the development of the doctrine of the Trinity, the following passage of G. A. Meier's work on that doctrine (1844) shows the stage at which that inquiry has at present arrived. His statement is based upon the passages of the treatise against Noetus, which I have given above, and agrees in many points with Haenell's monography on Hippolytus (1838). His words (p. 88. sq.)are:

"The coming forth of the Logos at the creation was commonly represented, not as his birth, but as his manifestation; and the dispensation by which this difference was brought out, coincides with the incarnation of the Logos; and here the triple distinction takes the place of the unity of the divine power. This view is still more confirmed by the fact that Hippolytus decidedly ascribes no personality to the Holy Spirit. He has no fear, that the charge of Tritheism should be brought against him, and only thinks it necessary to say, that he does not preach two Gods. In this he seems to come near to Noetus; yet there is still between them a decided difference. Noetus makes the divinity of the Father dwell in Christ, so that the infinite becomes finite, while the appearance passes by without a lasting existence: this does not establish any real difference in God himself. Hippolytus on the contrary, with his ecclesiastical tendency, makes the Incarnation the foundation for a real impersonation of the Logos, who in this divine and human personality, as God and Lord of the Church, is taken up into heaven, so that together with him flesh itself (that is, with a rational human soul) enters therein. The doctrine of the Trinity runs with him thus: In the beginning God was alone, he himself being everything, but not as mere void being; for he was never without reason, wisdom, and power. This reason that rested in Him, the universe locked up as it were in Him its ideal existence, came forth reality the moment He willed it. God manifests the Logos; and everything is formed by thought and wisdom, the first being the creating, the latter the regulating power. The manifestation of the Logos therefore is only his showing forth in the distinct forms and relations of the real world, wherein Hippolytus does not find a personification of the Logos, which indeed is not contained in them. The Logos merely unveils those relations, and at the same time gives their rules in the Law: he makes the prophets speak by the Holy Ghost, which he gives to them, and becomes the Son by the Incarnation, being only the Reason of God.

"Hippolytus stands nearer to the doctrine of the Logos than Tertullian: it is not unknown to him, but interwoven with his system; yet he belongs to the authors of the ecclesiastical school. If we look merely at his words, we might be inclined to class him with Beryllus and Sabellius; but his tendency is different. Hippolytus is advancing towards the personality of the three subjects, which the others knowingly deny: in assuming the eternal personality of the Son for the future, he is forced to acknowledge it in the past: whereas Beryllus and Sabellius are proceeding towards the notion of an indifferent change of being."

Origen, as I have said above, was, according to these statements, the last person of that age to write the Confession of Faith which we find at the end of the work against all the heresies. I do not see how this can be contested, upon a general survey of systems and terminologies of that

time, as we know them now through the researches of the men whose opinions I have given, and through those of Baur, of Neander, and of Redepenning. Still, as our work has been published under the name of Origen, I will give the text of that striking passage of the real Origen, which treats on the relation of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, to show the difference between the two authors both in thought and style. Origen*, in his commentary on the third verse of St. John's Gospel, in order to prove that the Holy Spirit is a creature of the Logos, but as much the third hypostasis of the Trinity as the Son is the second, speaks thus :—

"I think that he who says that the Holy Spirit is made, and who allows that 'every thing was made by Him,' must necessarily subscribe to the opinion, that the Holy Spirit was made by the Logos, the Logos being anterior to the Spirit. We who are sure that there are three hypostases, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and who hold that both are generated of the Father, this being the more religious and the true opinion, allow that, of all things which have come into existence through the Word, the Holy Spirit is by far the most worthy of honour, and the first in order of those things which have been made by the Father through Christ. And perhaps this is the reason why He is not called a Son of God, as the only-begotten Son alone was by nature the Son from the beginning; and it would appear that the Holy Spirit needed him, the Son ministering to his hypostasis, not only as regards his actual existence, but also as regards his being wise, reasonable, and just."

And again, in another passage : —

"The power of the Father is greater than that of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. That of the Son is greater than that of the Holy Ghost: and again the power of the Holy Ghost surpasses that of all other holy things."

These passages require no commentary to make them bear upon our argument. But I must repeat, the difference is so great, that whoever considers the whole of Origen's system, and places it in connection (as he ought to do) with the terminology and method employed by Origen's master, Clemens of Alexandria, and by the founder of the Alexandrian school, Pantænus, will be puzzled to understand how the "Confession of Faith" could ever have been ascribed to Origen. That the ancient copyist marked it in the margin as Origen's, is explained by the difference between its terminology, and that of the formularies of the Councils and of the Byzantine divines. Whatever of this sort seemed strange, mystical,

* Opp. iv. 60.: *Οἶμαι γὰρ ὅτι τῷ μὲν φάσκοντι γενητὸν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εἶναι, καὶ προϊεμένῳ τὸ "πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο," ἀναγκαῖον παραδέξασθαι, ὅτι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐγένετο, πρεσβυτέρου παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦ λόγου τυγχάνοντος. Ἡμεῖς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις πειθόμενοι νυγχάνειν, τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ ἀγέννητον μηδὲν ἕτερον τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι πιστεύοντες, ὡς εὐσεβέστερον καὶ ἀληθὲς, προσιέμεθα τὸ, παντῶν διὰ τοῦ λόγου γινομένων, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα παντων εἶναι τιμιώτερον, καὶ τάξει πάντων* [1. *πρῶτον*] *τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ Χριστοῦ γεγενημένων. Καὶ τάχα αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ αἰτία τοῦ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸ υἱὸν χρηματίζειν τοῦ Θεοῦ, μόνου τοῦ μονογενοῦς φύσει υἱοῦ ἀρχῆθεν τυγχάνοντος, οὗ χρήζειν ἔοικε τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, διακονοῦντος αὐτοῦ τῇ ὑποστάσει, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφὸν εἶναι, καὶ λογικὸν καὶ δίκαιον κ.τ.λ.* With this passage Gieseler judiciously compares that from the book De Princip. i. 3. 5. : *Μείζων ἡ δύναμις τοῦ πατρὸς παρὰ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. πλείων δὲ ἡ τοῦ υἱοῦ παρὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ πάλιν διαφέρουσα μᾶλλον τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἡ δύναμις παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἅγια.*

suspicious, was ascribed in early times to Origen, by some out of ignorance, by others out of malice. Indeed, this is the reason why the whole work was ascribed to Origen in the East, and so far from being translated into Latin, like other works, was scarcely mentioned, much less quoted, by the later fathers of the Roman Church.

There is the same difference between a philosophical dialogue of Plato and a corresponding one of Cicero, as between our two writers, Hippolytus the Roman, and his perhaps somewhat younger cotemporary, Origen the Alexandrian. And this comparison holds good in many respects. If Origen is no Plato, Hippolytus is no Cicero. But Hippolytus, although intimately connected with Greek literature and philosophy, and evidently endeavouring to unite as much as possible the East and the West, is to all intents and purposes, in his theological speculations, a man of the Western Church, a Latin and a Roman. There are certainly many points of agreement between him and Origen, over and above the Catholic tendency of both, as defenders of the Catholic Church against the heretical schools. They were both learned and pious men; they both enjoyed a classical and philosophical education; they were both argumentative, and sometimes sophistical, and both imaginative and somewhat fanciful. In their theological writings more particularly they were both addicted to allegorical and mystical interpretations. But the mysticism of Hippolytus is very different from that of Origen. He indulges in allegorical fancies, as his exegetical writings show, certainly as much as any writer, who was not a Jew, and much more so than Origen, who was a far deeper theologian, a more acute reasoner, and a more accurate scholar. On looking closer, we find his allegorical interpretations are all of an ethical, that is, of a simply moral and often of a sentimental character; whereas the allegorical imaginations of Origen are metaphysical, and, however fanciful, have always a deep thought in them. Their speculations reproduce the difference between the old Roman and old Greek mythology: the Latin element in these primitive creations is, comparatively speaking, very poor as to ontological ideas, but very rich in everything that relates to the thoughts, the actions, and the sufferings of man.

With regard to the doctrines of Hippolytus, the documents speak for themselves. I doubt not that some people will think it their duty to prove that Hippolytus had the correct doctrine respecting the Athanasian definition of the three persons. It is true, he says the contrary; but that does not signify with the doctors of the old school. The divines of the seventeenth century harp jesuitically upon one half of Jerome's words about certain expressions of the old fathers: either they have erred, or "minus caute locuti sunt." Those men say only: "the holy fathers express themselves at times somewhat incautiously." Poor old men! They could not speak so clearly as we have learned to do since! All this is delusion for those who believe it: but what is it in the mouths of those who teach it? The grave point in this matter is, that such equivocations have so much shattered the faith of thoughtful laymen, that, in proportion as they demand implicit submission, the belief in the whole system of the ancient Church, and in Christianity itself, has vanished from the minds of men, and from national literature. I say with Meier*, and with

* Die Lehre von der Trinität.

almost all German writers of note, that the doctrine of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, and that without it Christianity, as a theological and as a philosophical system, cannot rank much above Rabbinism and Mohammedanism. The definitions of the ancient Church are good, so far as they are meant to exclude unchristian or illogical imaginations, whether really or supposed to be against the historical and philosophical groundwork of the Christian faith. But they are imperfect, and have been foisted into Scripture and into the early fathers by means of suppositious words and verses in the New Testament, by forgeries in patristic literature, and by dishonest or untenable readings and interpretations in both. Hippolytus, besides, was a moderate man: he might have said on some points, *Credibile licet ineptum:* he would never have exclaimed with Tertullian, *Credibile quia ineptum.*

I believe I have given materials for a faithful picture of Hippolytus; and I have shown that all we know of him, from the great work now discovered, is in perfect harmony with what we read of him in other acknowledged writings of his. But the greatest test, and, I think, the greatest result, of our assertion, that the "Refutation of all the Heresies" was written by Hippolytus, is its bearing on one of the most contested points in the history of that time, and one of the principal arguments of the Tubingen school respecting the late origin of the Gospel of St. John.

We have seen what a peculiar position Theodotus held in the development of Christian doctrine about the middle of the third century. He divested his speculations entirely of the dualism of Gnosticism, the bane of Christianity. God, and God alone, was the creator and ruler of the universe. As to the question of Christ, he accepted the preternatural procreation of Jesus, but maintained that the Christ united himself with Jesus when the Spirit descended upon Him in baptism. I hope to show, in another place, how Clemens of Alexandria in the East, and, thirty years later, Hippolytus in the West (and in part Irenæus, his master), tried to bring this system nearer to the Catholic doctrine, and thus to effect a union between the historical Christ of the Church and the ideal Christ of the philosophers: for that seems to me to be their relative position. Hippolytus found very little learning in the Roman Church, and still less spirit of speculation. They had been Monarchianists from the time of Clemens, who was their first regular bishop, before the fourth Gospel was written by St. John. There can be no reasonable doubt that the Roman Church, as it adopted that Gospel, accepted the doctrine of the Logos. But it is clear that this might be done without following the East in all the metaphysical distinctions between the Logos, as the ideal self-consciousness of God, and his embodiment in Jesus of Nazareth as a historical person and true man; and without entering into that hybrid question, mixed up of historical evidence and speculative reasoning, whether and how far the idea of a hypostatic Son was to be placed between that Logos and the historical Jesus. In a word, the Roman doctrine was that of St. John's prologue; but it was built upon the substruction of a conception of Christ, in which the historical and realistic element prevailed over the idealistic. The doctrine, in the Roman Church, was only subsidiary to government and discipline. That Church partook

both of St. Peter and of St. Paul, but with a decided preponderance of the Petrine spirit. The predominant function of their Christ was that of the eternal highpriesthood. The metaphysical germs deposited in St. Paul's epistles, particularly in those to the Ephesians and Colossians, had not fructified in that Church. When the doctrine of the Sonship had been developed to such a point, that it was necessary to come to more accurate definitions respecting the Father and Son, the Monarchianist view prevailed.

Now I do not believe that Zephyrinus, any more than Noetus himself, thought that, in adopting a system which, if consistently carried out, must have led to simple Patripassianism, he made any notable change in the system of the Church. He might say, like Noetus, he only intended to honour Christ. He said certainly (as we know from Hippolytus) that those who opposed him "acknowledged two Gods," if, in acknowledging Christ to be God, they did not allow God to be Christ. But certainly the position which Zephyrinus and Callistus took and maintained in this respect for almost a quarter of a century (twenty-three years), was a turning-point in the doctrinal position of Rome.

The position of Hippolytus in this respect has its key in his great work, but its further explanation in the "Little Labyrinth." Both works explain each other, as the works of the same person alone can do.

So much on the doctrinal character of Hippolytus and of his writings.

As to the fanciful interpretations, both of Hippolytus and of Origen, they differ in one point favourably from many orthodox interpretations in modern times. There is almost always either some learning, or a philosophical thought, a Christian idea, at the bottom. It is true, the conjunction of that idea with the text is generally childish, arbitrary, and sometimes absurd. But in the last 250 years we have had many quite as arbitrary, and even as absurd interpretations, without the slightest chance of any philosophical or even Christian idea, beyond homely moralisms and truisms.

We observe the same characteristic features in the importance which Hippolytus attaches to the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline among the clergy. His severity in this respect, compared with the conduct of Callistus, is individual; but this is only a difference in degree. His ecclesiastical polity may be termed Presbyterianism, as asserting the right, which the presbyters, as a body, claimed against the bishops, in matters of general interest, at least as far as a full veto. To understand this polity, we must recollect that Presbyterianism had already earned its well-deserved reward for having cooperated with Episcopalianism in excluding the laity more and more from the legislation and administration of the Church; a tendency and a success of which I have traced the different phases in the East and West during the second century in my "Letters on Ignatius." The clergy had obtained the government of the Church: with regard to the election of bishops (and of the bishop of Rome more particularly), the primitive right of the laity was preserved in name only, but in practice was either a consent by acclamation, or a tumultuous veto. There was no municipal organization of parishes and dioceses for that purpose: indeed the organization of masses solely for the purposes of election, without other rights, is a delusion or a deception in every polity whether civil or ecclesiastical.

Things had much changed, in this respect also, at Rome during the four generations which separated Clemens, the first regular Roman bishop, from Callistus. When, about twenty years before the Gospel of St. John was written, the Corinthians thought fit to supersede some elderly presbyters by new ones, notwithstanding their protests that they held their office for life by apostolic institution, Clemens of Rome, in a very sensible letter, contented himself with advising them to let that order of things remain, and to respect the well-founded right of those venerable elders. The Philippians appear to have continued to live under the same aristocratic constitution about the middle of the second century, when Polycarp addressed his epistle to them. But in the latter part of that century almost the whole Christian world adopted the Episcopalian system. This system must be considered in its idea, on the whole, as the prototype of the Germanic constitutional monarchy; for both suppose, by the side of a collegiate and a popular power, the right of a governing individual, entitled and qualified to oppose his free veto in legislative decisions, at least so far as to secure his not being forced to act against his conscience. It is no less true that the adoption of this system saved Christianity at the time from the greatest perils, than that its degeneracy crippled the energies of the Church. The balance of power was soon overthrown. Of the three constitutional elements, two were clerical, and the third had neither a congregational nor a synodical organization. In consequence, the whole power fell into the hands of the clergy. The presbyters became priests; the office of administrative elders was merged in that of liturgic presbyters; and the ministers of Christ and of the Church (ἐκκλησία) began to appear as sacrificial mediators. The bishops drew the great prizes in the lottery, and the bishop of Rome the greatest. I think I have fully established these points, and other collateral ones, in my "Letters on Ignatius." But our information as to the details of this process in the diocese of Rome was very scanty. We gain very valuable additions on this point from our work.

In the time of Callistus the power of the bishop of Rome was already more absolute than constitutional. Although the bishop's office was of course elective, the clergy in ordinary times had it altogether in their hands; and although legislation was, as far as the form went, vested in a collegiate body — in the presbytery, or the body of presbyters, presided over by the bishop, — and the judicial power entirely so, the real government of the Church was in the hands of the bishop. According to Hippolytus, Callistus asserted that a bishop could never be deposed by the presbytery, or obliged to abdicate, even though he committed a sin unto death. Hippolytus mentions this as a proof of a theory of Church-government, which he deemed neither constitutional nor tending to improve public or private morals. All weighty affairs evidently passed still through the presbytery. We have, in Cornelius' letter about Novatian, the official list of the clergy of the city of Rome (Euseb. H. E. vi. 43.). This letter being of the year 250, the presbytery can scarcely have differed, in its principal features, from that of which Hippolytus was a member some twenty years earlier. There were under Cornelius at Rome forty-two priests and seven deacons. The number of the latter is that of the ecclesiastical regions, as I have shown in the "Description of Rome."

The number of the presbyters undoubtedly indicates the number of the Christian meeting-houses in the city. Optatus Milevitanus, fifty years later, under Diocletian, gives their number as forty and upwards. These persons, therefore, formed the presbytery. According to the thirty-fifth Apostolical Canon, the bishops of the suburban towns, including Portus, also formed at that time an integral part of the Roman presbytery, called in later times the College of Cardinals. I believe I have, moreover, rendered it more than probable above, that the origin of that institution can only be explained by the position which those cities, and Portus in particular, occupied in the second and third centuries. That body consisted then of the parish priests of Rome, and of the suburban bishops, exactly as the College of Cardinals does now; only that the deacons of the Roman Church had probably a more subordinate position at that time than that of their nominal successors, the Cardinal Deacons. Indeed this Presbyterian form was still existing at the end of the sixteenth century, when pope Sixtus V. found it convenient to divide the College into boards (called Congregations), without any but a consulting vote.

The system of government in the year 220 was naturally only one of transition, particularly at Rome. Practice and theory differed. But the issue could not be doubtful, so long as the political state of the world was not changed, a fresh race introduced, and the national element raised in independent and intelligent Christian states.

The system of discipline in the Church of Rome as to the marriage of presbyters was very much like that which now prevails in the Greek Church. The evangelical liberty confirmed by the example of the apostles, and that of many illustrious bishops in the second century, had gradually been infringed. There was, in conformity with Canons 17—19, no vow of celibacy: but it was not thought conformable with St. Paul's saying, "A presbyter should be the husband of one wife," that a presbyter who lost his wife should marry again so long as he kept his office. From this the inference was drawn, that he who had a second or a third wife, ought not, strictly speaking, to be made a presbyter. The next step was, that he who had been ordained presbyter when unmarried, should not marry during that office. It was on this point more particularly that Hippolytus was at issue with bishop Callistus, who made no difficulty in ordaining, as presbyters, men who had a second or a third wife, or in allowing unmarried presbyters to marry and keep their office. We see that in this respect also the age of Hippolytus was one of transition. There were different ways before the Church. She might have struck out some middle course between the two systems of Callistus and Hippolytus, and then would probably have come to something like the system of the Greek Church in Russia, where a parish priest must be a married man, having his first wife; so much so, that at her death he is expected to retire and go into a convent, the place out of which bishops are generally taken. The majority of the bishops, assembled at Nice in 325, first (as Socrates says in his "Ecclesiastical History") introduced a new law, forbidding bishops, priests, and deacons, who were married men, to keep their office, unless they would give up married life. This regulation soon grew into a general custom, notwithstanding the strong Christian and moral opposition of the venerable bishop Paphnutius, and became the basis

of still greater encroachments in later times, in spite of the moral reluctance of the Germanic nations.

In the time of Hippolytus the ecclesiastical office was so far from giving an indelible character, that neither a presbyter nor a bishop would have been prevented from quitting his office, and marrying like any other Christian. That whole theory of the canonists is of a later date. The learned Christian kept his pallium, the philosopher's cloak, when he accepted an office in the Church, which might be that of an episcopos, as well as of a presbyter. He kept the old pallium, when he retired from the office.

Such, I think, were on the whole the opinions of Hippolytus, as our lately discovered book and his other writings clearly show. Such was his social position as a bishop, and as a member of the Roman presbytery: and such was the Christian and clerical world in which he occupied so conspicuous a place.

We know so little of the particulars of his life, that we must form our ideas of his character chiefly from his writings, and from the high repute and authority attached to his name both in the Western and the Eastern Church. An anonymous Greek cotemporary of Chrysostom calls him, the most sweet and most benevolent (γλυκύτατος καὶ εὐνούστατος): Jerome, "vir disertissimus."

If I were to sum up his character as a writer in a few words, I should say that Hippolytus was not an original writer, but a well-read and judicious compiler. He delighted in transferring useful facts from older authors into his own books, and in introducing Greek ideas into the Latin church. Thus he dealt with Irenæus and Josephus. I suspect he has done the same with Hegesippus, in the historical account of the lives of the Apostles and of the Apostolic age, which is quoted as by Hippolytus, and which, I have endeavoured to show, formed part of his "Chronicle." This point seems to me more particularly proved by some coincidences in the opinions of Hippolytus with the "Fragmentum Muratorianum," a fragment, however, ill translated, of the historical work of Hegesippus, written about 165. How great the merit of Hippolytus is in transcribing whole passages from the writings of the ancient heretics, instead of giving us merely garbled extracts from them, we have seen through the whole of our inquiry in the second letter. But there is another circumstance which should not be passed over in silence. From the very dawn of Catholic literature, beginning with Hermas, the Shepherd, — that good but not very attractive novel, which, Niebuhr used to say, he pitied the Athenian Christians for being obliged to hear read in their meetings, — it had been the object of the Christian writers to render the Greek and Roman mind, by degrees, independent of the writings of the heathen philosophers, and to create a Catholic literature and library, more particularly for the use of children and of catechumens. It was therefore very natural for Hippolytus to transfer all he wanted from Sextus Empiricus to his own books. To quote Gentile writers for good things taken from them was not required by Catholic honesty. They were considered fair game, and plundered. So was Josephus falsified, before Eusebius' time; so were the Greek fathers by their later epitomizers and translators, St. Ambrose and Cassiodorus.

But with all this, Hippolytus was far the most gifted and diligent enquirer in the Western Church of his time. A worthy disciple of Irenæus, he surpassed the Apostle of the Gauls in method and in knowledge, and did much to diffuse through the Western Church that light which the Greek Irenæus had kindled in the unphilosophical West. I am inclined to believe that the influence of Hippolytus in this respect was very great. His having been a Roman by birth, or at least from his youth up a member of the Roman Church, contributed much to this influence. Rome was, and continued, not only the mistress of the world, but also the centre of communication between the East and the West. Every aspiring talent in the Church, every new doctrine striving after notoriety, thronged to Rome. Christian Rome preserved the instinctive talent for government and order, as well as the inferiority in science and in intellectuality, which are peculiar to the Roman mind compared with the Greek. The education of Hippolytus, under Irenæus, brought him into contact with the Greek mind: he may even have known Origen; and he had certainly read Clemens of Alexandria, although it is a fable, whether invented or picked up somewhere by Cave, that he was his disciple. His residence at Portus, then the harbour of the civilised world, and rendered undoubtedly, like Alexandria, agreeable to the visitors by temples erected for all foreign religions and forms of worship, must, with such preparations and such talents and zeal, have contributed as much to increase his knowledge as his influence. He there became the "Bishop of the Nations," as he was, most probably, called in his lifetime. For that this title is mentioned by Photius as given to Caius the presbyter, is, as we have seen, only a consequence of his having taken Caius to be the author of the treatise about the "Cause of the Universe." What he knew was, that this author was made a bishop of the Gentiles. Consequently, this was a title given to Hippolytus. As to the extent of his reading and study, it is certainly far beyond that of a thoroughbred native Roman. His knowledge extended to mathematics, physical science, and astronomy. It is true, that his Paschal cycle of 112 (7×16) years is very incorrect; but he was the first person who gave any to the Western Church. He inquired into physical problems and mechanical contrivances, to discover and unmask the gabblers and jugglers of the age. His knowledge of Greek literature and philosophy was far greater than that of Irenæus, or of any of his Western cotemporaries, the African Tertullian not excepted. In short, Hippolytus followed up at Rome the Alexandrian doctrine and position of Pantænus and Clemens, and was the predecessor of Origen, whom he certainly did not equal in learning, depth, and speculative power, any more than in his somewhat Oriental eccentricity.

There is one peculiar feature in Hippolytus, which we must not overlook, if we wish to understand the place he occupied in his age. He was the first preacher of note whom the Church of Rome ever produced. There were no homilies by a bishop of the Church of Rome known before those of Leo the Great, who mounted the episcopal cathedra in the year 440. This is a curious, but indisputable fact. Clemens, the only learned Roman bishop of the old time, wrote an epistle, but no homily: which perhaps was the reason why so many homilies were forged under his name. Caius and Hippolytus are the first ecclesiastical authors men-

tioned as Romans: and of these two Caius the presbyter wrote polemical and critical treatises, but no homilies. This is what Sozomen says, in that at first sight startling passage of his "Ecclesiastical History" (vii. 19.), published a few years before Leo became bishop of Rome. His words are: "In the city of Rome no bishop, nor any body else, has preached." Now there can be no doubt that, during all that period at Rome, as in all other churches, the Gospel, when read to the people in their parish churches, was explained to them. But these were popular expositions, not works of science and eloquence, like those of the Eastern fathers and bishops; and therefore they were never published. Hippolytus made an exception to this: the ancient writers quote a number of his homilies: the homiletic address seems even to have been his favourite form of treating exegetical and polemical subjects. But in all this he merely followed Origen, whose exegetical works are in part, as we know, in the form of short essays or meditations on a text, concluding with the doxology. In popularising Greek thought and science at Rome, Hippolytus elevated the Roman parish sermon to a learned homily; and this is perhaps the real purport of the story, that he preached a sermon in the presence of Origen. It is natural that in Sozomen's time the history of Hippolytus, veiled and smothered at Rome, was not much known in the East: but it is surprising that Neander does not even name Hippolytus, when he speaks of the distinguished writers of the early Roman Church. He names only Caius, and the very doubtful Novatian (i. 1176.). It must be by an oversight that he regrets the loss of Hippolytus' homily on the festival of the Theophany, which is extant and printed in the edition of Fabricius (i. 261—264.), and of undoubted authenticity. But the sermon which, Jerome says, he preached before Origen, he calls a sermon in praise of the Saviour; and we have no reason to believe that it was this.

His life, as well as his writings, shows a man of stronger feelings than Origen had, but, like him, honest, and a man of rigorous morals. He lived a laborious life for his fellow-creatures, both as a student and teacher, and as a practical man. He became a martyr for his faith, and possibly for his honesty; and, dying for his faith, he died for the religion of the spirit, and for the liberty of conscience, and the future freedom of mankind. For that was the great struggle of those times. Peace be with his memory, and honour to his virtue and piety!

I consider the picture I have endeavoured to draw of Hippolytus to be historically true, and borne out by incontrovertible facts; and I believe that, on the whole, my judgment as to the value of his writings will be found impartial But I cannot conceal from myself, that I see little prospect of having my portrait as well understood and as much liked as I wish.

I am fully aware that some persons will think, I have not treated Hippolytus with the respect due to a sainted father of the Latin Church. For to certain persons every such father speaks with a share of the collective infallibility of a synodical clergy; and these patristic idolaters are strongly inclined to impose such an authority upon us in matters of fact, no less than in metaphysical formularies. We are to submit to those fathers, if they assert something as a historical fact, which we have

very good reasons for not giving credit to, or which we know to be untrue; and as to metaphysical theories, we are to receive their opinions with the greater respect, the more they are contrary to the reasoning power to which they appeal. When these theologians, unworthy of the name of Protestants, of thinkers, and of historians, speak of the paramount weight of their concordant interpretations, they ignore, or do not know, that, on all questions of Scriptural and primitive Christianity which are now doubtful to us, the ancient writers were in as much uncertainty as we are. The writers of the fourth century generally contradict those of the second, who were in part witnesses, or reported credible evidence and plausible traditions; whereas those later fathers were only critics, and most of them very indifferent and biassed ones. For they often proceed from systems, historical and doctrinal, which strongly impair their qualifications for being judges, and still more show their unfitness for being set up as infallible models of criticism. If then to criticize the fathers is to show them disrespect, these later fathers have themselves shown it to their predecessors. The much trumpeted saying, "Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus," is a silly truism in the sense of those idolaters of the letter, and, if taken in the sense in which it is true, destroys their system and their authority.

To criticisms or contradictions from this quarter I am resolved not to answer a word, either as regards historical points or speculative ones: for these persons do not go by facts, but by system; they do not appeal to truth, but to authority; and they reason as if they had searched for truth only to betray it when found. They give no argument, or none worth a serious refutation: and no argument shall they ever have from me.

There is a second class of persons, who may wish to judge Hippolytus freely and fairly; but who, I am afraid, do not sufficiently regard the immediate object of the researches of the fathers, and forget that history and historical truth are at issue with our historical faith in the fundamental notions of early Christianity. Of these, I am afraid, many will blame me for having made too much of the writings of Hippolytus, and will maintain that I have overrated the value and importance of his historical writings. Some may even imagine they are saying something, if they render men like Hippolytus and Irenæus ridiculous. It is true, that Gibbon likes sometimes to ridicule men of this sort in his, on the whole, admirable and wonderful work. But this is the tribute he paid to an idealess and conceited age; and they who think they must either adopt this view, or follow the superstitious line, are not aware that in so doing they are the representatives of a defunct period, and of a bankrupt system of the philosophy of history. They are men of the past; and their general view of literature, poetry, and philosophy, is nothing but the *caput mortuum* of a so-called philosophy, centring in blind self-sufficiency. The age which produced it knew how to deny and to destroy, but never even tried to produce and to rebuild; it attacked falsehood, without giving truth; and it brought forth no other final result than a judicially blind reaction, and produced in poor worried humanity a morbid tendency to seek refuge and salvation in exploded superstitions, and in hollow and impotent formularies of the past. I have always thought, that they have little sense of the future, who cannot look upon the past except

through the coloured spectacles of their own conceit, or that of their age But, as I have already hinted at the beginning of my letters, seeing that there are on that side not only men who think little of the wisdom of the old fathers, and much of that of their own party, but also men really anxious for truth, although not sufficiently acquainted with facts, nor conversant with critical inquiry, still less with the method of intellectual speculation, I am desirous to find a way to their minds and hearts, in order to prove to them, that there may be much excellence in individuals, and great value in their testimony, in spite of errors and blunders belonging to their age, which appear to us ridiculous, if not offensive. Historical criticism is neither a party question, nor the business of *dilettanti:* it requires the earnestness and the conscientiousness of a judge. I know very well that Hippolytus has not treated bishop Callistus much more courteously than Luther did Henry VIII.; and I think, there is in Hippolytus' controversy against Callistus the appearance of the odium theologicum, and personal bitterness and irritation, which is certainly not conformable with the ideal of a "perfect Christian temper." But what has that, after all, to do with his truth, and with his facts? It must make the historian cautious not to take his judgment in this matter as unbiassed and impartial; but it is mere sentimentality or hypocrisy to determine by this standard the judgment upon the great question at issue. And this I conceive simply to be,—whether the man was good and honest (humanly speaking), or a fool and rogue. No man is both; and every historical character is either the one or the other. I do not know what are considered the ingredients in a canonized martyr, a sainted ecclesiastical writer and bishop. But I confess that, if moral indignation against wickedness and falsehood is not one, I must look for bright patterns of what is good and great among the classical heathens, or among common Christians. As to my own taste, since nothing human is perfect, I prefer good, strong indignation infinitely to an impotent indifference, and to mawkish hypocrisy. The man who will not attack a falsehood, will not defend truth; and he who dares not call a knave a knave (whether he be his bishop or brother-bishop or not), will not treat tyranny as tyranny, when the cause of Christian truth is attacked by force. Yet it was for doing this that the martyrs died, from Hippolytus to Ridley. Nor do I see how any man can speak too strongly, when he is defending truth against wickedness. This was not the view of the middle ages: Thomas Aquinas was not deemed less wise or less holy by Dante and others of his worshippers, for having intimated clearly enough what he thought of tyrants like Charles of Anjou.

"But he ought not to have been so personal against Callistus."—"And how do you know," I should answer to such an assertion, "that it was personal feeling, personal bitterness, personal obstinacy, that made Hippolytus so indignant? and that it was not the love of truth, and of the Christian people, and of his own Church, that made him write the ecclesiastical memoirs of the Roman presbytery of that time?". Respect for authority is something; but respect for truth is more. Socrates (to judge from similar expressions of his) would not have thought that Hippolytus possessed the highest Attic grace in exposing the wickedness of Callistus; but he might have said, that, for a man imbued with Judaic

barbarism, he expressed himself tolerably well, and that, on the whole, he gave him the impression of a Godfearing man, wishing to do good to his fellow-believers and fellow-men.

Considering all these difficulties with which the subject is beset, I should find myself very much embarrassed if I were to close my researches at this stage of my inquiry. Whatever I may have done in these letters to show the importance of the discovery, and to vindicate the character of Hippolytus where I think him right, I am sure few will take the trouble to go through the details; and, if I were to stop here, I should certainly not do what I ought at least to attempt, in behalf of an author, whose historical worth I have undertaken to represent, and whom therefore I must bring in contact with our own times.

In another place I have rendered account of what I intend to say from a more general point of view, and justified the fiction to which I have been obliged to have recourse. I have endeavoured to let Hippolytus speak for himself, as he would if, hearing that his principal work had been stolen from him, and printed at Oxford under the name of Origen, he had come to England to plead his cause before the English public generally. He might then, I think, supposing him to write, not in his stately way, but indulging here and there a little in his innocent humour, address his critics and judges in this country in something like the Speech which I put into his mouth.

The final object of all historical criticism is to make a historical character of a long past age become to us a living, and as it were a speaking, image. But in a case like ours, the hero of our critical inquiry and his age must also become a mirror to us and to our age. We must see how we should have appeared to them. We have the same faith in common, although our language, and our rites, and our formularies, and our government differ widely. We must translate their language into ours; and then we may confidently hope to see in them a faithful mirror of our own condition, of our advantages and hopes, our defects and dangers. This is the problem. He must speak to us, as he was, and felt, and thought: and I must make him speak thus in a language which is neither his nor mine. I cannot hope to succeed as I wish in such an attempt: but I may hope to give you, and other English friends of Hippolytus, some materials for doing better what I have attempted, in despair of being able to draw a perfect historical picture of him and his age.

My last request to you therefore, my dearest friend, is, that you will read whatever I have further to say, with the same kindness which you have shown to these letters.

And now there remains for me only one task more; and that is the most agreeable to me. I have to thank you, my dear friend, not only for the highly instructive attention you have so kindly bestowed upon the letters I have had the happiness to write to you, but for having moreover dedicated a loving godfather's care to my poor naked child. Your invaluable library has furnished me with indispensable books, for which I had looked in vain in the British Museum. Your erudition and sagacity have still more effectually assisted me in many difficult points of so complicated a research, which I am obliged to carry on hurriedly, in the midst of a London season, and that of the Exhibition. But, above all, by your kind sympathy you have encouraged me to render my researches as com-

plete as I can, and the expression of my own personal convictions as explicit as the occasion seems to require. For all this kindness, accept, my dearest friend, the sincere thanks of

Yours ever faithfully,
BUNSEN.

POSTSCRIPT.

Carlton Terrace, July 26, 1851.

HAVING carried my letters, this day, so far through the press, that I have been able to submit the printed sheets of the whole to you, I think it right to add a few words on two able articles upon the same subject, which have appeared since I wrote my letters; one in the last number of the "Quarterly Review," and the other in the June and July numbers of the "Ecclesiastic." The ingenious and elegant author of the former article has waived the question of the Origenian or non-Origenian authorship, and limited himself to consider the work as an undoubtedly authentic and highly interesting specimen of the historical and ecclesiastical literature of the beginning of the third century. This article is well calculated to excite the attention of the public; and the metrical versions of the beautiful lyrical fragments betoken a consummate scholar and an elegant poet.

The writer of the article in the "Ecclesiastic" has gone into the question of the authorship with learning and acuteness. Convinced of the genuineness of the work, he is equally convinced that Origen cannot have written it, and that it must have been written at Rome: he thinks that Caius the presbyter is the author. But the main part of his discussion is directed to the first point, that the book is not and cannot be Origen's; and he has brought forward many excellent arguments to prove this. He shows that Origen, knowing what his writings indicate he did about the Ebionites, could not have repeated the common opinion as to their origin and tenets, which our author relates, following Irenæus (2d Art. p. 50.). He also observes very ingeniously, that, if Origen had known what our book states respecting the cropping of the ears employed by the Carpocratians, he would not have had recourse to the unfortunate conjecture by which he tries to throw suspicion on some remarks of Celsus against the Christians on this score (ib. p. 51.). Nor can one escape this difficulty by saying that our work was written in the early part of his life, before his book against Celsus, in which the expressions just alluded to occur. For our learned author proves, that, if our work was by Origen, it must have been written at a very late period. We know from Eusebius (vii. 38.) that Origen became acquainted with the Ebionites and wrote against them towards the close of his life (therefore at least 30 years after his short stay at Rome), and when the sect was expiring. The author of our work, on the contrary, knew and opposed them at Rome, when they were influential and strong.

All this is in confirmation of the negative part of my argument, that the book was not written by Origen. But I have mainly followed out the positive argument, that it was written at Rome, and by Hippolytus. The author of the articles agrees with me, as far as Origen is concerned. He

is moreover fully convinced that the book points to Rome, and to a disciple of Irenæus.* I cannot help flattering myself that a further consideration of this matter by so competent a judge and so accurate a scholar, will lead him to an equal certainty as to the other point,—that our work was not written by Caius, to whom nobody attributes such a work, but by Hippolytus, whose volume with the same title, arrangement, and contents, Photius had before him. As to the unfortunate hypothesis that Origen wrote the work against the heresies, the writer of those articles makes the acute remark, that the view of the author of the treatise on the Universe (who must be the same with the author of our book), respecting the immutability of the state of the wicked after death, is incompatible with Origen's notions on the subject.

By the side of such criticism, I can only attribute it to an oversight of the moment, that the writer, in animadverting on the blunder made by the editor respecting the martyrdom of Callistus under Fuscianus, indulges in the equally incredible supposition (p. 59.), that Hippolytus speaks of two different persons, both bearing the name of Callistus,—the man scourged under Fuscianus about the year 190, and the successor of Zephyrinus, whom Callistus did actually succeed in the year 217. The whole account given by Hippolytus centres so entirely in the circumstance that Callistus, the swindler, became first as we should say, Cardinal-Vicar, and then Pope, that it is needless to quote the passages in which the author says, that the same Callistus, of whom he had been speaking all the time, obtained, after the death of Zephyrinus, what he had been hunting for all his life, and was made bishop of Rome. I cannot but agree with him that it would have been better, that the University of Oxford should not have had the appearance of sanctioning such a mistake as the attributing of this work to Origen. But I do not see how the University can fairly be made responsible for this false title. As to the directors of the Clarendon Press, I entertain a hope, and beg to express it with sincere respect, that, even if the venerable Dean of Christchurch, Dr. Gaisford, to whom ecclesiastical as well as classical philology already owes so much, should not feel himself moved to present us with a new edition, that noble institution will not hold itself pledged to the opinion of the learned editor, if he should persevere in that opinion. I trust that they will be glad to

* I am happy to mention, with respect to this point, a very acute observation made by the learned writer of these articles. Having observed the relation of the 19th chapter of the 2d book of Irenæus to the "Philosophumena" (*I am afraid*, without doing justice to the immense improvement on Irenæus by our author, both in research and in method), he remarks that our author has almost copied from Irenæus the following passage found in that chapter: —

"Quæ apud omnes qui Deum ignorant et que dicuntur philosophi sunt dicta, hæc congregant et quasi centonem ex multis pessimis panniculis consarcientes," &c.

The corresponding passage of our book is found in the beginning of the fifth book (p. 24. 26.): Ἀφ' ὧν τὰς ἀφορμὰς μετασχόντες οἱ αἱρεσιάρχαι, δίκην παλαιορράφων συγκατατύσαντες πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν τὰ τῶν παλαίων σφάλματα ὡς καινὰ παρέθεσαν τοῖς πλανᾶσθαι δυναμένοις. As to the supposition that Clemens of Alexandria copied a passage (Strom. vii. end, p. 700. Gr.) from Irenæus (v. 8.), I cannot help thinking that the writer has mentioned this groundless conjecture merely to show that he was aware of it, not that he himself shares the absurd opinion that Clemens copied, or could have copied, Irenæus. Two authors of the same time may hit, independently of each other, on an absurd interpretation, as well as on a reasonable one.

become instrumental in placing a new critical edition soon before the public, not only of this misnamed book, but of all the works of Hippolytus, among which, I trust, will be included the "Little Labyrinth," and the "Treatise on the Substance of the Universe." Thus the University, and the literary world, and Saint Hippolytus himself, will receive the best satisfaction for the printing of his most instructive work at the Oxford University Press under a false title.

B.

SECOND POSTSCRIPT.

Carlton Terrace, 24th August.

WHILST finally revising these sheets for the press, I have received from Germany a series of five articles on our book, inserted in some late numbers (21st June to 19th July) of the Berlin weekly ecclesiastical periodical, "Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben." They are written by Professor Jacobi, a disciple and follower of Neander, know by his "Handbook of the History of the Church." I am happy to see that the learned writer has come to the same results as far as Origen is concerned. He says it is impossible to ascribe to him the authorship of the work published at Oxford. His arguments are, that nobody ever attributed a work with this title or contents to Origen; that, if he had executed his purpose of treating on the heresies and on the ancient philosophical doctrines, he would have done it in a very different manner; that the style of our work is as unlike that of Origen, as the whole method and view of the inquiry, and that this is true in the most eminent degree of the Confession of Faith. In going through the last argument, the author, I believe, has misunderstood the text, in making our author say, man had no mind or intellect (*νοῦς*). There are indeed in our text some words which at first sight imply such an absurdity; but, as we have seen, this appearance is founded upon an untenable reading.

Professor Jacobi also admits, that the writer must have lived a considerable time at Rome, and names Caius and Hippolytus as the most probable authors. But Caius (according to him) cannot be the author of the work, if Eusebius' account of him is true: in particular, he could not ascribe the Apocalypse to St. John.

Why then, asks Professor Jacobi, should not the book be the work of Hippolytus of Portus, whose death is described by Prudentius, and on whose statue the titles of many of those writings are engraved, which antiquity quotes as works of Hippolytus, and of which we possess fragments? He inclines to think with Gieseler (and Kimmel) that this Hippolytus had been brought up at Antioch or Alexandria. He doubts whether Portus can at that time have had a bishop; whereas I think, if it had not had one at that time, when a town was synonymous with a diocese, it would never have had any. It would have been made a part of Ostia, whose suburb it may almost be said to have formed: whereas down to the present moment both titles are kept up as distinct, from time immemorial. As to the assertion of Prudentius, that Hippolytus had been a Novatian at an earlier period, he thinks this must be understood of the earliest part of Novatianism, although he allows that our book makes no mention

whatever either of Novatus or of Novatianism. After having rejected the absurd idea, that Novatian himself might be the author, he asks whether the work named on the cathedra, Πρὸς Ἕλληνας, which he translates "Against the Hellenes," might not mean our work? As to the book on Antichrist, he thinks ch. xlix. points to the time of Gallienus, whereas Hippolytus must have died before Gallienus (261), and before the persecution of Valerian (257). What startles him chiefly is, that the quotation in the letter of bishop Peter of Alexandria about the Quartodecimans is not found in our book.

As to the epoch in which it was written, he fixes the time between 225 and 250.

Finally, the author gives his remarks on the importance of our work. Besides the advantage, that it enriches our knowledge of the internal history of the ancient Church, Professor Jacobi, faithful to the views of his great master, calls the attention of the reader principally to two points. The one is, that the extracts from Basilides and other ancient authors prove that the fourth Gospel was commented upon early under Hadrian The second, that the circumstance of Zephyrinus and Callistus having inclined towards the Patripassian views, affords us the unknown fact respecting a change which took place in the doctrine of the Church of Rome under Zephyrinus. Professor Jacobi is led by these two facts to the same conclusion, to which I have come at the same time, independently of him, —that the whole historical scheme of the Tubingen school about the late origin of the fourth Gospel, the Ebionitism of the Roman Church before Zephyrinus, and the decisive influence of Montanism upon her dogmatical development, is now proved to be erroneous, as it always appeared to Neander, whose views are confirmed in their essential points. As to the nature of the controversy with Callistus, the following words (p. 234.) seem to me to state the case in a concise and striking manner:—

"The stricter doctrine of subordination, on which our author insists, did not satisfy Callistus, whose mind was directed with predilection to the Unity of the Father and the Son. Even a representation, which goes so much beyond Ebionitism and Artemonitism, appeared too poor to Callistus and the Roman congregation. Our author, in his turn, identifies Callistus more than is just with the Patripassians, in like manner as in later times the Homoûsion and Sabellianism were confounded. How remarkable, that thus, at the beginning of the second century, we meet within the Roman congregation the same antagonism, in which, at a later period (260), we find Dionysius the bishop of Rome and Dionysius of Alexandria engaged! Callistus, as we learn now, had already excommunicated Sabellius, then living at Rome: and him Dionysius of Alexandria also combats. On the other side, Callistus followed with a decided step the tendency towards the Homoûsion, in opposition to the old theory of the subordination of the Logos. We therefore see that the development of the Trinitarian doctrine did not take place at Rome so peaceably as was supposed hitherto. But it is remarkable, that, as that Church never allowed the Ebionite theory to predominate, so in the time of the Roman Dionysius it had already within its own limits gone through that struggle, which was soon to shake the entire Church to its foundation, and it had, at an early period, taken the course which may be designated as the

Trinitarian, by upholding the Homoûsion against Subordinationism, but to the exclusion of Sabellianism."

The points of difference between Professor Jacobi and myself are therefore of minor importance, whereas we agree on all the essential ones; and we have arrived at our conclusions without knowing of each other. I flatter myself I have removed the difficulties which led that learned man still to entertain doubts as to the authorship and life of Hippolytus.

At the same time that I received from Germany these articles of Professor Jacobi, I learned by an article of Professor Schneidewin in the last number of his "Philologus," on the fragments of Empedocles contained in our work, that the friend of that eminent critic, Dr. Duncker, of the University of Göttingen, is prepared to prove that our book is not the work of Origen, but of Hippolytus. If further intelligence respecting the researches in Germany on our subjects reach me in time, I will give a report of them.* In the mean time, the hitherto identical result of all inquiries, perfectly independent of each other, seems to augur well for the course I have taken.

* *Nov.* 17. The "Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen" of this quarter contains, in Nos. 152—155., an article on the Oxford publication, written by Dr. Duncker. The author, after having given a detailed account of the contents, declares briefly that Hippolytus must be the author, and promises to prove this assertion in the new edition of the work which he and Professor Schneidewin are preparing. Professor Lommatzsch and Doctor Thiersch are come to the same conclusion.—Postscript, 12th June, 1854. I just learn that the new edition of the "Refutation" is already in the press.

APPENDIX.

THE FRAGMENTS OF HIPPOLYTUS COLLECTED BY CARDINAL MAI.

(See page 431.)

Cardinal Mai has had the good sense to adorn the first volume of his "Scriptorum Veterum nova Collectio" (Rom. 1825, 4to) with the statue of Hippolytus (p. v.), and to explain (p. xxxv.) the incorrect Greek expression, "Bishop of Rome," in the superscription of those extracts, by the circumstance that he was bishop of the harbour of Rome, which they mistook for Rome itself. In the second part of the same volume he gives, in a Catena about Daniel (p. 161—222.), such fragments of the book of Hippolytus on this subject as were hitherto inedited. There are in the Catenæ, extracted in the continuation of this colossal work, fragments of other works, mostly exegetical, of Hippolytus. Of all these I give here a list which I believe to be complete, and the text itself wherever they appear to me to be of importance on account of their contents. They are the following:

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169. v. 3. 5.
170. v. 10. 14.
172. v. 29.
173. v. 31. *αἱ δημοκρατίαι αἱ μέλλουσαι γίγνεσθαι*, &c.; to be compared with the corresponding passage in the book on the Antichrist.
175. v. 33, 34.
177. v. 43.
178. v. 46.: where Mai calls the attention of the reader to the fact, that the Commentary of Hippolytus was in the form of a homily; a direct confirmation of what I have generally observed on this subject. Compare also Mai's note, p. 184.
179. v. 48. 49. and 1.
180. v. 7.
181. v. 16. 19.
184. v. 3.
189. v. 93. Compare Mai's note 3.
199. v. 1, 2, 3.
200. v. 4. 5 (ter). He quotes here the "preceding book" (section), *ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ*.
201. v. 6.
202. v. 6, 7.
203. v. 7.
204. v. 8.
205. v. 13. Here occurs a phrase which is very significant for the Christology of Hippolytus. In explanation of the remarkable expression of Daniel, "the Old of the days," Hippolytus observes: — *Παλαιὸν μὲν οὖν ἡμερῶν οὐχ ἕτερον λέγει ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν ἁπάντων κύριον καὶ Θεὸν καὶ δεσπότην, τὸν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (sc. *δεσπότην*). God, therefore, is named here the Lord and God and Master of all, "also of Christ himself." This is a new illustration of the sense and true reading of the difficult, but important, passage at the end of the "Refutation," which I have discussed in note to p. 392. Analecta, vol. i.
205. v. 14. (bis). Both passages are too important for the Christology of Hippolytus not to be given here textually.

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'Η ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος· 'Ιππολύτου. Τῷ οὖν ἰδίῳ υἱῷ ὁ πατὴρ πάντα ὑποτάξας τάτε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, διὰ πάντων ἀπέδειξεν αὐτὸν πρωτότοκον ἐν πᾶσι γενόμενον· πρωτότοκον ἐκ Θεοῦ, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ πατέρος υἱὸς Θεοῦ ὢν ἀποδειχθῇ· πρὸ ἀγγέλων, ἵνα καὶ ἀγγέλων κύριος φανῇ· πρωτότοκον ἐκ παρθένου, ἵνα τὸν πρωτόπλαστον 'Αδὰμ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναπλάσσων δειχθῇ· πρωτότοκον ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἵνα ἀπαρχὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀναστάσεως αὐτὸς γενηθῇ.

"Ητις οὐ παραλεύσεται· 'Ιππολύτου. Τὴν ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς δεδομένην τῷ υἱῷ ὑπέδειξεν, ὃς ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων βασιλεὺς καὶ κριτὴς πάντων ἀποδέδεικται· ἐπουρανίων μὲν, ὅτι λόγος ἐκ καρδίας πατρὸς πρὸ πάντων γεγενημένος ἦν· ἐπιγείων δὲ, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐγεννήθη, ἀναπλάσσων δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν 'Αδάμ· καταχθονίων δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ἐν νεκροῖς κατελογίσθη, εὐαγγελιζόμενος ταῖς τῶν ἁγίων ψυχαῖς, διὰ θανάτου θάνατον νικῶν. The conclusion of the first passage, ἵνα ἀπαρχὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀναστάσεως αὐτὸς γενηθῇ (that he might become the first-fruits of our resurrection), illustrates and confirms what has been said p. 276. note. The remarkable expression in the second passage, ὅτι λόγος ἐκ καρδίας πατρὸς πρὸ πάντων γεγενημένος ἦν, comes in support of what has been said in note to p. 453. to show the affinity of the concluding fragment of our text of the "Letter to Diognetus" with peculiar and favourite expressions of Hippolytus.

206. v. 18. On the glory of the second coming of Christ: Μηκέτι δι' εἴδους ὡς ἐν δράσει βλεπόμενος, μήτε ἐν στύλῳ νεφέλης ἐπὶ κορυφῆς ὄρους ἀποκαλυπτόμενος (allusions to the vision of the three disciples on Mount Tabor, or the transfiguration).

206. v. 19. On the fourth monarchy, or that of the Romans; the corresponding passage in the book on the Antichrist is identical with this commentary.

207. v. 22. 25.

211. v. 21.

214. v. 6, 7. The second passage is interesting as to the sense Hippolytus attached to the external communion with the Church: Τοῖς γὰρ ἁγίοις φοβουμένοις αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς μόνοις ἑαυτὸν ἀποκαλύπτει· εἰ γάρ τις δοκεῖ καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ νῦν πολιτεύεσθαι, φόβον δὲ Θεοῦ μὴ ἔξει, οὐδὲν τοῦτον ὠφελῇ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους σύνοδος.

215. v. 12, 13. 16. On the expression τὰ ἄνω κάτω, compare "Refutation," p. 435. 25.

216. v. 18.

219. v. 1. On the great persecution of the Christians which will take place in the last days, according to the Apocalypse.

226. v. 2, 3. 7. 9. In the explanation of v. 3. Hippolytus quotes the passage of St. Matthew, xiii. 43. omitting the article before ἥλιος: Τότε οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκλάμψουσιν ὡς ἥλιος.

231. v. 11.

223. Appendix II. The fragment of the commentary of Hippolytus on the Proverbs, which we hitherto knew only in the Latin translation. (Fabric. i. p. 269.: compare the Various Readings in Gallandi.)

Part III. 75. Τοῦ ἁγίου 'Ιππολύτου 'Ρώμης ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν πραγματείας: taken out of Leontius, "Rerum sacrarum Liber." (See Mai, vol. vii. p. 84. col. 2.) Remarkable is the expression in the beginning of the explanation of the words: καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς· Ἆρα μὴ κατὰ τὴν τινῶν ὑπόνοιαν τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους λέγομεν γεγονέναι, ἕνα πνευματικὸν, καὶ ἕνα ψυχικὸν καὶ ἕνα χοϊκόν; οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἡ πᾶσα διήγησις. This betrays the man who inquired into the most ancient heresies; we find that doctrine in the system of the Naassenes. (Refut. Hæres. p. 95. 50.) Mai, in his note to this extract, refers to fragments of Hippolytus in a Catena published "ante hos annos," in Leipsig, which I confess to have no knowledge of.

Vol. VI. 239. Scholia in Esaiam, from a MS. of the tenth century: Τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου 'Ιππολύτου ἐπισκόπου 'Ρώμης. Εὑρίσκομεν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνηματισμοῖς τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀναγεγραμμένοις, γεγενῆσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ὡρῶν ιϐ'. τοῦ γὰρ ἡλίου διαδραμόντος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν δεκάτην ὥραν φθάσαντος, καὶ τῆς σκιᾶς τοὺς δέκα ἀναβαθμοὺς τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ ναοῦ κατελθούσης, ἀνεστρεψε πάλιν ὁ ἥλιος τοὺς δέκα

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ἀναβαθμοὺς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου· καὶ ἐγένοντο ὧραι κ'· καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἴδιον δρόμον, κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν κυκλώσας ὁ ἥλιος ἐπορεύθη εἰς δυσμάς· ἐγένοντο οὖν ὧραι λϛ'.

Vol. VII. 14. Διὰ τοῦτο πυλωροὶ ἰδόντες σε ἔπτηξαν, καὶ συνετρίβησαν, πύλαι χαλκαῖ καὶ μοχλοὶ σιδηροῖ συνεθλάσθησαν, &c. The superscription is Ἱππολύτου ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης καὶ μάρτυρος.

In the same anonymous collection:

68. col. 2. Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἱππολύτου. Ἐνέργεια φυσικὴ τῆς νοερᾶς ἐστι ψυχῆς ἡ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῆς αὐτοκίνητος καὶ πρώτη δύναμις, ἤγουν ὁ ἀεικίνητος λόγος φυσικῶς αὐτῆς πηγαζόμενος (perhaps: ἐξ αὐτῆς πηγαζόμενος).

134. col. 1. Taken out of Leontius, "Contra Monophysitas." Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἱππολύτου ἐκ τῶν Εὐλογιῶν τοῦ Βαλαάμ. Ἵνα δειχθῇ τὸ συναμφότερον ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τήν τε τοῦ θείου οὐσίαν καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων: language analogous to that in the treatise against Noetus. The passage may be out of the commentary on 4 Mos. 23. 5. 16., 24. 4.; but more probably there existed a peculiar treatise or homily on that favourite subject of ancient tradition and speculation, the prophecy of Balaam.

Vol. IX. 620—720. Nicetæ catena in Lucam.

645. c. ii. v. 7.

650. v. 22.

712. c. xxiii. v. 33. Διὰ τοῦτο πυλωροὶ ᾅδου ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἔπτηξαν, καὶ πύλαι χαλκαῖ καὶ μοχλοὶ σιδηροῖ συνετρίβησαν. These words remind us of the rhetorical description of Hades, in the fragment of the treatise Περὶ παντὸς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας which I have illustrated in the text. We find the very same passage of Hippolytus quoted in an anonymous collection of sayings of the holy fathers on the incarnation.

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APPENDIX

PART II.

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS.

REGARDING

THE DOCTRINE OF HIPPOLYTUS.

(Reprinted from the Second Volume of "Hippolytus and his Age,")
First Edition.

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

REGARDING THE

DOCTRINE OF HIPPOLYTUS.

I.

EXAMINATION OF HIPPOLYTUS UPON THE TRIDENTINE DECREES, UPON THE PROTESTANT ARTICLES AND SYSTEMS, AND THE PRINCIPLES OF A BETTER METHOD.

ALTHOUGH a truly philosophical view of the age of Hippolytus, as to its religious ideas, doctrines, and practices, may not admit of the method of examining such an age by later formulas, and of judging it according to its supposed agreement or disagreement with later decrees, we cannot entirely omit such a comparative view in this place.

Strange, indeed, would the reply of Hippolytus sound both to Catholics and Protestants, if he were to be catechized by either. Awkward would be the answers, and perhaps more embarrassing his retorting replies and queries, had he to pass an examination upon the Roman or Heidelberg Catechism, the Augsburg Confession, or the Thirty-nine Articles.

He certainly would not say that he was a Papist. He has nothing to say as to the divine right of the bishop of Rome to decide all doctrinal questions in the Universal Church, and to govern Christendom as an autocrat, whether it be by his own decisions, or by his privilege of confirming or annulling, interpreting or executing, the decrees of Councils. The Roman Church, in which Hippolytus lived and acted so conspicuous a part, was to him—the Church of Rome. He even places that Church in distinct opposition to "the Catholic Church," in his great work, where he speaks of the teaching of Callistus, and of the school set up and patronized by him at Rome.* Hippolytus, as a Roman, knew the immense influence of that Church; but, as a man who had studied under Irenæus, the uncompromising opposer of Victor's pretensions, and as the historian of doctrinal Christianity, he also knew that this influence was a moral not a legal one, and that it was controlled and resisted. The gradually growing moral supremacy in the West originated in the political position of Rome as the centre of the world, and in the instinctive talent of go-

* Supra, p. 393.

vernment for which the Romans never ceased to be distinguished. But the legality of that supremacy was not recognized even at Milan, much less at Alexandria and Antioch, nor subsequently at Byzantium. Even in the West it was controlled by the free agency and self-responsibility of the influential Churches of Christendom. Hippolytus himself, as bishop of Portus, was one of the moons in the planetary system of Rome, and a member of her Presbytery; but in his own town, he would not have allowed the agents of Callistus to teach, or even himself to preach.

There was no great fear, however, of any attempt at preaching in the place of Hippolytus. In his time, as we have seen, and even two hundred years after him, Rome had no preacher whose homilies were worth noticing or copying for general use.* Theological science was born in the East, established in Alexandria, the Athens of the later Hellenic and early Christian era, and was transplanted from Asia Minor to the West by Irenæus, the apostle of the Gauls. Hippolytus had become a philosopher and a historian, precisely because he either was not a native of Rome, or had been Hellenized by his education and foreign travel. He wrote in Greek; but not merely as our fathers wrote in Latin, as the medium of learned intercommunion. Greek was the living organ of international intercourse at Rome, and the common language of the Hellenistic Jews, understood even by most of those who came from Palestine. Thus, at Rome, Greek was both the natural organ of Christian communication, and the most appropriate language for writing a book to be perused by all reading Christians. If Hippolytus ever preached any of his published homilies, he must have done so in Greek; for we possess many of them, all of which are in that language. We know nothing of the liturgical language of the Roman Church at that time, except the creed; nor, indeed, down to the age of Leo the Great, in the middle of the fifth century. We know, however, that baptismal creed to have been written either exclusively in Greek, or with the Latin text by its side. Even in the seventh century it was delivered to the Anglo-Saxon scion in the Greek words, written with the Anglo-Saxon alphabet, accompanied by a vernacular translation. We know further that the Christian congregation at Rome from the beginning consisted of Greek converts who were the bankers, secretaries, tutors and preceptors, valets and agents of the Romans; and of Jews, who spoke Greek as they now generally speak German. These elements were united by sacred records written in Greek, and were governed mostly by members of Greek descent. The very names of the bishops before Urbanus (the successor of Callistus) are Greek, with the solitary exceptions of Clement and Victor. Of these even Clement wrote Greek in the name of the Romans, as St. Paul wrote Greek to the Romans; and Victor wrote in the same language, as did Cornelius a whole century later. The real Latin Church was the African, consisting of colonized Romans, who used a Latin version of the New Testament. The noble families of Rome remained unconverted, even under Theodosius the Great, as is evinced by the complaints of Prudentius, who wrote more than 150 years after Hippolytus. If, therefore,

* Supra, p. 472.

Greek was at that time the ecclesiastical, and perhaps the liturgical, language of the Church of Rome, it was not because Greek was a sacred tongue, unknown to the people, but because the majority understood it better, or as well as that of Latium.

To sum up what has been said, Hippolytus knew of no title to supremacy on the part of the Church of Rome, even in Italy; nor of a sacred language used by the Church in preference to the vernacular.

Neither, as has been shown*, did he know anything of the celibacy of the clergy; or that the Church of Christ was a Levitical Priest-Church, and her ministers a mediatorial body. He must have abhorred the very idea of this, as much as did his teacher Irenæus, and all his cotemporaries. The Church was to them the Christian people, the Ecclesia in the Greek sense: the bishops had the primary duty of bearing witness of that Spirit which the Apostles received, and which continued in that community, as is stated in the preamble of the "Philosophumena." It is clear from his strictures on the tyranny of Callistus, that Hippolytus did not attribute that Spirit as an exclusive privilege to the Roman bishop, and therefore to no one else.

Hippolytus, therefore, was certainly no Papist. Nor was he a Nicæan divine, much less an Athanasian. I have proved by irrefragable documents that it would not be honest to say merely that he did not use the same formulas: every fair critic must allow that Hippolytus' own formulas do not agree with the creeds of the Councils, but move in a different circle of ideas. All that is capable of proof is, that he would no more have maintained or supported an Arian creed, than he would have wished to see the exclusive and conventional language in which those formulas are couched, proclaimed as an article of belief.

As regards the Sacraments, he had not the slightest idea of the juxtaposition of Baptism and Communion, from any connexion in their sacramental character, excepting in so far as they both hold the first rank among the sacred acts of the Church and signs of her life. Magic infant baptism, or the doctrine that the effects ascribed by the Apostles to the solemn profession of faith in the Father, Son, and Spirit, and to its external seal by the Jewish rite of immersion, were to follow the baptismal of infants, was still more alien to his Christianity. He scarcely knew anything of Pedobaptism: his baptismal sermon, although highly mystical, contemplates exclusively the baptism of adult catechumens; even no allusion is made to any other.

At all events, therefore, Hippolytus could not have subscribed the formula of the Catechismus Romanus, or any one like it. As to certain Anglican views of baptism, which some now endeavour to constitute the badge of communion with Christ, and which are held up as the bulwark of the Church of England, so little would Hippolytus acknowledge them as Apostolic doctrine and practice, that it would be difficult for him even to understand the arguments brought against them, so far as they also are generally based upon the notion, that Pedobaptism is of Apostolic use, and must therefore be defended by Protestants as Scriptural. If he were to be excommunicated for such an opinion by Romanizing priests, he might

* Supra, p. 470.

point to the last chapter but one of the "Pensées" of Pascal, which speaks honestly, although timidly, the language of the ancient Church, and goes almost the length of saying that infant baptism, without the subsequent confirmatory act of Lutheran Confirmation, would scarcely constitute a valid baptism.

We possess no treatise of Hippolytus upon the Eucharist, and only a single passage alluding to it. It will therefore, in this place, be better to refer, for the interpretation of that passage, to what we know from other sources as to the view of the ancient Church, which will be the object of some of the following fragments.

Vossius has interrogated Hippolytus whether he taught the orthodox doctrine of original sin; and extorts an affirmative answer from his treatise against Noetus, by an interpretation which he would never have admitted in classical philology. But this does not prove that Hippolytus would have been a Pelagian. He would have raised many a previous question both against St. Augustin and Pelagius; and finally have entrenched himself in his strong position — the doctrine of the free agency of the human will. He would have thought Luther's theory a quaint expression of a truth which he fully acknowledged; but, as to Calvin's Predestination, he would have abhorred it, without thinking less highly of God's inscrutable councils.

On the whole, if Hippolytus was no Papist, his divinity cannot be reduced to our Protestant formulas without losing all its native sense and beauty. There is nothing in his work which would contradict the general principles, and the polemic or negative portions of Evangelical doctrine. But as to the positive expressions, he would not understand much of them. For, to speak frankly, they either move unconsciously within the conventional circle of councilism, ritualism, and scholasticism, all of which were equally unknown to him; or they owe their prominence to the necessity of opposing certain tenets, or the practices connected with them, in which case the paramount authority attributed to certain Evangelical formulas would be scarcely intelligible to the ancient Church, which knew nothing of such tenets and practices. Hippolytus would be unable to see the necessity of opposing so absolutely the doctrine of Justification to that of Sanctification, except temporarily, for disciplinary reasons, as an antidote against the conventional doctrine and pernicious practice of meritorious works. The concluding words of the solemn exhortation at the end of his great work enjoin the duty of being inspired by the contemplation of the eternal love of God, and the divine beauty of his holiness, and of leading a godlike, holy life, in perpetual thankfulness and perfect humility. But supposing the point at issue had been explained to him, he would certainly have sided with the doctrine of saving faith in the Pauline sense, against that of meritorious works.

I will not, however, here proceed further in this uncongenial way of catechising. The absurdity of this whole method of understanding and judging the system of thought and doctrine of a Christian in the second and third centuries, by the conformity or non-conformity of his formulas with our own, must be self-evident. It may enable you to write, with more or less success, a very learned chapter of apologetic divinity, and discuss plausibly this or that passage of his writings, but you will never

find out the real truth; you are out of the centre of the man and of his age. You will, on the contrary, scarcely make a philosophical Christian believe that you are yourself in earnest about discovering it. It is a method wholly unworthy of our age, and ought to be buried in oblivion with all the perversities, hypocrisies, and falsifications of the seventeenth century.

I have attempted, in the first volume *, and in the preceding section of the present one, to sketch out the general principles according to which I think that the spirit of an age should be investigated and brought before the eyes of the reader. According to those principles, I shall now endeavour to make a clear statement of the views which Hippolytus, in his own peculiar and individual way, and as a representative of his age, entertained upon the great general objects of Christian philosophy and polity: as to God and the Creation, the person of Christ and the Redemption, the Spirit and His manifestation among the faithful. The conclusion of the great work of Hippolytus, now recovered, furnishes a complete answer to these questions, and I have endeavoured to explain its meaning fully in the fourth of my Letters. † The most advisable plan, then, to be followed by the philosophical historian, seems to me that of trying to understand those realities which formed the basis of Christian thought at the time. And this will only be possible by connecting them with ideas, and distinguishing them by words which are intelligible to ourselves.

These realities may be divided into two classes. The first will comprise the regulations or customs respecting the canonical books of the New Testament, or the so-called Canon, the notions respecting Apostolic Tradition, and the paramount authority of Scripture. The second class will contain those elements of the life and consciousness of the Church which have determined the formation of its worship and of its constitution.

If we consider any of these leading ideas, and the prevailing customary or written regulations of the Church, we find in each of them three elements: divine authority, apostolical explanation, living consciousness of their truth. The divine authority is a precept of Christ (λόγος, or λόγιον, Κυρίου). The teaching is that of Apostolic men, warranted by a canonical writing if touching doctrine, that is to say, the knowledge of Father, Son, and Spirit, or by tradition if concerning question of discipline. The consciousness of truth is the spirit which is in the Christian congregation, or the living authority of the Church. These three elements were believed and assumed to be in perfect harmony. All precepts which are perpetually binding, all truths which are fundamental, proceed from Christ personally; but they are recorded as such by the Apostles, or by Apostolic men, their disciples, friends, and followers, and thus come to the congregations of Christians spread over the globe. Each of them has the Spirit promised by Christ, that is, enlightened conscientious reason, and possesses the power, by common deliberation, to carry on and regulate the life of the Church, as emergencies may require. There must be this undying Spirit and power in the Church, or the promises of

* Supra, p. 473. † Supra, p. 400. to 417.

Christ and the third article of Faith are nullified ; but the power must be exercised with due regard to Apostolic and general liberty.

We shall therefore consider, in the next two chapters, the notions of Hippolytus and of his age, respecting Canon, Tradition, and Inspiration.

II.

THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE CHURCH OF ROME IN THE TIME OF HIPPOLYTUS.

THE German critical school has brought to light within the last seventy years so many new points of inquiry, which had been either neglected, or incompletely or uncritically treated, by the old school, that a part of the present generation of German critics seems in danger, as the German phrase runs, of not seeing the wood for the trees. This applies particularly to the history of the Canon. The systems of Lardner, and *men* like Lardner, were built upon the worst parts of Eusebius' history, and the conventional sayings of Jerome. Their view centres in the unhistorical and unreasonable assumption, that every canonical book must be supposed to be written by an Apostolic authority. This gratuitous and untraditional assumption was supported by as much false evidence as the forged works of the second and third centuries could afford, by the distortion of the best and most primitive traditions, and by the total neglect of trustworthy and important assertions of the parties condemned by the Church. It was not difficult to demolish such a system, of which Lardner is the most respectable representative, and to establish the basis of a critical and truly honest one. But, in recent times, the wish to say something new, and the want of real critical judgment in many theological writers, who never would have been listened to if the subject had been one of classical philology, appear to have made some people lose sight of the whole in the midst of so many details and conjectures and hair-splittings. Some even seem to have raised a cloud of learned or speculative dust, under pretence of discovering some hidden ground of truth, but in reality to blind the eyes of the reader. In classical philology nine tenths of the unfortunate, spiritless, and sometimes absurd hypotheses of theological writers, would not have been allowed to take root, scarcely to make their appearance, without being immediately demolished. In judging of much that has been said upon the Canon, by those modes of historical criticism upon which Niebuhr has acted in ancient history, I must confess that it seems to me absurd to maintain that the text of the sacred books was uncertain throughout the whole second century, merely because the Greek text of the first, the Palestinian, and therefore originally the Aramaic Gospel, contained certain differences in details, which are attributable partly to the translator, and partly to the difference in the Aramaic original which he had before him. For the hypothesis about Marcion having, in the middle of the second century, used a more authentic and unmutilated text of the third Gospel, is not more tenable

than that which refers the origin of the fourth to about the end of the same century.

The dreams of the old school, down to Mill and Griesbach, of an infinite variety of readings (about thirty thousand!) in the New Testament, begin to disappear before the irresistible critical method of Lachmann. The evidence of Irenæus in this respect is now very strongly confirmed by that of Hippolytus, whose quotations, numerous as they are, have been hitherto entirely neglected, even by the great critic just named. They are considerably increased by the recently discovered work. It contains quotations from many of the canonical books, particularly from the Pauline Epistles. These quotations, in a new edition of the works of Hippolytus, must be carefully and critically compared with the passages of the New Testament so abundantly quoted in his other writings. The investigation of fresh manuscripts, and a fresh collation of those already examined, are most essential for this purpose.

As to the Canon itself which Hippolytus had before him, it evidently is the same as that which we find in the "Fragmentum Muriatorianum," as I have restored it in the Analecta.

The whole Canon of Hippolytus, and of the Church of his time, may therefore be reconstructed thus. It contained:

The Four Gospels, as we have them. Rome used the Greek text; the ante-Hieronymian Latin version is of African origin, as Wiseman and Lachmann have proved. It is not certain whether the opinion that the first Gospel was written by the Apostle St. Matthew was already authoritatively established, as it was undoubtedly at that time believed in Alexandria. (*Euseb. H. E.*, vi. 25.)

2. *The Acts*, as a work of St. Luke.

3. *The Pauline Epistles to seven distinct Churches:* nine epistles as we read them; although perhaps not in the same order.

4. *The four Pastoral Letters:* to Philemon and Titus, and the *two* addressed to Timothy.

5. *The six Catholic* (or general) *Epistles.* The Epistle of St. James. The Epistle of St. Peter (our first). The three Epistles of St. John. The Epistle of St. Jude.

6. *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, as written by a friend of St. Paul, who can scarcely have been any other person than Apollos, the intimate and highly honoured friend of that Apostle, and the enlightened and influential cooperator with him and St. Peter. He was an Alexandrian, and, if the Epistle be addressed to a local congregation (of which the fact of his expressing a hope of being soon restored to them would be sufficient proof), it must have been written to the earliest Jewish Christian congregation at Alexandria, which had been tempted to Judaize by some Philonian symbolists, who endeavoured to evangelize the Law and Christianize Judaism, without Christ and his Gospel. The age of the Epistle is the second year after the martyrdom of St. Paul, or the year 67, when Timothy had just been released from prison.

7. *The Apocalypse of St. John*, as a very early work of the Apostle. It is by no means certain, though still assumed by Hengstenberg in his recent "Commentary," that the Church of Rome supposed it to be written during the Apostle's exile under Domitian. At all events the book itself

plainly says the contrary. The horizon of the vision is the latter half of the year 68; that anxious period when Galba had assumed the imperial dignity on the death of Nero. The strife between Otho and Vitellius broke out in the beginning of 69, and ended with Otho's defeat in April. This is the time expressed in ch. xvii. 8. and the following verses: "The beast which was and is not, and shall ascend from the bottomless pit and go into perdition." "Five kings had fallen" (xvii. 10, 11., namely, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero), "one is" (Galba), "another is not yet come, and when he cometh he must continue a short time. And the beast which was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth" (as seems to have been generally believed at that time) "into perdition." As to the other beast (xiii. 11—18.), we have already seen that our author, as well as Irenæus, interpreted the number 666 as *Latinus*, the word used by Hippolytus in his "Chronicle" in the sense of *Romanus*. But here again the Apocalypse tells its own story differently. For this other beast is certainly not the idolatrous Roman power, but the power which makes the people worship the Roman beast (ver. 14.). It performs miracles, and it causes the saints to be killed who will not worship the Roman beast (ver. 15.), and finally it excludes from the traffic those who have not its sign on their forehead (ver. 16, 17.). These three qualities agree with none but the false brethren, and in particular designate the hostile Jewish *delatores*, who persecuted the Christians in the affairs and intercourse of common life, and excited against them the cruelty or avarice of the heathen authorities. Personified in an individual, these combined qualities of traitor and seducer constitute the false Prophet (xx. 10.). And who is the type and father of all false prophets but Balaam, the son of Peor, the sorcerer, whose name had already become symbolical in that sense? He is even mentioned as such in this book. St. John (Rev. ii. 14, 15.), when speaking of the Nicolaitanes, and the doctrine of Balaam at Pergamus (meaning undoubtedly one and the same person, for Nicolas is the Greek translation of Balaam), says of him: "Who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication." Now the name and designation of Balaam, in this passage, give, according to the numerical value of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, the number 666. This interpretation, first hit upon by Züllig (1835—1840), is therefore the only one which agrees with the book itself, and appears more than probable. Against all the others, from the *Latinus* of Irenæus and Hippolytus down to the "Reformed British Parliament," the jocose interpretation of Father Newman this year, there are objections insuperable, philological or historical, many of which can only be considered by serious critics as more or less ingenious or absurd *jeux d'esprit*.

III.

THE VIEWS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH AS TO SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION.

THE expressions of Hippolytus on the paramount authority of Scripture in all matters of faith and doctrine are as strong as those of the Reformers. In my parallelism of the doctrine of the treatise against Noetus and of the "Refutation" I have given the beginning of the classical passage on this point.* I subjoin it here complete. It runs thus, in the ninth chapter of that treatise: — "There is one God, my brethren, and him we know only by the Holy Scriptures. For in so like manner as he who wishes to learn the wisdom of this world cannot accomplish it without studying the doctrines of the philosophers, so all those who wish to practise divine wisdom will not learn it from any other source than from the Word of God. Let us therefore see what the Holy Scriptures pronounce, let us understand what they teach, and let us believe as the Father wishes to be believed, and praise the Son as he wishes to be praised, and accept the Holy Spirit as He wishes to be given. Not according to our own will, nor according to our own reason, nor forcing what God has given, but let us see all this as He has willed to show it by the Holy Scriptures."

By Holy Scriptures Hippolytus understands, as his quotations prove, the Old and the New Testaments. As to the first, he uses the Canon of the Septuagint; as to the second, he quotes no books except those which we know from cotemporary documents to have enjoyed canonical authority in the Church of Rome, as will be explained in detail in the following chapter.

For these works Hippolytus claims inspiration; that is to say, for their authors, as men who wrote, moved by the Spirit of God. This inspiration was also attributed, as far as the object required it, to such pious men as had lived in the Apostolic age, or early in the second century, and had written on Christian life and hope, partly in their own names, as Clement of Rome, partly under assumed names, even that of an Apostle. Indeed, the inspiration was the working of the Holy Spirit, which had been promised to the whole Church and to every believer. But there was a broad distinction made between the works of those pious men and the canonical books; among which they were not numbered, because they neither contained authenticated narratives of the life of Christ, as did those which the Evangelists or Apostolic missionaries had composed before St. John wrote his Apostolic account himself, nor Apostolic teaching, as did the Epistles of the Apostles of Christ. Having, therefore, neither authentic words of the Lord to report, nor the vocation, as some of the Apostles and the brother of Jesus had, to address the nascent Christian congregations on the saving faith of Christ, nor, finally, any acknowledged and warranted vision to relate, their writings could never become a part of the general Canon of the New Testament. For the question of reception into this Canon was decided not less by the contents and objects than by the authoritative character of the writer. Nevertheless several of them were read, even in the time of Hippolytus,

* Supra, p. 443. Fabric. ii. 12.

in some Churches; as, for instance, the so-called Apocalypse, or Vision, of St. Peter, was read as a holy book in the Church of Rome itself. Others were read in less solemn meetings of the Christians, and, in particular, recommended for perusal to the catechumens preparing for baptism.

Now all these books were believed by the ancient Church to be written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, the principal foundation of the faith of the ancient Church in inspiration was the belief that one and the same Spirit was given to the Church, of which the Apostles were the first witnesses, and who were called upon in a most special manner to give evidence of the life, death, and resurrection of the Son of God. The degree of inspiration was supposed to be analogous to the vocation, and commensurate with the subject of which the Spirit of God moved them to treat. "Hermas," says an author older than Irenæus, probably Hegesippus, a Christian Jew, who composed the first ecclesiastical memoirs, and wrote at Rome, "Hermas, is a book which must be read, but it never can be made the subject of public reading to the congregation in the Church, neither as one of the Prophets, nor as one of the Apostles." There were some Churches which did read it; but our author does not approve of such a practice, nor did the Church of Rome.

Thus the ancient Church assumed a difference in the degree of inspiration, and believed it to be commensurate with the internal Christian importance of the work entrusted to the writer, and with the evidence as to the authenticity of its origin. Whatever came from Apostles was called Apostolic Tradition (παράδοσις τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις). By these words Hippolytus designates the passages of the New Testament which he has quoted, besides some of the Old, as bearing upon the question. As to the received canonical books, the ancient Church may be said, in the phraseology of a later date, to have recognised a canon in the canon, according to the relative importance of the matter treated of, and the personal authority of the sacred writer. The Theopneusty, or theory of Inspiration, of Gaussen, would have appeared to Hippolytus a dangerous Jewish superstition.

The philosophy of all this may be summed up in something like the following considerations.

Scripture was considered by the ancient Church, as it is by us, the only source of our knowledge of the saving divine truth. But Scripture was constituted as canonical by the Church. The decision of the Church was founded on good evidence, which we have sufficient materials to examine and appreciate. An impartial examination shows that where we have uncertainties and doubts, the ancient Church had them *likewise*, and that the ancient traditional evidence is not only in itself better than the systematical opinions of the men of the fourth century, but also in agreement with the result of sober and independent criticism.

The consciousness which the ancient Church possessed in the second century, of the difference between canonical and other ancient and pious Christian productions, was the first manifestation of the agency of the divine Spirit.

Neither singly nor collectively did this body of Sacred Books from a new law, or a system of doctrine or philosophy. It was essentially a His-

tory; and that proves the divine character of Christianity, and constitutes the supreme authority of the Christian records in the history of the world. It was a history, first of Christ's teaching, and living, and dying; then a history of the teaching and life of the Apostles, concluding at the end of St. Paul's biennial imprisonment in Rome; lastly, a history of the communion of life between the Apostles and the congregations of the faithful, or their disciples and messengers. The Apocalypse of St. John is also a history of what passed in the mind of the Apostle, when he beheld in a vision the future in the reflection of the past and present.

This first produce of the consciousness of the Church was therefore evidently an act which showed the prevailing power of the Spirit. Scripture contains in itself internal evidence of its narrating a true history, which embodies the true view of the relation of God to man: but Scripture cannot constitute the Canon: the Canon constitutes Scripture as the sacred code of Christianity, and this act of the Church is founded upon the evidence of Christian men and congregations.

Here one cannot help remarking a one-sidedness on the part of the Protestant divines of the sixteenth, and particularly of the seventeenth, centuries, which has been and continues to be the cause of endless confusion, and lamentable untruth and ignorance. The narrative of the history of the Word of God in his humanity, and in this world, and the records of its teachings, and warnings and promises, were mistaken for the Word of God itself in its proper sense. By this mistake the faith in the real Word of God, which is the only immutable and eternal standard of truth, and which has its response in the Spirit within, was obscured, and is obscured to this day; and its only recipients, Reason and Conscience, have been and are violated, to the sad confusion of Christ's Church.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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